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**THE JEWISH
QUARTERLY REVIEW**

VOL. XII



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I. ABRAHAMS AND C. G. MONTEFIORE

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THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1899

THE ORIGINAL HEBREW OF
ECCLESIASTICUS XXXI. 12-31,
AND XXXVI. 22-XXXVII. 26.

PREFACE.

THE present fragments, acquired by the British Museum towards the end of 1898, exactly supply two missing portions in the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* recently edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press by Professor Schechter and Dr. Charles Taylor. Fol. 1 fits in between pp. 12 and 13, and fol. 2 between 16 and 17 of the Cambridge text. Including the Oxford fragments, we, therefore, now possess, in an available form, chs. iii. 5 (beginning מכבד, last word but one)—vii. 29 (ending פחד); xi. 34 (beginning ויכבד, last word but one)—xvi. 26 (ending חיים); xxx. 11—xxxiii. 3; xxxv. 9—xxxviii. 27; xxxix. 15—li. 30¹.

When I first undertook the task of editing the Museum fragments, I did not intend to add critical notes on the relation of the Hebrew text to the Greek and Syriac versions, as a first edition of a comparatively small part of Ben Sira's Hebrew hardly seemed to require of me the

¹ The missing lines at the end of many pages as well as other lacunae have, of course, to be deducted from the above statement.

expenditure of time which I could ill afford. But the recent appearance of Professor D. S. Margoliouth's pamphlet, entitled *The origin of the "original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus*, has made it impossible for me to edit the present text without first subjecting it to a minute critical investigation. The result of my fresh study of the fragments is contained in the critical notes preceding the vocabulary, and also partly in additional remarks on the translation. It seems to me that when we, for instance, find that the Syriac misreads the Hebrew for "pain of the head" as "pain and poverty" (see p. 24), or "a troop of warriors" as "a young man who resembles a gazelle" (see p. 26), the textual evidence in favour of the Hebrew being the original must be regarded as very strong. On the proofs—though not demonstrable with equal directness—that may be based on (1) the style of the Hebrew, and (2) the vocabulary of the fragments, I will not dwell in this place. But it seems to me that the evidence in its entirety tends to confirm the impression which the Cairo text produced on scholars generally from the very first.

But if it is true that the Hebrew text is the original, it is equally true that very many lines have come down to us in a terribly corrupt state. From the number of duplicate lines contained in the Museum fragments¹, and also in some parts of the Cambridge publication, the present writer would conclude that readings from different recensions have been embodied in the Cairo text. The theory according to which these doublets represent translations from the Greek and Syriac respectively, is much weakened by the fact that the expected agreement between the Hebrew and one or other of the versions is often absent in these cases. If, on the other hand, a combination of various versions be assumed, it may fairly be supposed that these were only in partial agreement with the texts from which the versions were made. The opponents of the authenticity of the

¹ For details see the notes.

Hebrew text will, in the opinion of the present writer, not be able to defend their position effectively for long, and the controversy will no doubt for a much longer time centre in the great textual thesis contained in Professor Schechter's Introduction to the Cambridge *Ben Sira*. Professor Schechter's theory is a very bold one, and though the Paitanic tendencies of the Hebrew text have no doubt been overstated, his array of Biblical quotations and reminiscences challenges full and careful investigation. But whatever view any future writer may feel called upon to defend, it is to be hoped that a minute critical study of the text itself will in all cases precede any argument that may be advanced.

Fol. 1 a.

מוסר לחם ויין יחדו

איש	בני אם על שלחן גדול ישבתה	אל תפתח עליו גרנך: נין
	אל תאמר ספוק עליו	זכור כי רעה עין רעה: ד
	רע עין שונא אל	ורע ממנו לא ברא:
חזע	כי זה מפני כל דבר תזוע עין	ומפנים דמעה תרמיע: חסע ¹
דע מ' חלק (ז)	רע מעין לא חלק אל	על כן מפני כל נס ללחה: על כל מלפני
חשיח	מקום יביט אל ² אל תחשיט ד	ואל דידד ³ עמו בשנא: חידד
ר'...	דעה רעך כנפשך	ובכל ששנאת החבונן: וכל אסור
לגלגל אל על פנים לא	הסב כאיש אשר נבחר	ואל תעט פן תגעל:
לגלגל אל על פנים לא	דע שרעך ⁴ כמוך	ואכול כאיש דבר ששם לפנדך ולא תחידה גיבון פן תמאס:
	חול [ראש]ון בע... ⁵	ואל [ה]ל[ו]ן [פ]ן [תמ]אס:

לפני רע אל תושט ידי	וגם [אם] בין רבים ישבת
ועל יצועיו לא ישיק יצויו	הלא די אנש נבון מזער
ופני הפוכות עם איש כסיל: וטס	מכאוב ונדד ישינה רצער ותחשניק
וקם בבקר תפשו א[תו]	שנות חיים על קרב צולל
[י]לין עד בקר תפשו עמו:	ש איש נבון
והמצא נחת:

¹ The reading of this word is doubtful; the lower portion of the second letter appears to be worn away on the right side, and there is a thickening at the left hand lower corner of the letter: in this way the letter almost gains the appearance of a n. Probably, however, נח was meant (cf. the preceding hemistich), as the doubtful letter might be an ill-formed n.

² The scribe has put strokes over the letters of the first נח to indicate that the word (a dittography) is to be omitted.

³ Evidently an error of the copyist, the correct form being נח (plane for נח) as in the margin.

⁴ The marginal note (in comparatively recent ink, not earlier, probably, than the seventeenth century) is blotted.

⁵ The middle part of the w is lost, but the reading is certain.

⁶ The greater part of the remaining words is lost; perhaps רב נח "among much people" (see the next line); but there appears to have been something more after the presumed n.

Fol. 1 b.

בכל מעשיך היה צנוע

הלא די אנש נבון מער

שמע בני ואל תבח לי

שמע בני וקח מוסרי

שוב על לחם תבך שפה

רע על לחם ירגז בשער

וגם על היין אל תתגבר

כור בוחן מעשה לופש

נבון בוחן מעשה מעשה

למי היין חיים לאנשׁ

יחן

וכל אסון לא יגע בך:

וגם אם נאנסתה במשעמים קד קד וינח לך:

ובאחרית תשיג אמר:

וואל תלעיג עלי ובאחרית תמצא דברי: ^{הלעג}

עדות טובו נאמנה:

רעתׁ רועו נאמנה: ^{שח}

כי רבים הכשיל תירוש:

כן היין למצות לצים: ^{כי הייה מצח}

כן שבר לריב לצים:

אם ישתנו במת[נ]תו:

מה היים חסר ¹⁰ היין	שהוא בראשית ל[ש]מ[חה] נ[ח]צ[ר];	מזי סיה (?)
שמחת לב וששון ועדיו	יין נשתה [בע]תו ^(?) וראי ^(?) בשו	
חיי מה לחסר תירוש	ההוא לגיל נחלק מראש:	
כאב ראש לענה וקלון	יין נשתה בתהרה וכעס:	
[מ]ר[בה] חמר לכסיל מוקש	מחסר כח ומספק פצ' סיה ¹¹	
במשחתה היין [אל].....ר[ע]	[וא]ל..... ¹¹ תדעו ¹¹	
דבר חרפה אל.....	לעני בני אדם.....	
.....	

¹⁰ The clause beginning מק is in rather smaller letters than the text, and stands in the margin; but appears to be in the handwriting of the original scribe. See the critical note.

¹¹ So probably; but the reading רטר is not impossible, the first letter of the word being damaged.

¹² Read in accordance with the Syriac: למזי: למזי.

¹³ The reading is certain, though the letters are nearly worn away. One should, however, expect worn; see the translation.

¹⁴ These two variants are written in fresher ink than most of the others.

Fol. 2 a.

היך ברחן משעמי¹² דבר

לב עקוב יתן עצבת

כל נכ[ה] תאכל הייה

תואר אשה ה'ליל פנים

ועד אם יש מרפא לשון

קנה אשה ראשית קנין

באין גדיד יבוער כרם

מי יאמין בגדוד צבא

כן איש אשר לא קן

כל אומר אמר אחבתי

י"ג ה"ו רע שאמר מדוע כן נוצרתי

ולב מבין משעמי כוב:

ואיש ותיק ישיבנה בו: ישיג

אך יש מכה ממכה תנעם:

ועל כל מחמד עין יגבר:

אין אשה¹⁴ מבני אדם

עור ומבצר ועמוד משען: ייר מבני

ובאין אשה נע ונד:

המדלג מעיר אל עיר:

המרגיע באשר יערב:

הלוא דין מגיע אל מות רע כנפשך נהפך לצר:

למלא פני תבל תרמות:

היך ברחן משעמי [ונכ]
 וכן (7) נכון משעמי וכו'

כל אומר אמר אחבתי
 אך יש אומר שם אומר
 ולא דין מגיע על מות
 רע כנפש נהפך לצר:

[אמר] אין לו

היי"ו רע

אמר מ' נוצרתי

בַּעַת צוֹקָה מִנְדָּר יַעֲמִיד: ¹⁰ מִינֵב	מִרְעָה ¹⁰ אוֹהֵב מִבֵּישׁ אֶל שְׁלֹחַן	אֶל שִׁחָה.....
וְאֵל תַּעֲזֹבֵהוּ בְשִׁלְלָךְ:	אֶל תִּשְׁכַּח חֲבִיר בִּקְרִי	בִּקְרִי
אֲךָ יֵשׁ יוֹעֵץ דֶּרֶךְ אֶל לֵץ:	כֹּל יוֹעֵץ יִנְיָף יָד	כֹּל יוֹעֵץ.....
דַּע לִפְנִים מִה צוּרְכוֹ:	מִיוֹעֵץ שְׁמוֹר נִפְשְׁךָ	מִי יוֹעֵץ.....
לִמָּה זֶה אֵלֶיךָ יוֹפֵל:	לִנְפֹשׁ יִחֲשֹׁב.....	נִפְשְׁךָ.....
וְאֵשֶׁךְ:.....	לִחֲשֹׁב [ד].....	לִחֲשֹׁב
.....

¹² Instead of the γ α appears to have been originally written, and the scribe then endeavoured to remodel it into an α .

¹³ The word is almost entirely lost, but the outlines of η are pretty clearly discernible.

¹⁴ For $\eta\alpha$; the η under the α is now only faintly recognizable.

¹⁵ This word is written in recent ink, not earlier, probably, than the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ So apparently, though not quite clear.

¹⁷ The spelling η for η is also found in Amos v. 16. The restoration of the words in [] seems certain.

¹⁸ So apparently; of the note in the margin only α is quite clear.

¹⁹ Not sufficiently clear, but probably so.

ומדר אל מלחמתו: ומלכי ל ס[חמדר]	עם אשה על צרתה	Fol. 2 b.
וממקנה על ממכר: ומקוה ל מסכ[ר]	עם סחר אל התגר	א
ואכזרי על טוב בשר ²⁰	עם איש רע אל חגמל חסד	על גמילות
שומר שוא על מוציא רע (?)	פועל שוא על מלאכתו	איש
אשר חרע שומר מצודה: מצוהו	אך אם יש מפחד תמיד	לכבו
אם תכשל יגיע אליך: ישי"ה ק.	אשר עם לכבו כלבדך	עם ענת לבנו ק כי אם אמן ממנו:
מי יאמין לך אמן ממנו:	וגם ענת לבב הבין	מדי
משבעה צופים על מצפה. משבעים צופים ל קן (?)	לב אנש יגיד שעויותיו	השיר
אשר יבין באמת צעדיך:	ועם כל אלה עתה אל אל	ל מ משעה מאמר ל מ פועל היא ממשנה:
וראש כל פעל הי[א] מחדשבת: ²²	ראש כל מעשה דבר	מדי
ארבעה שוכמים יסרחו: ²⁴ סכמי פנים	עקרת החבילות לבב	ל מ

ומשלח בם כליל לשון: ומסליח	שוב ורעה חיים ומות	ויע (?)
ולנפשו הוא גואל: טאל	יש חכם לרבים נחם ²⁰	
ומכל מאכל תענוג נבצר:	ויש חכם בדברו נמאס	
פרי דעתו על גייתו:	ויש חכם לנפשו חכם	
וחיי עם ישראל שיוון	חיי איש מספר ימים	
.	חכם ל [ב]תענוג	
.	

²⁰ The reading *יש חכם* is quite certain, though the letters have lost some of their clearness.

²¹ Probably so, *טאל* is not likely.

²² May possibly be read *מחמדי*.

²³ The reading *יש חכם* is certain, though several letters are damaged.

²⁴ This is clearly the marginal reading, though the letters are partly rubbed away.

²⁵ For *חכם* (?).

CHAPTER XXXI.

*The Joint Discipline (or Instruction) concerning
Eating and Drinking.*

Line 12¹. My son, if thou sittest at a great table²,
Be not greedy³ upon it⁴;

l. 13 (12 c). Say not, There is enough upon it,

	{	(For) remember ⁵ that an evil eye is an evil thing.
l. 14.		God hates the man of an evil eye,
(13)		And he has created nothing more evil than it ⁶ .
l. 15.		For on this account does the eye drop (tears) on every occasion, And from the face runneth the tear ⁷ .

Duplicate 14 b, 15. God has created⁸ nothing more evil than the eye;

¹ The first Hebrew line on fol. 1 a is called L. 12 to indicate that it begins with ver. 12 of ch. xxxi. The numbers of verses according to the Authorized Version are given in parenthesis by the side of the succeeding lines.

² Margin, "at a great man's table," which meaning the text will also bear.

³ The idea of greediness must, however, in this place be associated with that of envy proceeding from an evil eye; or else the connexion with the following lines would be broken.

⁴ Literally, "open not thy throat upon it"; or margin, "open not [the] throat upon it."

⁵ Margin, "know."

⁶ Like Syriac 13 a + b; only there, "Because God hates the wickedness of the eye," which represents another rendering of the Hebrew as it stands.

⁷ Answering to Syriac 13 c + d; the marginal variants of the Hebrew text make no appreciable difference of meaning.

⁸ If this rendering (confirmed by the versions) is correct, פָּחַל (= Arabic خلق), in the sense of "to create," would appear to have been used by the Hebrews in common with the Arabs in the time of Ben Sira. The other rendering would be, "God has not apportioned anything more evil than the eye"; but the sense would not be so good. The word is pretty

Therefore does its moisture run from the face
of all¹.

- l. 16 (14). Stretch² not thine hand whithersoever it
looketh,
And join not thyself with it in the dish.
- l. 17 (15). Know thy neighbour like thyself,
And carefully consider all that thou hatest.
- l. 18. Take thy seat like a man who is chosen,
And do not rush, lest thou be disliked³.
- d. 17a, 18. Know that thy neighbour is like thyself,
And eat like a man that which he⁴ has placed
before thee⁵.
- l. 19 (17). Leave off first
And devour not, lest thou be rejected.
- l. 20 (18). And also if thou sittest amongst many,
Do not reach out thy hand before a neighbour.
- l. 21 (19). Surely a little is sufficient for a man of under-
standing⁶,
And he does not burn on his bed⁷.
- l. 22 (20 c + d). Pain, and sleeplessness, and distress, and
torment,
And a distorted face are with a foolish man.

common in Ben Sira. That the root is here used in the *Kai* appears to follow from the form קַיַּי on fol. 1 b, l. 13 b. See also the Vocabulary.

¹ The margin has, "Above all, its moisture runs at everything" (i.e. on every occasion).

² Margin, "place not."

³ The meaning of line 18, which in this form is peculiar to the Hebrew (compare the next verse), is: "Sit down at the meal sedately, and with dignity; hurry and rushing are unseemly and cause dislike." The margin has: "Eat like a disciplined man, and do not rush, lest thou be found out."

⁴ Or "one."

⁵ The margin adds: "And be not gluttonous, lest thou be rejected."

⁶ Alternate reading indicated over the line, "for a man of stable habits," or "for a well-mannered man." The margin has, "Surely for a well-mannered man an appointed time is enough."

⁷ Margin, "on his [inner] members." See the same word in Job xvii. 7.

- l. 23 (20 a + b). Sleep¹ of healthfulness² is upon a purged belly,
And when he rises in the morning, his wits³ are with him.
- d. 23. Sleep a man of understanding⁴,
He resteth⁵ until the morning, and his wits⁶ are with him.
- l. 24 (21).
. and thou shalt find ease.
- l. 25.
.
- l. 26 (22 c + d)⁷. In all thy doings be modest,
And no mishap shall touch thee.
- l. 27 (a = d. 21 a). Surely little is sufficient for a man of understanding;
And even if thou hast been constrained with dainties, keep on hoping⁸, and thou shalt have ease.
- l. 28 (22). Hear, my son, and despise me not,
And in the end thou shalt lay hold on my words.
- d. 28. Hear, my son, and accept my instruction,
And laugh not at me;
And in the end thou shalt find⁹ my words.
- l. 29 (23). Him who is kindly with regard to meat shall the lip bless,
The testimony of his kindness is lasting.

¹ Grammatically speaking, the Hebrew word must here be taken as a construct plural of *shenah*, "sleep"; apart from the text, we should have to translate "years." The spelling may, however, be due to a copyist's error.

² Literally, "of life."

³ Literally, "his soul."

⁴ Alternate reading over the line, "a man of stable habits," or "a well-mannered man."

⁵ Literally, "he spends the night."

⁶ Literally, "his soul."

⁷ Beginning of fol. 1 b.

⁸ With the connotation of "keeping patient." See the critical note.

⁹ i. e. "Find out their value, even if thou dost not quite appreciate their meaning now"; compare the second clause of the preceding line.

- l. 30 (24). He who is evil¹ with regard to meat shall be troubled in the gate,
The knowledge² of his evil is lasting.
- l. 31 (25)³. Nor shalt thou show thyself valiant in wine,
For new wine has caused many to stumble.
- l. 32 (26). The⁴ furnace proveth⁵ the work of the artificer,
So is the wine with regard to⁶ the quarrelling⁷
of the scornful.
- d. 32. A man of understanding proveth every work,
So is strong drink with regard to⁶ the strife of
the scornful.
- l. 33 (27). Like waters of life is wine to man⁸,
If he drink it in its measure.
- l. 34 (27). What life is there to⁹ him who is without
wine?
For it was in the beginning¹⁰ created for joy.
- l. 35 (28). Joy¹¹ of heart, gladness, and an ornament¹²,

¹ i. e. niggardly.

² Margin, "the testimony."

³ With this verse the instruction concerning drinking begins.

⁴ The meaning seems to be: "The base material used by an unscrupulous artificer is found out by means of the smelting-pot; so does the wine bring to light the selfishness and frivolity which lies at the root of the quarrels indulged in by the scornful (i. e. persons who combine frivolous talking with a dash of blasphemy)."

⁵ Margin, "the furnace of a palace" (which makes no sense in the context).

⁶ i. e. "so does wine (in d. 32, strong drink) test," &c.

⁷ Margin, "for thou hast become the quarrelling" (which makes no sense).

⁸ See the note on the text.

⁹ Translating as if the reading were *חַיִּים*, cf. d. 34; or, perhaps translate: "What [kind of] life [is there for thee], thou who art without wine?"

¹⁰ For "in the beginning," the margin has, "the pit of shith" (i. e. the cavity at the south-western corner of the altar into which the wine of the drink-offering ran down). For references to this curious word see Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, IV, p. 550.

¹¹ For the parallels found in Bab. Talm. tractate *Yoma*, and in the *Zohar*, see *Original Hebr. Ecclesiasticus*, Cowley and Neubauer, p. xxv.

¹² Hardly the word expected. Is *חַיִּים* a corruption of a word formed from

- Is wine drunk in its time¹ and proper season².
- d. 34. What life is there to him who is without new wine?
- And from the beginning was it created³ for rejoicing.
- l. 36 (29). Pain⁴ of the head, wormwood, and shame,
Is wine drunk in contention and anger.
- l. 37 (30). Excess of wine is a stumble for a fool;
It diminisheth strength, and causeth many wounds⁵.
- l. 38 (31 a + b). At a banquet of wine do not . . . thy neighbour,
Nor⁶
- l. 39 (31 b + c). A word of reproach do not⁷

CHAPTER XXXVI.

- l. 19. ⁸The palate proveth the tastes⁹ of a thing,
And an understanding heart¹⁰ the tastes⁹ of falsehood¹¹.
- l. 20. A froward¹² heart causeth grief,

the root רע ? (Syr. ܪܥܐ). Or is רע to be taken as a synonym of "joy"? For the ordinary meaning of the word see Levy, *in loco*.

¹ Margin, "in time."

² May be so translated provisionally; see the Vocabulary.

³ Or "apportioned"; see l. d. 14 b.

⁴ See note 11 on preceding page.

⁵ Margin, "and causeth much fear."

⁶ Margin, "[Nor] rebuke him."

⁷ Margin (at the end of the missing line), "before the eyes of men."
The word before this is illegible.

⁸ Beginning of fol. 2 a; it is called l. 19 because it is ver. 19 of ch. xxxvi (A.V.)

⁹ The usual meaning of the Hebrew word is "dainties."

¹⁰ Or, "and the heart understandeth."

¹¹ The margin has for ver. 19:—

"The palate proveth the tastes of a sacrifice,

And the graciousness of a man of understanding the tastes of a gift."

¹² Literally, "crooked."

And a man of cleverness will restore it within him¹.

- l. 21 (18). A wild beast² eats everything slain,
Yet is one slain creature more palatable than another.
- l. 22. The beauty of a woman cheereth³ the countenance,
And it surpasseth every desire of the eye.
- l. 23. So that if a healing tongue is also hers,
Her husband is not of the sons of men.
- l. 24. Get thee⁴ a wife as a first possession,
A help, and a fortress⁵, and a pillar of support.
- l. 25. For lack of a fence, the vineyard will be laid waste;
And for lack of a wife, [a man] is a fugitive and a wanderer.
- l. 26. Who will trust a troop of warriors,
Skipping from city to city?
- l. 27. Thus is a man that hath no nest⁶,
Who reposes where he pleases⁷.

¹ The meaning is apparently: "a man of cleverness will restore the morally deranged heart to a healthy condition." Cp. the phrases וְשֵׁן בְּרִי and וְשֵׁן בְּרִי in Ruth iv. 15 and Ps. xix. 8 respectively. The import there is the restoration to a state of comfort.

² This is the usual meaning of חַיָּוִת, but we should hardly expect "a wild beast" to be introduced in this passage. The word is, however, also used as equivalent to שָׂרָה (ψυχή) in e.g. Job xxxiii. 18, 20, and Sirach may possibly have meant to express "the human desire or appetite" by חַיָּוִת.

³ Translating the marginal reading, which is evidently the right one; see the critical note.

⁴ Margin (in a late hand), "he that getteth a wife."

⁵ Margin, "a fortified town" (either instead of "a fortress" alone, or of "a help and a fortress;" probably the latter).

⁶ So correctly the margin.

⁷ Or (with Greek), "wheresoever nightfall cometh upon him."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. 1. Every one that speaketh may say, I am a friend¹;
But there is one who but loveth the *name* of
friend².
1. 2³. Is it not a grief⁴ which tendeth to death,
When a companion who is as thine own soul is
turned into an adversary?
1. 3. [Alas! for a friend who says]⁵ Why have I thus
been created,
To fill the face of the world with deceitfulness?
1. 4. An evil friend looketh for the table⁶,
But in time of distress he standeth afar⁷.
1. 5. A good friend fighteth⁸ against a stranger,
And against adversaries holdeth he the buckler⁹.
1. 6. Forget not a companion in the battle¹⁰,
And forsake him not in thy booty¹¹.
1. 7¹². Every counsellor lifteth up the hand,

¹ The margin has for 1 a, "Every friend says, I am a friend."

² 1 b is only found in the margin, and the above rendering is the only one which the Hebrew can properly bear; compare the Greek and Syriac.

³ 2 a is in the text the second half of ver. 1, and 2 b is a part of the text written in the margin. The marginal reading itself has "when a companion who is as the soul," instead of "as thy soul."

⁴ See the Vocabulary.

⁵ Not a satisfactory clause; but the Hebrew, going by the remaining portions of the letters, must be read as in the text. See the critical note.

⁶ Margin, "upon the pit."

⁷ Margin, "at the south."

⁸ The variant (if to be read Nōḥel) has "inheriteth."

⁹ Line 5 is only found in the margin, but is evidently a genuine part of the original. The antithesis between an evil friend and a good one, brought out in lines 4 and 5, is also clearly given in the Syriac, though varying from the Hebrew.

¹⁰ Margin, "in the grave."

¹¹ i. e. "give him a portion of the booty gained in battle." The margin of ver. 6 is as follows:—

"Deny not a friend in the battle,

And against adversaries will he hold the buckler."

¹² The marginal reading (partly mutilated) is even less intelligible than

But there is a counsellor who steppeth to a scorner.

- l. 8. Let thy soul beware of a counsellor,
And know thou before what his need is.
- l. 9 (8 c + d). for himself¹ will he consider,
What share might fall² unto him.
- l. 10 (9). thy way³
. thy poverty⁴.
- l. 11 (10).
- l. 12 (11 a + b) [Take no counsel]⁵ With a woman about her rival,
Nor with a warrior⁶ about his war.
- l. 13 (11 c + d). Contend not with a merchant⁷,
Nor with a buyer⁸ about selling.
- l. 14 (11 e + f). Nor with an evil man about loving-kindness⁹,
Nor with an unmerciful man about the announcement of good tidings.
- l. 15 (11 g + h). Nor with a useless workman about his work,
Nor with a useless keeper¹⁰ about one who spreadeth an evil report (?)¹¹.

the text. The Greek (see the English version) gives a good sense. There may possibly be an allusion in the Hebrew text which has so far not been ascertained.

¹ Margin, "thyself."

² Cf. e.g.: *וְאֵל לֹא יִשְׁכַּח*, Judges viii. 1.

³ In the margin, "to look," *vice* a lost word in the text.

⁴ Margin, "thy head," apparently, by a mis-pointing of *רֹאשׁ* (= *רֶשֶׁת*). Compare the critical note on l. 36 a, in ch. xxxi.

⁵ Beginning of fol. 2 b.

⁶ See the note in the Vocabulary; the margin has, "with a conqueror."

⁷ One should expect, "With a merchant about merchandise" (as the versions have it).

⁸ Adopting the reading of the margin. Text (*מֶלֶךְ* = Syr. *مَلِكِي*) "with a seller"; if read with *π* (as written over the *π*), "with a jealous person" (*μῆδον*).

⁹ Adopting the reading of the margin; text, "Treat not an evil man with loving-kindness."

¹⁰ Margin, "hireling"; the end of the line is not clear.

¹¹ i.e. (perhaps) "Take not counsel with an untrustworthy person concerning the trustworthiness of a person who spreads an evil report."

- l. 16 (12). But if there be one who feareth always¹.
 Whom thou knowest to be a keeper of the
 commandments²;
- l. 17 (12 c + d). One whose heart is like thine own heart,
 And who will come up to thee³ if thou
 stumblest⁴.
- l. 18 (13). And also understand the counsel of the heart;
 Who shall stand more firm to thee than it⁵?
- l. 19 (14). The heart of man telleth⁶ its tales
 Better than seven watchmen upon a watch-
 tower⁷.
- l. 20 (15). And besides all this, make supplication unto
 God,
 That he may establish thy steps in truth.
- l. 21 (16). Let the beginning of every work be reason,
 And let the beginning of every action be delibe-
 ration.
- l. 22 (17). The root of pain is the heart,
 [Whence] four portions spring forth:
- l. 23 (18). Good and evil, and life and death;
 And that which reigneth over them completely
 is the tongue.
- l. 24 (19). There is a wise man who is wise to many,
 And also redeemeth⁸ his own soul.
- l. 25 (20). And there is a wise man who is despised in his
 word⁹,

¹ Cf. Prov. xxviii. 14.

² Literally, "commandment," evidently used in a collective sense; margin, "his commandments."

³ Margin (probably), "shall be troubled on thy account."

⁴ The mental apodosis to verses 16 and 17 is, "with such a one keep counsel."

⁵ See note in the Vocabulary. The sense of the second clause in the margin is not clear (probably corrupt), the first clause being, "And also the counsel of his heart is so."

⁶ Or, "his tales."

⁷ Margin, "Better than seventy watchmen upon a tree (?)."

⁸ Or "defleth" (?); margin, "is foolish" (with regard to his own soul).

And deprives himself of all delectable food.

- l. 26 (22). And there is a wise man who is wise towards
his own soul,
[Bestowing] the fruit of his understanding upon
his body¹.
- l. 27 (25). The life of man is a number of days,
But the life of the people of Israel².
- l. 28 (26). A wise man in pleasure,
.

NOTES ON THE RELATION OF THE GREEK AND SYRIAC VERSIONS TO THE HEBREW TEXT³.

Ch. xxxi. 12. The heading (מסר לחם ויין יחדיו) is neither in the Greek, nor in the Syriac; but compare *Περὶ βρωμάτων* at xxx. 16. For the form of the Hebrew wording compare מסר בשר at xli. 14 (Oxford text).

l. 13 a. מספוק עלי. Gk. πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, but Syr. ܡܫܬܥܬܝܢܐ (that it sufficeth *not* for me). If the Hebrew were a translation, one would almost be forced to assume that מספוק was borrowed from the wording of the Syriac, but that the sense was taken from the Greek: which is hardly likely.

l. 13 b. The natural way of accounting for the marginal ור is to assume that it is a variant of the original Hebrew text, for the clause is not found in the Syriac, and Greek *μνησθητι* = זכור of the text.

ll. 14, 15, and d. 14 b, 15. It is clear that רע מעין לא חלק אל is a duplicate of רע ממנו לא ברא, and that על כן מפני כל גם לחה is a duplicate of על כן מפני כל גם לחה.

¹ The margin substitutes or adds:—

"And there is a wise man who is wise on behalf of his people,
[Bestowing] the fruit of his understanding on their bodies."

² Margin, "Yeshurun."

³ Only the more important points of comparison are noted here.

reproduces in different words what has already been expressed in the preceding verse. The four clauses of the Syriac verse 13 in Lagarde's edition, answer to the four clauses of the Hebrew verses 14 and 15. The Greek has only two lines (beginning with *πονηρότερον*, and ending with *δακρύει*), which appear to agree best with the two lines that follow v. 15 in the Hebrew. It is not likely that any one recension of the original Hebrew had all the six lines. But both the Greek and the Syriac must represent some Hebrew original. One is, therefore, forced to assume that the Greek is based on one recension of the Hebrew, and the Syriac on another, and that the text of the present MS. combines the readings of both recensions.

The opposite theory would be that the Hebrew now before us is a translation, and that the translator joined together the renderings from both the Syriac and the Greek. But why should he deliberately spoil his translation in this manner? The combination of two different recensions of the original would evidently (more especially if the copyist already found the variant verses in the margin of the codex before him) be a much more justifiable process than the fusion of renderings made from two different versions. It will be seen, moreover, from the following notes that there are several instances in which one or other of the duplicate lines agrees neither with the Greek nor with the Syriac.

l. 16 b. *וַיִּתֵּן*, Gk. *συνθλ(βου* (thrust (not) thyself). The *middle* sense is well brought out in both. The translator must—on either theory—have understood his original well in this place.

l. 17 b. Neither in the Greek, nor in the Syriac.

l. 18. Also in neither of these versions (assuming the two Greek lines *φάγε—μωσηθῆς* to be identical with Syr. Lag. v. 16).

d. 17 a, 18. It might be argued that the marginal addition (*ולא תהיה נרגן מן חמאס*) looks like a translation from the Syriac (*ⲙⲁⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲗⲁ*); but the reverse is as likely to be the case. Even if the former hypothesis were

admitted in this particular case, no gain would accrue to the translation theory. There is really no vital objection to the presence of a few isolated marginal additions from one version or another. The evidence for the originality of the Hebrew is so overwhelming that it can in no way suffer from a concession of this kind. The writing of this clause, be it noted, is also entirely different from the rest, and the entry looks cramped.

l. 20 b. If either the Greek or the Syriac were followed, the Hebrew would have been לפניהם.

ll. 23 and d. 23. l. 23 agrees with the Greek; only ואלל (purged) is toned down into μετρώ (moderate). d. 23 agrees with the Syriac (חבול וחטאת חבא = אש נכון). Two recensions of the original are, therefore, combined here as elsewhere.

l. 26. The Syr. חבא agrees with צנעו. The Gk. ἐντρέχεις probably represents a recension which had מדייר.

l. 27. Clause *a* is a duplicate of 21 a. The reading ומה בנה in clause *c* is of special interest. It differs entirely from both the usual Greek and the Syriac, and it at the same time appears to afford an explanation of the reading "vomit" in 248, Compl. and the Itala¹, for מו might easily have been mistaken for a word coming from the root קמה (cogn. קא)². This is, at any rate, the most natural explanation of the textual phenomenon before us, and we may, therefore, regard the reading as a case in which a rare rendering of the versions is clearly derivable from a misunderstanding of the original Hebrew.

l. 28 and d. 28. Evidently adopted into the present MS. from two different recensions. The Greek agrees more with l. 28, and the Syriac with d. 28; but both have חטא, and not חשן.

l. 32 and d. 32. Both the Greek and the Syriac (the latter more literally than the former) represent l. 32, but have no

¹ See Ball's *Variorum Apocrypha*, in loco.

² It is, indeed, not impossible that מו actually represents a corrupt form of a word coming from the root קא.

trace of d. 32. d. 32 b might be taken as a variant clause of 32 b, but d. 32 a shows that the whole line represents the reading of a different recension of the Hebrew. A translator from the Greek and Syriac would hardly have added d. 32 a out of his own mind; but if it belongs to a different recension of the original Hebrew, the adoption of the clause becomes intelligible.

l. 33 a. It may be assumed that the Greek translator misread the Hebrew כְּמוֹ חַיִּים (instead of כְּמִי חַיִּים, as restored in accordance with the Syriac), and, therefore, rendered it by *ἐφισον ζωῆς*; so rightly conjectured in the commentary of Edersheim-Margoliouth (*Speaker's Commentary*).

l. 34, d. 34 have been adopted from two different recensions. Instead of "or (or from) the beginning" the Greek has *ἀνθρῶποις*, which may possibly rest on a third recension.

l. 36 a. The Syriac appears to be of a conflate nature. The translator first misread ראש (head), as if it were ראש (poverty); hence ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. The following ܐܠܗܐ then rests on a correct understanding of the Hebrew. The superiority of the line over the Greek and Syriac is manifest enough, and its clear classical aspect (apart from the late חַיִּים) is striking. But of such lines there are great multitudes. By far the greater number of the extant verses will probably stand the most searching test.

l. 37 a. The symmetry of the Hebrew is also here very striking:—

מְרַבָּה חֵמֶר | לְכַסִּיל מוֹקֵשׁ || מַחֲסֵר כֹּה | וּמַסְפֵּק מַעַע.

The Greek translator read מְרַבָּה חֵמֶר, and therefore rendered *πληθύνει κ.τ.λ.* In the Syriac it is more properly rendered by ܡܪܒܐ ܡܡܐ (מְרַבָּה); but while the terseness of the original Hebrew line requires no verb, the Syriac adds ܡܡܐ (maketh), thus giving a prosy aspect to the line. But in any case the different renderings of the Greek and Syriac point to מְרַבָּה being the original.

Ch. xxxvi. l. 19 a. דָּבָר מַעֲטִי after דָּבָר is colourless. Ball appears rightly to refer the Greek to a reading *ῥῆ* (cf. Gen. xxvii. 7); but דָּבָר cannot (on the translation hypothesis)

be based on the Syriac either, for in that case **אכל** or **מאכל** would be expected.

If the reading **זכר** in *a* of the marginal line (presumably from another recension of the original) be correct (the **ח** is only partly preserved), one might take it as a proof that the line was written whilst the Temple sacrifices were in vogue, particularly so as there is nothing to correspond to it either in the Greek or the Syriac. Clause *b* in the marginal line is not at all clear.

l. 20 *b*. The Greek **ἀνταποδώσει** rests on a mistaken rendering of **ישכנה**.

l. 21 *a*. The Syr. **ܢܗܠ** can be easily explained from the sense attached to **הָלַךְ** in e. g. Job xxxiii. 18, 20 (see the note on the translation). A doublet to l. 21 is found in ch. xxxvi. 18 (Cambridge text).

l. 22 *a*. The Syr. **ܢܚܝܒ** is apparently due to the Heb. **הִלֵּל**. The pī'el of **הִלֵּל** occurs nowhere else in the sense of "cheering" or "brightening"; but this meaning is in accordance with the primary sense of the root (comp. the use of the Hiph'il). For the few instances in which **נָחַב** is used in the sense of "exornavit," see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 4024.

l. 23. This line is not found in the Syriac, and clause *a* differs much from the Greek. Fritzsche's conjecture **מִרְמָה** is here found confirmed.

l. 24. Rightly conjectured by Ed.-Marg. (only transposed): **וְרֵאשִׁית קִנְיָן קָנָה אִשָּׁה**¹. The Greek read **קָנָה** for **קָנָה**. In clause *b*, the Greek takes over the LXX rendering of **עָרַךְ כְּנָגְדוֹ** in Gen. ii. 18, and the Syriac merely modifies the phrase there used. If the Hebrew had been a translation from either the Greek or the Syriac, the **עָרַךְ כְּנָגְדוֹ** would have been almost certain to appear here. But the fact is that Sirach did not in the present case merely reproduce a Biblical

¹ There is, indeed, a sufficient amount of agreement between the present Hebrew text and the conjectures made by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth and the late Dr. Edersheim in the Speaker's Commentary to show that these scholars were on the right track when writing the Commentary.

phrase, but expressed his thought in words of his own. See the remark in the preface on the dependence of Sirach on Biblical phraseology in reference to the theory of Professor Schechter.

l. 25. The Greek translator appears by a slip to have rendered instead of נרם the word קנן which stands just over it. If so, the copy before Sirach's grandson must have been written in a metrical arrangement similar to the one used in the present MS.

l. 26. It is impossible not to acknowledge that the Syr. ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ (who shall believe a young man who resembles a gazelle?) is a mistaken rendering of the original נרם צבא (a troop of warriors); for it so happens that the Syr. ܕܡܢ has an entirely different meaning from the Heb. נרם, and ܠܗܘܢ represents צבא instead of צבא. The Syriac can hardly be assumed to be the original, for "a gazelle skipping from city to city" is not at all a likely phrase to be used. See Prof. D. S. Margoliouth in *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. I, pp. 309, 316.

In clause *b* the strange Syriac reading ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ is clearly a corruption of ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ (in the place where darkness sets in does he spend the night). For the Hebrew Fritzsche came very near with הוער.

Ch. xxxvii. l. 3. Clause *a* is difficult, and, perhaps, corrupt; but the Greek ἐνθύμημα appears to show that נ was in the original, for the word may bear the meaning of "thought" or "imagination," besides that of "friend." Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 2 (Heb. נ, LXX διαλογισμούς).

ll. 4, 5. See the note on the translation. It may be added here that the χάριν γαστήρος in l. 5 of the Greek may possibly be due to a mistaken rendering of נלם in the marginal Hebrew line (*feedeth* (though the Niphal is never used in that sense) instead of *fighteth*); but clause *a* of the Greek verse misses the antithesis that is found in the Hebrew and the Syriac.

l. 6 a. The Greek ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου appears to rest on a

¹ See Ed.-Marg. (Speaker's Commentary).

mistaken rendering of בָּקִיר (reading בָּקֵר¹ instead of בָּקִיר). The Syr. لاَ لِمَحْس (thou shalt not praise) clearly rests on a misreading of the Hebrew (חֲשֹׁכָה for חֲשִׁכָה), as rightly conjectured by Ed.-Marg.

l. 14 b. מִטּוֹ בִּשְׂר. On the supposition that the Hebrew is a translation, one would almost expect for certain that מִטּוֹ בִּשְׂר was a rendering of εὐαγγελίζομαι; but the Greek has here περὶ χρηστοθείας, and the Syr. لِحَسْبِ سَمْعًا. A close comparison of l. 12 sqq. with the versions has not appeared necessary for the present edition of the text.

l. 17 b. The Gk. συναλγήσει σοι appears to represent the marginal reading בְּיָצֵר בָּךְ.

l. 18 a. The Gk. στήσον (make to stand) represents a reading הִבֵּן instead of הִבֵּן.

The Syriac of l. 18 (Because his faith will give him life, and he also believes like unto thee) appears to be an alteration in furtherance of the ecclesiastical doctrine of faith.

l. 19. The Syriac (The heart of a man rejoices in its path, more than the wealth of the world which benefits not) is also an ecclesiastical alteration.

l. 22 a. Does the Gk. ἀλλοιώσεως represent a reading הַחֲלִיטָה instead of הַחֲבִילוֹת? The Syriac ver. 18 is "The Lord has created all things: good and evil, life and death; and he who rules his tongue shall be delivered from evil."

ll. 24-26. The three Hebrew lines yield excellent sense. Three kinds of wise men (and, by implication, of wisdom) are distinguished. To the first class belong those whose wisdom, whilst being of use to many, also tends to the true happiness of its owner. Then comes the class of those who are wise, but are for some reason or other unacceptable to men, and are also personally unfortunate (compare חֲכָמָה הַמִּסְכֵּן בְּזוּיָה, Eccles. ix. 16; see also Eccles. ix. 1). To the third category belong those who only use their intellectual acquirements for purely selfish objects. In this case חֲכָמָה is mere "prudence," not "wisdom" in its true sense, comp. Eccles. vii. 12. With this classification

¹ But even so, badly translated.

should be compared the Greek and the Syriac. It need only be remarked here that the Gk. ἀχρηστος (unprofitable) in l. 24 b appears to rest on a misreading of the last word in the line (לֹא, as in the margin, for לֹא־טוֹ).

It may also be remarked that the true sense of Eccles. xli. 12, where it is said that a good name will accompany a man [at death?] (טוֹ) rather than "thousands of treasures of wisdom¹," is probably just this: that a good name (or character) is more important than a great deal of prudence or mere worldly wisdom. The wisdom there spoken of is, in fact, that kind of it which belongs to the third category enumerated in the present Hebrew text. A depreciating sentence on what passed for "wisdom" is, from another point of view, found in Eccles. i. 18 (For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow). Both Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus were in fact composed at a time when the חכמה had, through its abuse, entered on a stage of decadence. This decadence is much more apparent in Ecclesiastes than in Ecclesiasticus. The germ of such a depreciation is, of course, already found in the older חכמה literature (see e.g. Prov. xxvi. 12 and xxviii. 11).

With the remarks just made compare Professor D. S. Margoliouth, *The origin of the "original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus*, p. 14.

l. 27. The Syriac omits this line (from ecclesiastical reasons?).

LIST OF LATE OR RARE WORDS AND FORMS, INCLUDING A FEW REFERENCES TO UNUSUAL CONSTRUCTIONS².

אָמַם.—נִאֲמַתָּה, fol. 1 b, l. 2 a. In Biblical Hebrew, only in Esther i. 8 (אָמַם), but often used in Rabbinic Hebrew.

¹ If חכמה is, indeed, the true reading. See Dr. Taylor, in the *Cambridge Ben Sira* (p. lxxi). Dr. König (*Expository Times* for Aug. 1899), accepts חכמה, and his explanation is similar to the one independently proposed here.

² The numbering of lines in this part begins with 1 for each of the four pages of the Hebrew.

גלע.—תַּגְלַע, margin of fol. 1 a, l. 8 b. In B. H. the Hithpa'el only is found (Prov. xvii. 14; xviii. 1; xx. 3). According to Jastrow, the Niph'al is used in *Niddah* 58 b; but Levy takes it for a Nithpa'el.

גל.—תַּגְלַע, fol. 1 a, l. 8 b. The Niph'al occurs only in 1 Sam. i. 21.

גור.—גִּרָּה, fol. 1 a, l. 9 c. Rabbinic, but connected with B. H. גִּירָּה (from גִּרָּה) and גִּרָּה.

גור.—גִּרָּה, fol. 2 a, l. 10 b (and margin); apparently used in the same sense as the Syriac ܓܪܝܬܐ (grief). See the remark of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth in the *Expository Times* for Aug. 1899 with regard to the use of the word in ch. xxxi. 21, &c. (Cambridge text); but the Syriac of the present clause does not exist, a circumstance which weakens the charge of a translator's blunder, since he would in this case not have the Syriac word which he is supposed to mistranslate.

גס.—חִרְמַע, fol. 1 a, l. 4 b. The verb occurs in Jer. xiii. 17; there the meaning is simply "to weep" (חִרְמַע חִרְמַע), but here "the tear" (חִרְמַע) "runneth" (חִרְמַע). The Syriac has ܡܠܚܡܐ.

גור.—גִּרָּה, fol. 2 b, l. 1 b. The root ܓܪ is similarly used in Syriac, ܓܪܝܬܐ having the sense of "pugnans"; see Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, *in loco*. The form גִּר is analogous to e.g. ܓܪܝܬܐ from ܓܪܝܬܐ; but the root ܓܪ in the sense of "fighting" was quite unexpected in Hebrew. As there is (so far as I know) no trace of it in Rabbinic either, one must assume it to be a word of "middle Hebrew," i.e. belonging to the period intervening between Biblical and Talmudical Hebrew.

הלל.—הִלְלַע, in the sense of "brightening, cheering" (margin, הלל), fol. 2 a, l. 4 a. See the critical note.

מק, fol. 2 a, l. 2 b. This word, which is often used in Rabbinic Hebrew, has been taken to be the Greek

¹ Kametz under ܓ on account of secondary pause.

εὐθαλός (see Levy, *in loco*). If, on the other hand, it is allied with the Arabic وئىق, the word will have to be regarded as common to the Hebrews and Arabs in the time of Ben Sira. A Greek word in the Hebrew of about 200 B.C. need not surprise us, there being several such in the book of Daniel. *Aboth* also embodies a fair number of Greek words.

זכר.—זָכַר, fol. 2 a, l. 1 a (margin); only found in Gen. xxx. 20.

חבל.—חבֵּלֹת, fol. 2 a, l. 11 a. Near this form is חבֵּלֹתָא (act of destroying), quoted by Jastrow from Targum Yerushalmi on Ex. xii. 27.

חכם.—חָכְמָם (in pause), fol. 2 b, l. 13 a. If the form is not a mere mistake for יִחְכֵּם, we are here presented with a clear Syriacism.

חלק.—חָלַק (so probably), fol. 1 a, l. 5 a; חָלַק, fol. 1 b, l. 13 b. The present writer, who has, independently from Professor Smend, formed the opinion that Ben Sira often uses the root חלק in the sense of "to create" (like Arabic خلق), would commend this view to the consideration of scholars. It is (1) very remarkable that both the Greek and the Syriac uniformly translate the word by an equivalent of בָּרָא, to create; and (2) it must, I think, be allowed that, though the idea of "apportioning" is admissible in almost all (or even say, all) cases where Ben Sira uses the root חלק, the better sense is yielded by the rendering of the versions referred to. In the two instances contained in the present fragments, it so happens that (3) the word corresponds in the one case to בָּרָא, and in the other to נָצַר, in the respective duplicate lines. No surprise need, I think, be felt at finding that the Hebrews and Arabs used the root in the same sense about 200 B.C. Compare the remarks under וָחַק. See, however, Bacher, *J. Q. R.* for July, 1897, pp. 549, 560.

חרה.—חָרָה, fol. 1 b, l. 14 b. See the Oxford fragments (edit. Cowley and Neubauer) and compare Dr. Driver's

Glossary. The form **תורה** must now be considered well established.

בטא—**בטא**, fol. 1 a, l. 6 b. In B. H. the sense is "basket."

On Talmud **בטי** see Levy and Jastrow.

נצר—**נצר**, fol. 1 a, l. 12 b (margin); See note on the translation. **נצר**, fol. 1 b, l. 11 b; **נצרה**, fol. 2 a, l. 11 a. In B. H. the Niph'al only occurs in Isaiah xliii. 10; but it is common in late Hebrew.

ישנה—**ישנה** (margin, **ישנה**), fol. 1 a, l. 13 a. This is an altogether solitary form of the noun, instead of **ישנה**, Syriac **ܝܫܢܐ**.

שנח, fol. 1 a, l. 14 a. Plural (sleeps) not used elsewhere; perhaps merely a scribe's error.

לחה—**לחה**, fol. 1 a, l. 5 b; evidently taken from Deut. xxxiv. 7, and showing that the meaning attached to the phrase was "and his moisture (saliva) did not run." Compare the Versions and Commentaries. To the point is a quotation concerning the aging of the gods found in Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.*, p. 111:—When the sun had grown old "his mouth trembled, his drivelling ran down to earth, his spittle dropped upon the ground."

לע—**לע**, fol. 1 a, l. 10 b; comp. especially **לע קיש** (Prov. xx. 25), and **לע**, the gullet.

לכחות—**לכחות**, fol. 1 b, l. 8 b. This form of the noun occurs only in Is. xli. 12.

לשק—**לשק**, literally "produce heat." The Hiph'il occurs in Ezek. xxxix. 9 and Is. xlv. 15; the Niph'al in Ps. lxxviii. 21. No one, however, would have divined the occurrence of the word in the present passage.

לשק—**לשק**, fol. 1 a, l. 8 a, in the sense of "taking one's place at meals." In B. H. the *Kal* is similarly used in 1 Sam. xvi. 11. For the Rabbinic usage of the Hiph'il see Levy and Jastrow.

ספס. — ספסוק, fol. 1 a, l. 2 a; וספסוק, fol. 1 b, l. 15 b. A form ספסוק is given in Levy, III, 572; comp. שפס (without the pause: שפס), Job xxxvi. 18, and שפס, Job xxvii. 23. To the forms given in Dr. Driver's Glossary, the Pi'el must now be added, unless וספסוק is a defective form for וספסוק.

עדה. — ועדי, fol. 1 b, l. 12 a. See the note on the translation.

עור. — ערים, fol. 2 a, l. 12 a (margin), also l. 13 b (margin). In the sense of "enemies" the word occurs only four times in B. H. and once in B. Aram. See the Concordances.

עטה (cogn. עוט). — ואלהעט, fol. 1 a, l. 8 b; similarly used in 1 Sam. xiv. 32; xv. 19.

עקר. — עקרת (margin, עקר), fol. 2 b, l. 11 a. The marginal form is in frequent use in Rabbinical Hebrew.

צלל. — צולל, fol. 1 a, l. 14 a. See Levy, IV, 193, and comp. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 3396.

צנע. — צננו, fol. 1 b, l. 1 a. See Dr. Driver's Glossary in the first edition of the Oxford fragments.

צער. — וצער, fol. 1 a, l. 13 a; distinctly Rabbinic.

ציר. — צורכו, fol. 2 a, l. 15 b. See Dr. Driver's Glossary.

ראה. — וראי (?), fol. 1 b, l. 12 b. The word occurs in Job xxxvii. 18 in the sense of "speculum." In the Talmud it is used in the sense of "quality" (e.g. לא ראי הקרן, Babyl. Talm. *Baba Kamma*, fol. 3 b). From the idea of "quality or qualification" that of "proper season" may possibly be derived; but the connexion may be held not to be sufficiently obvious.

רטה. — תרמות, fol. 2 a, l. 11 b. This form is only found once in the Kethibh (Jer. xiv. 14).

שות. — שית, fol. 1 b, l. 11 b (margin). See the note on the translation.

שכמ. — שכמי (margin, [שכמי] פנים), fol. 2 b, l. 11 b. An unexpected plural, bearing witness to the sense of "portion" attributed by Ben Sira to שכמ in Gen.

xlvi. 22, in agreement with Targum (חלק) and Syriac (ܚܠܩ), and opposed to LXX (Σίκιμα).

שגק.—והשניק, fol. 1 a, l. 13 a. See Levy, IV, 676.

שעה.—שעיוחז, fol. 2 b, l. 8 a. Comp. the late Hebrew and Syriac שעיוחז. See also D. S. Margoliouth, *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. I, p. 314.

אמן (or אמן) לך, fol. 2 b, l. 7 b, who shall show thee faithfulness.

חסד (margin) and חסד (text), fol. 2 b, l. 3 a. A late Hebrew phrase having taken its origin in e. g. B. H. נמלחתי חסד (Prov. xxxi. 12). Cf. D. S. M., loc. cit., p. 315.

ב. Note the peculiar construction in fol. 2 b, ll. 1 b, 2 b.

The relative ש occurs in fol. 1 a, ll. 7 b, 9 a, 9 b; fol. 1 b, l. 11 b; fol. 2 a, l. 11 a.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

EARLY ENGLISH HEBRAISTS.

ROGER BACON AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

IN trying to fathom the state of learning in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, we are not so much struck by the ignorance of the masses, as by the ignorance of the learned. The occasional appearance of scholars of great breadth and depth of erudition makes the low level of the learning possessed by the mediocrities all the more conspicuous. The ordinary student moved within well-defined limits; his learning was for the most part confined to theological disquisitions, on the lines laid down by the Church, which narrowed more and more as time went on. It was always the moulding and re-moulding of the existing material in customary grooves and after approved methods. Philosophy and knowledge of nature were drawn from sources that had lost all their purity. The works of the ancients, or as much of them as was within reach, had suffered from bad translations, bad transcriptions, mutilations, interpolations, and incorrect interpretations. No new facts were evolved, no new data fixed. No wonder, therefore, that whenever a bolder spirit ventured to break through the conventional humdrum of that which was miscalled study and research, the mediocrities rose as one man against the disturber. It took centuries to lead up to the Renaissance of letters, and when that event actually took place, when scholasticism succumbed at last, and the vigilant observation of nature commenced to supersede the *a priori* speculations of physical science, the change was accompanied by a friction and disturbance that altered the aspect of almost all European affairs.

This self-satisfied slothfulness, this vague horror of every new departure, both in regard to method and to subject-matter, affected the whole field of knowledge. The study of languages, the development of philosophical thought, and the exploration of the phenomena of nature, were all affected in equal measure. The bitterness with which the study of Greek was combated was only a degree less intense than that which opposed the investigation of the Hebrew language and lore. The latter discipline had to suffer, besides, from a certain feeling of uncanniness, a superstitious fear of the Jewish people and their language. "The crowd saw in the Jew a mysterious being, possessed of awe-inspiring mysteries. He was considered a sorcerer. The masses saw in the Hebrew volumes a museum of magic art; the grotesque Hebrew letters seemed to them cabbalistical characters, and the Jew was suspected of occult arts and diabolical intercourse. This vague superstition has not yet entirely died out¹." It was not before the end of the fifteenth century, that the self-denial and dogged perseverance of Johann Reuchlin secured a firm footing for the study of Hebrew in Christian Europe; and it was long after the knowledge of that language and its literature—together with the study of the other Semitic languages which followed in its train—had made considerable headway on the Continent, that this branch of learning was seriously taken in hand in England.

Reuchlin's fame had reached England already during his lifetime. His learned intercourse with Erasmus; the admiration which he inspired in men like Thomas More and John Fisher; the eagerness with which English students, who, like Richard Croke, visited the continental seats of learning, betook themselves to Reuchlin, in order to become initiated into the newly discovered discipline; and, above all, the life-and-death struggle between Reuchlin and his enemies of Cologne, who desired the public destruction of all Hebrew books, gave an impetus

¹ Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *Israel chez les nations*, Paris, 1893, p. 41.

to English scholars to turn their attention to the literature of Hebraism. For a long time Hebrew was taught at the universities of England in a haphazard, empirical way. There was no depth of learning and hardly any breadth. Apart from a few scholars, who achieved great proficiency, Hebrew was only considered as a sort of ornamental accomplishment, sought after by incipient theologians, who were, however, quite satisfied with the merest glimpse through the portals of the temple. It is curious to observe at how low a rate the general public estimated the actual knowledge of those who were engaged in the pursuit of these studies. This feeling is characteristically described in the popular novel *Charles O'Malley*, by Charles Lever. The author makes one of his personages, Frank Webber, express himself, in a letter supposed to have been written by that scapegrace from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1810, in the following terms: "Belson (fortunately he was born in the nineteenth, not in the sixteenth century, or he'd be most likely ornamenting a pile of faggots) ventured upon some stray excursions into the Hebrew verbs—the Professor himself never having transgressed beyond the declensions—and the consequence is, he is in disgrace among the seniors." Allowing for some artistic exaggeration, it describes the situation correctly; underlying it is the fact that a proper, scientific treatment of Hebrew and the kindred tongues is, in this country, a product of quite recent times.

This is all the more remarkable, as it was an Englishman who fully understood the position that Hebrew ought to occupy in the curriculum of learning, and who had himself set to work to master the language, and to urge its importance upon others, fully two centuries before Reuchlin was born. Roger Bacon had already in the thirteenth century advocated the study of Hebrew; but the gigantic intellectual powers, vast erudition, inventive genius, and stolid perseverance, which he brought to bear upon this and many other subjects, were doomed to pass away, almost entirely without fruit; and his name lived in the memories of the

ignorant—a large class in those days, comprising almost everybody—as that of a magician and a cultivator of the black arts.

Before Bacon's time Hebrew was as little known in England as in any portion of what was called in those days *Latinitas*—the countries professing the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and including almost the whole of Europe. No clergyman before Bacon deemed it at all necessary to know Hebrew. The bulk of them had only vague notions as to its existence; the common Latin translation of the Bible, sanctioned by the Church, was considered as sacred, and was the basis of all their theological disquisitions and discussions. Only very few English members of the clergy possessed a smattering of Hebrew; there was perhaps not a single one who had sufficient knowledge to be productive of a new idea or new point of view. Augustine can hardly be called an Englishman; he knew no Hebrew, as little as his superior, the Pope Gregory the Great, to whose total ignorance of Hebrew I shall have to recur.

The Venerable Bede is the first English ecclesiastic in whose works a few stray allusions to Hebrew are met with. Prof. Steinschneider¹ justly says that the *Expositio Nominum*, found among Bede's works, proves, as little as any other dictionary of names, a direct knowledge of Hebrew. Hody, who published in 1705 a work entitled *De Bibliorum Textibus*, in which a rather large fragment of Roger Bacon's *Opus Minus* appeared for the first time, passes in review such English theologians as possessed, in his opinion, a knowledge of Hebrew. Hody was a great patriot in this respect, and he was in every case at pains to make as much as possible of some chance allusion in that direction, found in the works of any English divine. In

¹ In H. Brody's *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, I, no. 2, p. 53. The same remark applies to explanations of the Hebrew alphabet; e.g. such a one as is found in the commentary to the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in Jerome's works, but which some ascribe to Bede.

the case of Bede, who lived in the eighth century, Hody quotes several passages to show the former to have been a first-rate Hebraist¹. I agree with Hody that Bede knew some Hebrew, but we are not able to judge as to the extent of his knowledge. In spite of the testimony of Roger Bacon², who alludes to Bede as "litteratissimus in grammatica et linguis in originali," I do not think that his knowledge of Hebrew amounted to much. It is true, in his work *De Temporum Ratione* (ch. lxvii), he professes to base his chronological data directly upon the "Hebrew truth." But it would be an error to conclude from this expression, with Hody, that he made use of the Hebrew text of the Bible. Bede himself explains that the "Hebrew truth" means to him nothing more than Jerome's translation. "Just as the Greek scholars," he says, "based their chronological data upon the text of the seventy translators; so we, who drink from the pure source of Hebrew truth, are enabled, through the industry of the holy Jerome, to follow it"³. Most passages in his commentaries, if not all, in which some knowledge of the Hebrew text of the Bible transpires, are taken from Jerome. Nevertheless, he must have known some Hebrew, else he would hardly have embodied in his commentaries such notes as those in which allusion is made to the equal sound of the ש and ס, or to the similarity of shape between נ and נ⁴.

¹ P. 406 sqq.

² *Opus Minus*, p. 332, Brewer.

³ Haec de cursu praeteriti seculi ex Hebraica veritate prout potuimus elucubrare curavimus, aequum rati ut sicut Graeci LXX translationum editione utentes de ea sibi suisque temporibus libros condidere, ita et nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi industriam puro Hebraicae veritatis fonte potamur, temporum quoque rationem juxta hanc scire queamus. . . . Caeterum cunctis in commune suademus, et sive quis ex Hebraica veritate, quae ad nos per memoratum interpretem pura pervenisse etiam hostibus Judaeis in professo est. . . . Similarly in his *Apology Ad Plagvinum*: Suadebamque illi . . . ut Scripturae sacrae per Christianum nobis interpretem translatae, potius quam Judaeis interpretationibus, vel Chronographorum Imperitiae, fidem accommodare disceret.

⁴ Thus: Genes X. Filii Saba: Regma et Dadan. Hic Saba per Sin literam scribitur, supra vero per Samech.—Cethim et Dodanin, Dodanin

Hody¹ mentions a remarkable passage from a commentary on the Psalms included among Jerome's works. In Psalm cxxxvi the words "qui fecit luminaria magna" have the following note superadded: "This is said of the stars, which are large, although to us they appear small; in the same way, as if we were to ascend a high mountain and see the people below in the valley, they would appear small to us. For the same star, which is visible 'in Britannia,' appears the same everywhere." Now, the same commentary contains some direct references to the Hebrew text, and if the whole commentary were one compact work, we should here have another Early English Hebraist. But this is by no means the case; the commentary has, as Hody admits, all the appearance of being a compilation; and the words quoted are undoubtedly the interpolation into the text of a marginal note by some English reader.

Alcuin, who was born in 735, seems also to have had some knowledge of Hebrew. Himself a native of Yorkshire, he is believed to have learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew from Egbert and Albert, bishops of York. Alcuin exercised an enormous influence upon the spread of learning. He either founded or improved most of the schools in France. The regard Charlemagne had for this scholar was unbounded. The court, we are told, was turned into an academy, and Charlemagne and his family and courtiers became Alcuin's pupils, and affected biblical or classical names in addition to their own. Besides theological works, Alcuin left also some writings on philosophy, rhetoric, and philology. He was already an old man, when Charlemagne commissioned him to procure an improved edition of the Bible. The words *Veritas Hebraica*, when used by Alcuin, have the same meaning as with Bede. Alcuin must have known some Hebrew,

Rhodii, melius enim legitur Rodanim sive Rodim, ut septuaginta interpretes transtulerunt, et in libro Hebraeorum nominum etiam noster interpres posuit. Similitudo enim litterarum Daleth et Res hunc apud Hebraeos saepe facit errorem, ut alia legitur pro alia.

¹ P. 409.

although his works show little trace of it. His remark on Genesis xxv. 8, that the word *deficiens* was not in the Hebrew text, but was added by the seventy interpreters, does not prove any direct knowledge of Hebrew. His note on Ecclesiastes ix. 12 would prove a knowledge of Hebrew, provided the observation be originally his. The words בְּנֵי אָדָם are always translated *filii hominum*; and he observes that, wherever the expression *filii hominum* occurred, the Hebrew text had *filii hominis*, and that it meant the "sons of Adam." It is, he says, usual in Scripture to call the whole human race the sons of Adam¹.

Alcuin read in Jerome's translation of Ecclesiastes xii. 4 (רַחֲשׁוּ כָל בָּנוֹת הַשִּׁיר, "and all the daughters of the song shall be brought low") "*et obmutescent omnes filiae carminis.*" He observes, "*obmutescere quoque, sive, ut melius habetur in Hebraeo, surdescera. filias carminis.*" It is doubtful whether this observation betrays a knowledge of Hebrew. (The present text of Jerome has *obsurdescent.*) In Alcuin's description of the York library it is said that the relics of ancient Hebrew lore were found there, together with those of Roman and Greek wisdom². It would not have been an impossible thing for Hebrew books to have found their way into that library, but, as Mr. Poole justly remarks³, the words used by Alcuin need not be pressed to mean more than the source from which the literature he mentioned was derived.

¹ Notandum est quod per totum librum, ubicunque dicitur *fili hominum*, in Hebraeo habetur *fili hominis*, hoc est, *fili Adam*; et omnis pene Scriptura hoc idiomate plena est, universum genus humanum Adam filios vocans.

² *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, vv. 1535-1539:—

Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum,
Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
Graecia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis:
Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno. .

³ R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, London, 1884, p. 21.

Hody says¹ that John Bale stated, in the name of William of Malmesbury, that Athelstan, king of England, who flourished in the tenth century, had the Bible translated into Anglo-Saxon, from the pure Hebrew original, with the assistance of some converted Jews, but that no such passage could be found in Malmesbury's works.

Stephen Harding, the famous Cistercian abbot, an Englishman by birth, who was brought up in the monastery of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, but spent the greater part of his life in France, although himself knowing no Hebrew, yet appreciated its importance for establishing a correct text of the Old Testament. "A MS. edition of the Bible, written under the eye of our abbot himself, was preserved with great reverence at Cîteaux up to the time of the French revolution. Not content with consulting Latin MSS., he even had recourse to the Rabbins, in order to settle the readings of the Old Testament²." They explained to him in Latin the Hebrew and Chaldaean of several questionable passages and verses, and he caused all such as could not be found in the original to be erased from the Latin text. The work was completed in 1109³.

I feel inclined to believe that in the twelfth century England could boast of a scholar who not only possessed a considerable knowledge of the Hebrew text of the Bible, but who also understood how to apply the same in a bold and independent spirit. As this rests on mere conjecture, I am obliged to treat the matter rather fully, in order to explain the grounds on which I base my surmise. Roger Bacon, in his *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*⁴, discusses the ambiguity of the Latin translation of Genesis ii. 1, 2. The

¹ P. 415. There is no ground to assume, with Hody (p. 403), the existence of an English Eucherius, as distinct from the bishop of Lyons of that name.

² J. H. Newman, *The Cistercian Saints of England*, London, 1844, p. 129.

³ Samuel Berger, *Quam notitiam linguas Hebraicas habuerint Christiani mediæ ævi temporibus in Gallia*. Paris, 1893, p. 9 sq.

⁴ VIII, p. 480 sqq.

Latin words may be forced to mean: "These are the generations of heaven and earth when they were created, on the day when God made heaven and earth. And all the vegetation of the field had not come forth yet," &c. Or, they may mean: "These are the generations, &c. . . on the day when God made heaven and earth and the vegetation of the field, before it had come forth on the earth, and all the herbs of the field before they had grown." Bacon argues that the latter meaning would be more in accordance with the Latin, but would contradict the narrative of the first chapter of Genesis. He is therefore of opinion, that, in the phrase *omne virgultum agri antequam oriretur in terra*, the words *omne virgultum* are in the nominative; and in the sentence *omnemque herbam regionis priusquam germinaret*, the word *terra* had to be supplied or understood, as the subject to *germinaret*¹. Bacon adopts this interpretation, not only with a view to solve the contradiction between the two chapters, but also in order to reconcile the Latin translation with the Hebrew text. But he adds, that the sense would be much clearer, if we had the word *herba* in the nominative.

Bacon mentions, thereupon, a certain Andrew (Andreas quidam), who wrote *herba* in the nominative, and inserted a negative particle to the verbs *oriretur* and *germinaret*, "quite in accordance with the Hebrew text." Bacon is very angry at this. How dares Andrew, he complains, make his translation, which is not *nostra translatio*, appear

¹ "Istae sunt generationes coeli et terrae quando creatae sunt in die qua fecit Dominus Deus coelum et terram, et omne virgultum agri, antequam oriretur in terra, omnemque herbam regionis priusquam germinaret." . . . Est igitur hic sensus literae: Istae sunt generationes coeli et terrae, etc. . . . et priusquam terra, supple, germinaret omnem herbam regionis. Si vero esset ibi omnis herba in nominativo casu, tunc planior esset litera; sed potest suppleri nominativus casus, sicut terra quae germinaret. . . . Unde non intelligendum, quod sicut Deus fecit coelum et terram in principio, quod fecerit virgulta et herbas, quia hoc falsum est. . . . Sed hic evidentior esset litera si *herba* poneretur in nominativo casu, etc.

as if it were ours, the authorized Latin text? His was not a commentary or any translation; it was nothing but a literal construing of the Hebrew text. The worst of it is, he continues, that many people attributed to Andrew an authority which he did not possess. Nobody, since Bede, had received the sanction of the Church to expound Scripture; and although Andrew was undoubtedly a well-read man, "and probably knew Hebrew," for all that he enjoyed no authority; therefore he cannot be credited, but the Hebrew text must be consulted, to see whether he was right or wrong. If he be right, credence was due to the Hebrew, but not to him; if wrong, he involved us in the danger of taking his text for ours, the authorized text. Nevertheless, Bacon proceeds, Andrew has the great merit of instigating us to consult the Hebrew text, whenever we meet in our translations with some difficulty. Thus, in the passage under consideration, and in many other passages, but few people would have thought of the true meaning, if it had not been for Andrew¹.

¹ Veruntamen Andreas quidam qui exponit Bibliam ad literam ponit *herbam* in nominativo casu, et literam quamdam, ac si nostra esset, repetit, cum duplici negatione. Sed omnino utitur litera Latina, secundum quod construitur Hebraeum ad literam, ut superius dixi, et non est nostra translatio. Propter quod nescio de quo intromittit se de hac expositione, quia et literam nostram deberet exponere, et non aliam, quae etiam nullius translationis est, sed solius literalis constructionis Hebraei. Haec ideo dixi propter multos qui dant auctoritatem Andreae, cum nec hic nec alibi sit ei danda; eo quod post Bedam non fuit aliquis cui ecclesia dederit auctoritatem in expositione Scripturae, sicut patet in decretis, et constat Andream ibi non esse nominatum. Quamvis igitur fuerat literatus homo, et probabiliter scivit Hebraeum, tamen quia non est dignus auctoritate tanta, non est ei credendum, sed recurrendum est ad Hebraeum de quo loquitur, et si verum dicat, credendum est Hebraeo, sed non ipsi. Si autem falsum et minus bene, sicut hic, involvit nos in quadam litera quae non est nostra, redarguendus sit quia ipse ponit; sed non est, immo est litera quae construit Hebraeum ad literam, ut praedixi. In hoc autem probandus est multum, quod excitat nos ad localia dubia nostrae translationis multotiens, licet non semper, et transmittit nos ad Hebraeum, ut expositiones quaeramus certius in radice. Pauci enim cogitarent de vera expositione istius passus et aliorum multorum, nisi Andream reciperent in hac parte.

Now, who was this Andrew, who had the capacity and at the same time the courage, to amend the Latin translation of the Bible after the original Hebrew text? It is evident that Bacon's orthodoxy had to struggle with a sincere admiration for this expositor of Scripture. It is superfluous to say that he was not the Jew Andrew of whom Bacon declares that he used to help Michael Scot with his translations. The Andrew mentioned here was evidently a Christian theologian of considerable merit. I venture to identify him with the Englishman Andrew, an Augustinian monk, who lived about 1150, and was a pupil of Hugo de Sancto Victore¹. He is said to have written commentaries on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, and the Books of the Maccabaeans. His commentaries are reputed to have been of a learned and important character. He is quoted by Nicholas de Lira (1 Sam. x. 8) and others. It is said that a number of his commentaries were formerly extant, or are extant still, in Paris and elsewhere. If the latter be true, it might be worth while, in the interests of the history of letters, to try and obtain a description of such MSS. I believe him to be the same Andrew who is blamed and praised, in one breath, by Roger Bacon; and if my conjecture be correct, we may add this "Magister Andreas, natione Anglus," to the scanty list of Early English Hebraists.

After all that has been said, it must be confessed that

¹ Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Medias et Infimas Aetatis*, a. v.: "Andreas, natione Anglus, Monachus Augustinianus S. Victoris, Paris. circa annum 1150, Hugonis de S. Victore discipulus. Hujus Commentarios in Esaiam perstringit Richardus de S. Victore libris de Emanuele. Illos commentarios MSSos in Regia Bibliotheca Parisiensi extare testatur Oudinus, sicut etiam in aliis Bibliothecis Historicam Magistri Andreas expositionem in Pentateuchum, libros Regum, Paralipomenon, Parabolas et Ecclesiastem, Danielelem, Prophetas Minores, et Maccabaeorum libros. Idem minime nugacem, sed sensu gravem hunc scriptorem esse iudicat. Hiscé Pitæus pag. 214 addit quoque in Josue, librum Judicium, Ecclesiastem, et in Jeremiam. Andream hunc refellit Lyranus ad 1 Sam. x. v. 8. Adde Jacobum Quétif, Tom. I, de *Scriptis Dominicanorum*, p. 479."

Early England offers a complete blank in the field of Hebrew literature. On the Continent it was only a little better¹. A complete revolution in thought, and a considerable increase of general knowledge was required, to prepare the way towards an improvement in that direction. Hebrew had to await its turn; it had to stand aside till the conditions of learning became favourable to its appreciation, and till the right man arose, who was able to impart the necessary impetus to the study of that language.

But in this particular instance it was only the former cause, the unfortunate condition of the time, which delayed the advancement of this branch of letters; for the right man had arisen two centuries before Reuchlin was born. Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar of the thirteenth century, was not only a theologian of unparalleled erudition and boldness of spirit, but embodied besides the accumulated knowledge of half a dozen scholars—philologists, philosophers, scientists, chemical students, and inventors—of two or three hundred years after his death. Born between 1210 and 1215², he at first devoted himself at Oxford to the study of grammar and logic. Having made himself acquainted with the principles of philosophy, and having entered upon the study of science, he went to Paris to continue his training. He afterwards returned to Oxford. His devotion to learning surpassed that of any of his contemporaries. He sacrificed everything to his thirst for knowledge. He was not satisfied with stocking his mind with everything that could possibly be learned, and with digesting, classifying, and harmonizing all the stores of erudition mastered by him; but he also was indefatigable in his work of advancing learning among his contemporaries.

¹ Cf. my essay on "Johann Reuchlin, the father of the study of Hebrew among Christians," in the *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, VIII, p. 445 sqq. (London, 1896).

² Vid. the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon, edited by Mr. John Henry Bridges, Oxford, 1897, Introduction, p. xxi sqq.; *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quaedam inedita*, edited by J. S. Brewer, London, 1859, Preface.

He instructed young men in languages, mathematics, and other disciplines. He invented and procured such instruments as were indispensable to the pursuit of science; he drew upon himself the sneers and obloquy of his fellow scholars in Oxford, to whom such a mode of proceeding was incomprehensible, and therefore objectionable. He impoverished himself in these pursuits, and in the purchase of rare books, spending two thousand livres on his own education.

Unfortunately, he entered the order of the Franciscans, and thus deprived himself of all freedom of action. His independence of mind roused the suspicions of those who were his superiors in rank, but his inferiors in everything else. His experiments were looked upon as a practice of magic. But he struggled on, in spite of all obstacles, and a fortunate circumstance enabled him at length to make an attempt to put in writing the results of his lifelong studies.

About 1264 the Cardinal Guy Le Gros, or de Foulques, bishop of Sabina, who afterwards became Pope under the name of Clement IV, was sent by Pope Urban IV to England, to intervene in the disputes between Henry III and his barons. His mission failed, and in his efforts to bring the barons to submission he met with insults, which rankled in his breast for ever after. But one great result followed; during his stay in this country, he made the acquaintance of Roger Bacon. Bacon's relations were, with a few exceptions, ardent royalists, who had sacrificed their fortune in their master's cause. Raymond of Laon, a clerk, seems to have drawn the cardinal's attention to Roger Bacon. He was sent to communicate to the latter the prelate's wish to peruse Bacon's writings. Guy de Foulques had meanwhile become Pope, and Bacon sent a gentleman, named Bonecor, to him, to explain that, as a Franciscan, he was not allowed to write a book without a written mandate and a papal dispensation to that effect. The writings, Bacon says, demanded by the cardinal were not

composed; he had written nothing on science before he entered his order, and he was afterwards unable to do so because a strict prohibition had been passed, under penalty of many days' fasting on bread and water, against any work, written either by himself or any one belonging to his house, being communicated to strangers. He could not entrust copyists with the work, because they would only copy his words to serve themselves or others, without any regard to his wishes. The Pope thereupon sent Raymond of Laon a second time to Bacon, commanding him, on his apostolical authority, to transmit to him a fair copy of the work which had been the subject of their correspondence, setting aside all ordinances of his superiors to the contrary; and to make known to him, the Pope, the remedies he considered most advisable for removing the dangers he had formerly pointed out. All this was to be done secretly and without delay.

Armed with this authorization from the Pope, he tried to induce "friends and kinsmen, great and small," to assist him in carrying out the work. He was poor; in fact, he was, as a Franciscan monk, bound to poverty by his vows. The fortune he once possessed had been spent on the acquisition of learning, before he entered the order. His advances were, in most cases, met with opposition and slights. He was looked upon as an importunate beggar, and although a few friends assisted him from their scanty means, the work had to be frequently interrupted for want of money.

Bacon thought he had found in Pope Clement IV a man after his own heart. He imagined that the Pope, when demanding of him to produce his work, was swayed by purely scientific motives. He read his own wishes into the Pope's letter. He laid, I think, too much stress on the Pope's desire of obtaining a fair copy of his work, and made too light of that part of the letter in which he was enjoined to point out the remedies he considered imperative for a better government of the Church. Severe as Bacon

is in his exposure of the corrupted state of the latter, he deals with it only as one of the many subjects he thought he was asked to deal with. But it was the clerico-political aspects of Bacon's views which must have been reported to the Pope, and it was these that induced the latter to summon Bacon to transmit to him a copy of his book in fair writing. Clement IV, from political and hierarchical motives, wanted to obtain a concise and clearly written report on the unsatisfactory manner in which the affairs of the Church were managed; on that which Bacon termed "the quibbles and frauds of the jurists," "the rattle of litigation," &c. He wanted such report, either for the intelligence department of the supreme government of the Church, or for his own private enlightenment on such matters; and the words in his mandate, "*et per tuas declares literas quae tibi videntur adhibenda esse remedia circa illa quae nuper esse tanti discriminis intimasti,*" give, perhaps, the clue to the real motive for making the demand. This would explain Clement's anxiety to keep the affair "as secret as possible" (*et hoc quanto secretius poteris facias indilate*). There would have been no call for such secrecy on questions of philosophy and science; but the Pope thought only of questions of Church policy. The Pope had, perhaps, no clearer notions about all those questions to the exploration of which Roger Bacon had devoted his life than the rest of his contemporaries, nor any greater desire to receive information about them; and it may be assumed that Bacon was as much in advance of him as of all others. Brewer eulogizes the Pope because, "in an age of great political disorder, when the storm was still muttering, which had shaken mediaeval society to its basis, he retained his regard for philosophy," and "at all events proved himself so superior to the prejudices of his age as to express some desire to hear what the philosopher was so ready to communicate." I doubt whether these eulogies are deserved. Clement wished to hear from a man who was, as far as concerned England, of the same political

opinions as himself, the complaints he had to make against the management of the Church, and the remedies he suggested. It is doubtful whether he was concerned about anything else that agitated the philosopher's mind. Brewer says that "Clement's lengthy correspondence is filled with the ordinary burthen of official business." Mr. Bridges calls him "the busiest man in Christendom." Such misunderstanding on the part of Clement as to Bacon's aims and objects would account for the latter's numerous complaints, that the Pope, who, he had hoped, would purge the Church from fraud and contentions, had "forgotten to write to his superiors in his excuse; and, as he could not divulge to them 'the secret,' they threw obstacles in his way"; and that the Pope "had overlooked his expenses." But Bacon, only too delighted to be summoned by the Pope, to pen, as he thought, the results of his lifelong researches in the fields of learning, cheerfully proceeded with the execution of the task in spite of all obstacles¹.

The mutual misunderstanding between Bacon and Clement was the most fortunate blunder that ever assisted the cause of learning. We owe to it the composition of Bacon's trilogy, the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*. Unfortunately, only a small piece of the *Opus Minus* is now extant; but the *Opus Majus* and the *Opus Tertium* have, happily, been preserved. Bacon deals in these books with theology, grammar, music and dancing, mathematics, the calendar, optics, experimental philosophy, and ethics. The three works were composed and clearly written out for the Pope within fifteen or eighteen months of the arrival of the mandate. They were, as intended by Bacon, written in a popular and easy style. Bacon

¹ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, IV, p. 265: "Verum est quoddam ejus Opusculum sibi transmitti voluisse Clementem, an legendi profundi hominis arcana cupidine, an subtilioris, vel obscurioris examinandi desiderio, non plane constat ex subjectis litteris Pontificiis, ex Vaticano transcriptis."

considered them as introductory treatises, as mere summaries of the results of his researches. He apologizes for not having his *Scriptum Principale* ready, by reason of various impediments, and because of its prolixity; otherwise, he says, "he would have delivered in distinct and formal treatises a whole system of the grammar of the Latins, of logic, of natural philosophy and metaphysics, of speculative alchemy, of the four speculative, not to add practical, mathematics."

When it is said that in his survey of the whole field of learning he also dealt with grammar, it must not be taken in the narrow sense, as if he occupied himself merely with the elucidation of the principal rules of the accidence and syntax of some particular languages. His encyclopædic mind soared here also high above the strata of detail, which lay unfolded before him, and of which he took a comprehensive bird's-eye view. He generalized from the details, not of one language, but of groups of dialects, which he tried to compare, and from which he attempted to draw rules applicable to all. Foremost in his mind were two groups of languages, which centred round Latin and Hebrew. Latin was a living language in those days; it was used in greater or lesser purity by every scholar, lawyer, and cleric. It is, therefore, a matter of course that Bacon paid particular attention to it. The motives that induced him to advocate the study of Hebrew were of a complex nature.

First and foremost stand the religious motives. Hebrew was to Bacon, as it was to Johann Reuchlin, the language in which God had revealed himself to his chosen people; and the religious books, divinely revealed, or, at least, divinely inspired, were divulged in that language. Bacon shared the opinion of many great men before and after him, that wisdom, in the widest sense of the word, was delivered to mankind by God himself. The bearers of divine religious truth, singled out in the Bible, were, at the same time, those to whom all things knowable had been revealed. The biblical cosmogony was only a summary; the details,

though not written down, were, as an oral tradition, delivered to later generations by the heroes of the Bible.

God revealed philosophy first to his saints, to whom he also gave the Law. He did so, because philosophy was indispensable to the understanding, the promulgation, the acceptance, and the defence of the Law, and in many other ways also; and it is for this reason that it was delivered, complete in all details, in the Hebrew language¹.

The whole wisdom of philosophy was given by God, who, after the creation of the world, delivered it to the patriarchs and the prophets. God gave them longevity, in order to afford them the time to comprehend it all... They possessed wisdom in its entirety before the infidel sages obtained it, such as the famous poets, or the Sibyls, or the seven wise men, or the philosophers who lived after them... All their information about heavenly bodies, about the secrets of nature and the superior sciences, about sects, God, Christianity, the beauties of virtues, and the rectitude of the laws, of eternal reward and punishment, resurrection of the dead, and all other questions, were derived from God's saints. The philosophers did not find them out; God revealed them to his saints... Adam, Solomon, and the others testified to the truth of the faith, not only in holy writ, but also in books of philosophy, long before there were any philosophers properly so-called².

¹ *Opus Tertium*, X, p. 32: Revelavit igitur Deus primo philosophiam sanctis suis, quibus et legem dedit; nam philosophia utilis est legi Dei, ad intellectum, ad promulgationem, ad probationem, ad defensionem, et multis aliis modis, ut patet per opera quae scribo. Et ideo primo tradita est principaliter et complete in lingua Hebraea.

² *Opus Tertium*, XXIV, p. 79: . . . tota philosophia data est a Deo, quia sancti patriarchae et prophetae a principio mundi eam receperunt a Deo; quibus Deus dedit longitudinem vitae. . . . Nam ut probem quod sancti primo habuerunt philosophiam et sapientiam totam ante quam philosophi infideles, revolvo totum tempus a principio mundi, discurrens per omnes aetates et saecula, ut inveniam quando primo fuerunt singuli, qui titulum sapientiae habuerunt, sive sint poetae praeclari, sive Sybillae, sive septem sapientes, sive philosophi qui post illos septem venerunt . . . quod de coelestibus mira dicunt, et de secretis naturae, et scientiarum magnalium, et de sectis, et de Deo, et de secta Christi, et de virtutum pulchritudine et legum honestate, et de vita aeterna gloriosa et poenali, et de resurrectione mortuorum, et de omnibus. Nam philosophi habuerunt haec omnia a sanctis Dei; unde philosophi non invenerunt hoc primo. nec homo, sed Deus revelavit suis sanctis. Nam quis homo per se posset scire coelestia, et indicia rerum per ea, et alia infinita quae scribunt philosophi? Certe nec Salomon, nec Adam maximus, nec aliquis; sed

Philosophy was developed by Noah and his sons, particularly by Shem. All philosophers and great poets lived after them and after Abraham. For Aristotle and all other authorities agree that the first philosophizing people were the Chaldaeans and Egyptians. But although Noah and his sons taught the Chaldaeans, before Abraham taught the Egyptians, yet was methodical study not introduced at once, but gradually developed by practice¹.

Following in the footsteps of his predecessors, including the authors of some writings erroneously attributed to Aristotle, Bacon proceeds to trace the chain of transmission of philosophy. He mixes together biblical and mythological personages, dealing with the latter after the method first introduced by Euhemerus of Crete.

Zoroaster invented the magic arts: he was the son of Ham, the son of Noah. Io, who was afterwards called Isis, taught the Egyptians to write; for, although they had been taught everything by Abraham, they had no literature. Isis was the daughter of Inachus, the first king of the Argives, who was a contemporary of Jacob and Esau. According to others, she introduced letters from Ethiopia. Minerva, the inventress of many things, lived about the same time. Under Phoroneus, Inachus's son, moral philosophy was first introduced among the heathens. Prometheus was the first great teacher of philosophy, and his brother Atlas the first great astrologer. But he was preceded by the great astronomers, the sons of Noah, and Abraham, and whatever he knew he had learned when he was living in slavery among the children of Israel. His grandson, Mercury, became the great teacher of mankind. Apollo's son, Esculapius, was the first teacher of medicine among the heathens. Apollo himself, a great expert in medicine, cured by spells and incantations, but the

Deus ipse revelavit legem suam sanctis, et philosophiam propter intellectum legis, et extensionem, et probationem, et promulgationem, et defensionem; et hi sancti scripserunt libros philosophiae omnes. Et non solum in sacra Scriptura fecerunt mentionem de veritate fidei, sed in suis libris philosophicis, et praeuntiaverunt omnia antequam philosophi fuerunt. Cf. ibid. VIII, p. 24.

¹ *Opus Majus*, II, 9; vol. I, p. 46, Bridges: Noe et filii ejus multiplicaverunt philosophiam, et praecipue Sem praevaluit in hac parte. . . Aristoteles et omnes consentiunt in hoc, quod primi philosophantes fuerunt Chaldaei et Aegyptii. . . Quia licet Noe et filii ejus docuerunt Chaldaeos antequam Abraham docuit Aegyptios, tamen non fuit studium more scholastico ita cito institutum, sed paulatim crevit ordo ejus et exercitium.

son followed the true method of experience. But both had been preceded by Adam and Enoch. Of all branches of knowledge medicine is the most necessary; there can, therefore, be no doubt but that it was invented by the sons of Adam and Noah, who were so wise, and to whom long life was vouchsafed for the purpose of completing the study of wisdom¹.

Aristotle would never have been able to achieve such great results without the protection and pecuniary aid of kings, especially of Alexander the Great. King Solomon himself possessed great wealth, and was, therefore, able to complete his philosophical works in Hebrew. The sons of Adam and Noah, and their offspring, were able to master all knowledge by the power of wealth and longevity².

Philosophy was delivered on four distinct occasions. It was delivered for the first time in Hebrew, complete in all its details, by Adam and Noah; the second time by Solomon, but Aristotle and Avicenna, who mark the two other epochs in the history of philosophy, were only able to deliver it incompletely, because they were heathens³.

The origin of all wisdom and knowledge must thus, in Bacon's estimation, be sought in the Hebrew writings, as divulged by Hebrew saints and sages, and the Bible is the ever-flowing mainspring from which all human enlightenment issued. But it was known only from translations; and Bacon's distrust of translations, though not stronger than that of Reuchlin after him, was yet accentuated by the former in much more vigorous terms. He objected to translations for two reasons; in the first place, because of the impossibility of reproducing the exact meaning of the original, and, secondly, because of the inferior quality of

¹ Ibid., p. 46 seqq.

² *Opus Tertium*, VIII, p. 24 : Aristoteles quidem, auctoritate et auxiliis regum, et maxime Alexandri, fecit in Graeco quae voluit, et multis millibus hominum usus est in experientia scientiarum, et expensis copiosis, sicut historiae narrant. Salomon vero, rex ditissimus, similiter complevit philosophiam in Hebraeo; et filii Adae et Noae, et filii ejus, et Abraham, et illa familia, tum divitiarum potentia, tum longitudine vitae, omnia compleverunt.

³ Ibid. : Sic igitur quater fuit philosophia sufficienter tradita, sed bis omnino completa; scilicet, primo per filios Adae et Noae, et secundo per Salomonem. Caeteri duo juxta sua tempora tradiderunt sufficienter, sed non omnino compleverunt, quia fuerunt infideles. X, p. 32.

the existing translations, and the incompetency of the translators. Quoting Jerome, he says that no language can be faithfully rendered into another. That which sounded well in one tongue became absurd and ridiculous when expressed in another. Homer became ridiculous when translated into Latin, and that most eloquent poet could hardly be said to speak at all. Anybody could make the experiment for himself, let him only try and translate a scientific work into his mother tongue. He could not simply transfer the terms, say of logic, by equivalent terms in his own language ; he must invent new expressions, and he would only be understood by himself. This is not only the case when dealing with two totally different languages, but also when handling two different dialects of one, as, for instance, Picardian, Gallic, Provençal, and all the other idioms, from the confines of Apulia to the borders of Spain ; their common mother being Latin. Another drawback was that, in works on theology and philology, many terms were taken over verbally, which could only be written, pronounced, and understood by those who were acquainted with the language from which they were derived. The cause of this lay in the fact that the Latin vocabulary could not supply equivalent terms, because no original work on theology and philosophy had been composed in Latin. All texts were originally either Hebrew, Greek, or Arabic. The entire groundwork of wisdom was composed in languages other than Latin, and "waters drawn from the fountains were sweeter than those taken from turbid rivulets, and wine was purer and more wholesome when kept in the original cask, than when poured from vessel to vessel." If, therefore, the Latins wished to drink the pure and wholesome liquor from the fountain of wisdom, they would be obliged to turn their attention to the Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic languages. It was impossible to recognize the proper form and beauty of wisdom in all its dignity, except in the languages in which it was originally laid down. Only those who had tasted of

the well of wisdom in its primary fullness and purity, could know the delight it afforded; all others were like those stricken with paralysis, who could not judge of the sweetness of food; or like those born deaf, who were unable to enjoy harmonies of sound¹.

There are striking points of resemblance between this first explorer and the more successful pioneer of Hebrew lore in Christian Europe. Both Bacon and Reuchlin had an unbounded veneration for Jerome, whom they took as

¹ *Opus Tertium*, XXV, p. 90: Nam quod bene resonat in una, absurdum est in alia et ridiculosum. Unde Hieronymus dicit libro memorato, cum Homerum transfers in Latinum videbis ridiculosum et postam eloquentissimum vix loquentem. Et hoc potest quilibet probare, si scientiam quam novit velit in linguam maternam convertere. Certe logicus non poterit exprimere suam logicam si monstrasset per vocabula linguae maternae; sed oporteret ipsum nova fingere, et ideo non intelligeretur nisi a se ipso. Et sic de aliis scientiis. Et hoc videmus in idiomatibus diversis ejusdem linguae; nam idioma est proprietas alicujus linguae distincta ab alia; ut Picardium, et Gallicum, et Provinciale, et omnia idiomata a finibus Apuliae usque ad fines Hispaniae. Nam lingua Latina est in his omnibus una et eadem, secundum substantiam, sed variata secundum idiomata diversa. . . . Quarta causa potest esse quod vocabula infinita ponuntur in textibus theologiae et philosophiae de alienis linguis, quae non possunt scribi, nec proferri, nec intelligi, nisi per eos qui linguas sciunt. Et necesse fuit hoc fieri propter hoc, quod scientiae fuerunt compositae in lingua propria, et translatore non inveniunt in lingua Latina vocabula sufficientia. — Ibid., VIII, p. 24: Et non fuit (philosophia) ab aliis tradita, nec unquam apud Latinos facta, nec complete translata, sed imperfecte, et pessime per partes pejores ab aliis linguis transfusa. — *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VIII, p. 465 sqq., Brewer: Latini nullum textum composuerunt, scilicet neque theologiae neque philosophiae. Omnes textus facti sunt primo in Hebraeo bis, tertio in Graeco, quarto in Arabico. . . . Cum igitur totus textus sapientiae sit factus in aliis linguis, et dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae quam in rivulis turbidis, atque vinum purius est et sanius, atque virtuosius dum in primitivo vase tenetur, quam quum de vase in vas transfunditur, manifestum est necessarium fore Latinis, ut si volunt puro, et sano, et efficaci sapientiae liquore potari, quod in fonte Hebraici sermonis, et Graeci, et Arabici, tanquam in primitivis vasis, discant sapientiam exhaustire. Nunquam enim poterunt dignitatem sapientiae in propria forma et figura contemplari, nec ut est in decore suo, nisi in illis linguis eam aspiciant, in quibus primitus fuerat constituta. O, quantum plaacet gustus sapientiae his qui sic sunt fontali et primaria plenitudine delibuti!

a pattern, after whom to shape their course in life. Both believed that all wisdom had been revealed by God to the Israelites, and was transmitted by them to the rest of mankind. Thus Reuchlin expressed his belief that the science of medicine was taught by God to the Jews, from whom it passed later to the Greeks and the Romans, and, finally, to the Germans. A deeply felt aversion to translations was common to both. Reuchlin, when quite a youth, composed a Latin dictionary under the title of *Vocabularius Breviloquus*, in which he was frequently under the necessity of quoting Hebrew words without understanding them, and he repeatedly expresses his disgust at this. The comparison of translations to "wine poured from cask to cask" was made in almost the same terms by Bacon and by Reuchlin¹.

But in the case of Bacon the horror of translations was intensified by the condition of the existing versions, which he considered to be of the worst possible kind. His dissatisfaction knew no bounds, and he emptied the vials of his wrath upon translations and translators alike. He indiscriminately condemns all translations from Greek authors; and, in regard to versions of the Bible, he does not scruple to point out the errors of some of his most venerated divines. Like others before him, he demands of every translator a complete mastery of the language from which he translates, of the language into which he translates, and of the subject on which the work under consideration treats². "Give us

Sed qui hoc non sunt experti non sentiunt delectationem sapientiae; sicut nec paralyticus potest cibi dulcedinem judicare. Et quia affectus eorum est solutus paralyti, et intellectus eorum est in hac parte sicut surdus a nativitate ad delectationem harmoniae, ideo non dolent de tanto damno sapientiae, cum tamen sit proculdubio infinitum.—This is followed by complaints about translations and translators similar to those in the *Opus Tertium*. The subject is more fully treated in the third book of the *Opus Majus*, vol. I, p. 66 sqq., Bridges.

¹ Cf. about Reuchlin, my essay: "Johann Reuchlin," &c., vid. supra, p. 45, n. 1.

² Jehudah ben Salomo Alcharizi, who wrote about the time when Roger Bacon was born, expresses this Canon about translators, tersely

a translator of that kind, and we shall praise him." But there are none such. There were only two whose versions were of real value: Boëtius, who knew the languages, and Robert de Grosseteste, whose knowledge of languages was, indeed, slight, but who was a complete master of the subjects. Take, however, such translators as Gerard of Cremona, and Michael Scot, and Alfred the Fleming, and Hermann the German. They translated a number of books on all kinds of scientific subjects, but the amount of mistakes they made was incredible. They neither knew the languages nor the subjects. "The Bishop Hermann the German is still alive, and I used to know him well. When I asked him about some Arabic works on logic, he told me roundly that he knew no logic. Not knowing logic, he could not properly know any other science." But he did not even have a sufficient knowledge of Arabic, and, when in Spain, he employed some Saracens, and they were the real authors of his translations. The same must be said of Michael Scot; he neither knew languages nor science, and his translations were for the most part the work of a certain Jew, Andrew. The others were of the same calibre, but William the Fleming was the worst of all. Besides, Bacon continues, Greeks, Arabs, and Jews did not give the Christians, who applied to them, the genuine works, but only mutilated and corrupted copies, especially when they perceived that they had ignorant people to deal with.

The consequence was that the few translations that had been made of the many Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic works that existed, were unintelligible. The student lost all that was beautiful and useful, and philosophy was doomed. It was a waste of time to study, from such versions, Aristotle's

and elegantly, in the introduction to his translation of Maimonides' commentary to the *Mishnah*, *Seder Zeraim*, in the following terms:—

כי אין לאדם להשקיע ספר ער אשר ידע שלשה דברים
סוד הלשון אשר ישקיע מנגליה
וסוד הלשון אשר ישקיע אליה
וסוד החכמה אשר הוא משרש מליה

works, which are the basis of all wisdom. It would have been much better if Aristotle had never been translated; the more you read, the less you understood. What was the consequence? The scholars turned away from such translations, and sought a remedy elsewhere. If he could have his way he would have all such translations burned.

It was the same with the text of the scriptures. Jerome had pointed out numerous errors in the Septuagint, and in the translations of Theodotion and Aquila. He had a perfect knowledge both of the languages and of theology; nevertheless, his text is not always reliable. There was a general outcry against him; all stood up for the authority of the Septuagint as for very life. Jerome was called a falsifier and corruptor of the scriptures, because he attempted to introduce new translations. He, therefore, adapted himself to the previous versions, sometimes to Aquila's, sometimes to that of Symmachus, but most frequently to the Septuagint, although he knew that these translations did not accord with the Hebrew original. Besides, Jerome himself admits that he erred frequently, on account of undue haste.

Again, ignorance of languages occasioned the existing translations to become hopelessly corrupt. The theologians understood neither the text, nor the commentaries, in which Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic were hopelessly mixed up. The Vulgate was overrun with errors, and, worst of all, in the Parisian copy. Everybody interfered with the text; there were as many correctors, or, rather, corruptors, as readers. As soon as somebody did not understand the text, he altered it; a thing which nobody would dare to do with poetry or works on science. But as to the text of the Bible, everybody altered it as the fancy struck him¹.

Besides the corrupted condition of all translations, so

¹ Bacon's estimate of translations, as sketched here, is laid down: *Opus Majus*, III, vol. I, pp. 67 sqq., 77 sqq.; IV, p. 221, Bridges. *Opus Minus*, pp. 325, 330-349. *Opus Tertium*, X, p. 33; XV, p. 55; XXIII, pp. 75-78; XXV, pp. 89-95. *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*, VIII, p. 465 sqq.

bitterly complained of, there was a further stimulus for Bacon to urge the necessity of obtaining an authentic text of the Bible and of other ancient works, and of studying languages and the arcana of nature, in his hopes of achieving by these means the conversion of infidels and schismatics. It is superfluous to say that he religiously believed in the tenets of his faith becoming ultimately the only and universally acknowledged religious persuasion all over the world. The infidels had therefore to be either converted or exterminated. The latter expedient had to be applied to those who were foredoomed to perdition ("praesciti ad infernum"). But it could be effected on a much larger scale, and with less danger to the faithful, by scientific resources, than by the crude laical methods of warfare, which were, at the best, uncertain as to the results. Alexander the Great achieved in his wars greater results, and with less loss to himself, by following Aristotle's counsels than by his numerous and well-equipped armies. It was by the light of wisdom that the conversion of the infidels would be brought about; and the obstinate would be better removed from the confines of the Church by the instrumentality of wisdom than by the effusion of Christian blood¹.

¹ *Opus Majus*, I, vol. I, p. 1, Bridges: Nam per lumen sapientiae ordinatur Ecclesia Dei, Respublica fidelium disponitur, infidelium conversio procuratur; et illi, qui in malitia obstinati sunt, valent per virtutem sapientiae reprimi quam per effusionem sanguinis Christiani.—Cf. *ibid.*, p. 220 sqq.—*Opus Minus*, p. 320: . . . et tempus ponitur quo omnino destruetur secta Saracenorum.—*Opus Tertium*, V, p. 20: Nam utilitas philosophiae est respectu theologiae, et ecclesiae, et reipublicae, et conversionis infidelium, et reprobationis eorum, qui converti non possunt.—*Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 95: Et ad conversionem infidelium et schismaticorum manifesta est utilitas linguarum. Sed de reprobatione eorum qui converti non possunt, non est evidens. Nam hoc est unum de secretis secretorum, et quod apud vulgum reputaretur magicum, vel falsum, etc.—*Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, I, p. 395: Quarto, ut omnes nationes infidelium praedestinatae ad vitam aeternam convertantur magna efficacia et gloria fidei Christianae. Quinto, ut qui converti non possunt, praesciti ad infernum, reprimantur longe magis per vias et opera sapientiae, quam per bella civilia laicorum. Quod enim laicali ruditate turgescit non habet

As an instance of a possible wholesale destruction of incorrigible infidels by the resources of civilization, Bacon mentions the use of gunpowder. That explosive, although invented before his time, was known to him only as "a children's toy of the size of the thumb of a man, which, when exploding, produces a noise and coruscation, exceeding those of a thunderclap." It appears that Bacon, although recognizing the detonation and atmospheric disturbance caused by gunpowder, yet had no idea of the destructive application that might be made of its propelling properties. He thought that it was by some such explosive, flashing forth suddenly from broken pitchers by the application of torches, that Gideon was able to destroy, with only three hundred men, the innumerable army of the Midianites. Bacon, if he had known the degree of development the study of explosives would reach, would have pressed all dynamitards into the service of the Church, for he demands that the Church should utilize such appliances against its enemies; otherwise the antichrist would not be slow in making use of them for his own purposes. This might easily be prevented, if only princes and prelates would study the secrets of nature and art¹.

effectum nisi fortuito, sicut videmus in omnibus bellis eorum ultra mare et citra; sed opera sapientiae certa lege vallantur, et in finem debitum efficaciter diriguntur; sicut antiqui principes per sapientes philosophos operati sunt. Nam legimus quod Alexander Magnus consilio et sapientia Aristotelis destruxit magis quam debellavit decies centena millia hominum. . . . Cf. *Epistolam de Secretis Operibus, etc.*, V, p. 535, Brewer.—*English Historical Review*, 1897, Fragment edited by Dr. Gasquet, pp. 499, 501.

¹ *Opus Majus*, VI, vol. II, p. 218, Bridges: Quaedam (opera) tantum terrorem visui incutiunt, quod coruscationes nubium longe minus et sine comparatione perturbant; quibus operibus Gideon in castris Midianitarum consimilia aestimatur fuisse operatus. Et experimentum hujus rei capimus ex hoc ludicro puerili, quod fit in multis mundi partibus, scilicet ut instrumento facto ad quantitatem pollicis humani, ex violentia illius salis qui sal petrae vocatur tam horribilis sonus nascitur in ruptura tam modicae rei, scilicet modici pergameni, quod fortis tonitruum sentiat excedere rugitum, et coruscationem maximam sui luminis jubar excedit.—*Ibid.*, p. 222: Et hoc deberet ecclesia considerare contra infideles et rebelles, ut parcat sanguini Christiano, et maxime propter futura

But another motive besides the conversion of infidels actuated him in his desire to learn Hebrew; a powerful motive, which affected the minds of Bacon and, after him, of Reuchlin, in equal measure. Both were swayed by the spirit of mysticism. But mysticism had in Reuchlin's time already been raised to a science, and served as a link to connect an effete scholasticism with modern philosophy and experimental science. In Roger Bacon's time it was still unsystematically mixed up with religion, philosophy, magic, knowledge of nature, according to the frame of mind of the philosopher who speculated on such matters. The devout minds, both of Reuchlin and of Bacon, believed in a spiritual and occult meaning of every word, of every letter, of the Hebrew Bible; and this acted on both as a stimulus, to explore the unknown regions of Hebrew lore, and to establish the original, divinely inspired text of the Bible. Words can work wonders, above all, such words as were delivered directly by God. Reuchlin laid down the results of such belief chiefly in the books *De Verbo Mirifico* and *De Arte Cabbalistica*. Bacon, in accordance with the encyclopaedic construction of his vast intellect, tried to go to the root of such conceptions, from which he expected the triumph of his Church.

He points out the difference between the use and the abuse of the power of words; they were used either in a holy and philosophical or in an unholy and magical manner. "For the same knife cuts bread and wounds a man. The application of the power of words was either

pericula in temporibus Antichristi, quibuscum Dei gratia facile esset obviare, si praelati et principes studium promoverent et secreta naturae et artis indagarent.—*Epistola de Secretis Operibus, etc.*, VI, p. 536: Nam soni velut tonitrua possunt fieri et coruscationes in aere, immo majori horrore quam illa quae fiunt per naturam. Nam modica materia adaptata, scilicet ad quantitatem unius pollicis, sonum facit horribilem et coruscationem ostendit vehementem. Et hoc fit multis modis; quibus omnis civitas et exercitus destruat, ad modum artificii Gideonis, qui lagunculis fractis, et lampadibus, igne exsiliante cum fragore inestimabili, infinitum Midianitarum destruxit exercitum cum trecentis hominibus.

the exercise of a natural force, or it was nothing, or else the work of the devil¹."

Since the creation of the world almost all miracles were performed by words. The word is the principal product of the rational soul, and its greatest delight. Words are possessed of great power when they are the result of profound thought, great longing, fixed intention, and strong confidence. By the co-operation of these four functions the rational soul is excited to give its impress and virtue to its own body, to things external, to its actions, and, above all, to the words which are produced from within, and receive therefore more of the virtue of the soul. Nature, says Avicenna, obeys the cogitations of the soul, as is shown by the hen, on whose leg a spur grew, by its feeling of triumph at the victory won by the cock. If thus nature obeys the cogitations of the sensitive soul, how much more will it obey those of the intellectual soul of those who are only one degree below the angels? Man's outward appearance and voice varies, as the greater or lesser sanctity of the soul. A considerable increase in the power of either the good or the bad soul modifies the voice, and the air affected by the latter. The air thus formulated by the voice, and having received a strong impetus from the rational soul, can be changed accordingly, and change, in its turn, the things it contains, be they agents or patients. It is the same with the body. Body and soul forming a unit, the body naturally obeys the cogitations of the soul; they modify its outer appearance. It again affects, and is affected by, the air, which was itself affected by the voice. A further change is due to stellar influences. Whenever the voice is produced, the change wrought by it in the air is complicated by the effects of the constellations, and this again acts upon the things contained in the air. Everything depends, therefore, upon four influences: the voice formulating the air, the good or evil condition of the rational soul, the body, and the stars. When cogitating, intending, wishing, and strongly hoping for any change, a favourable condition of the heavenly bodies must be chosen in conjunction with the other influences; in the same way as a skilful physician selects suitable stellar conditions, when desirous of working a cure. It was, as Avicenna says, in this way that the prophets and sages of old changed the matter of the world (*materiam mundi*), and produced

¹ *Opus Tertium*, XXVI, p. 95: Et per cultellum possum scindere panem et hominem vulnerare. Sic similiter per verba potest sapiens sapienter operari, et magicus magice. Sed alia ratio est in operatione hinc et inde. Nam unus facit per potestatem naturalem; alius aut nihil facit, aut diabolus auctor est operis.

rain, or drought, or other atmospheric changes, by the power of words. In this consists the art of alluring or repelling men and beasts, snakes and dragons. This is the nature of every spell, and not the mere utterance of a word; the latter will have no effect, unless the devil interferes. The other forces combined with the five conditions of the soul—strong thought, vehement wish, firm will, and either goodness or badness—are indispensable. The origin of songs, incantations, and various modes of writing must be traced to these influences¹.

It is easy to perceive how this belief in the mystical power of words, and the conviction that every word of the Bible had a spiritual meaning apart from the literal sense, affected each other reciprocally. They raised the desire of establishing the correct text of the Bible to a religious duty, and imperatively demanded the study of the language

¹ *Opus Tertium*, XXVI, p. 96: . . . omnia miracula facta a principio mundi fere facta sunt per verba. Et opus animæ rationalis præcipuum est verbum, et in quo maxime delectatur. Et ideo cum verba proferuntur profunda cogitatione et magno desiderio, et recta intentione, et cum forti confidentia, habent magnam virtutem. Nam cum hæc quatuor contingunt excitatur substantia animæ rationalis fortius ad faciendum speciem et virtutem a se in corpus suum et res extra, et in opera sua, et maxime in verba, quæ ab intrinsecus formantur; et ideo plus de virtute animæ recipiunt. Nam secundum quod Avicenna docet, octavo de Animalibus, natura obedit cogitationibus animæ; et docet in exemplo de gallina cui ex gloria victoriae galli crevit cornu in crure. Ex hoc igitur cognovimus, quod natura obedit cogitationibus animæ sensitivæ, ut ait; sed longe magis obedit cogitationibus animæ intellectivæ, quæ est dignior creaturarum præter angelos. Et secundum quod anima est sancta vel peccatrix variatur generatio speciei et vocis; et secundum quod anima est benevola vel malevola; et sic virtus animæ bonæ vel malæ fortiter multiplicata, imprimitur et incorporatur fortiter per vocem, et in aëre deferente vocem. Et hic aër sic figuratus voce, et habens fortem speciem animæ rationalis, potest alterari per hanc virtutem. et alterare res in eo contentas, in varios effectus et passiones varias. Similiter corpus fortiorem speciem facit ex his cogitationibus et desideriis animæ, et intentione et confidentia. Nam quia unum per essentiam fit ex corpore et anima, natura corpus obedit cogitationibus animæ, et facit suam speciem fortiorem, quæ etiam recipitur in aëre formato per vocem; et sic aër alteratur per hanc speciem corporis sicut per speciem animæ, et alterat res in eo contentas; et secundum quod est malæ vel bonæ complexionis sic accidit passio in aëre et in rebus diversa . . . et opera quæ fiunt hic inferius variantur secundum diversitatem coelestium constellationum. . . . Et est ista quadruplici specie et virtute, scilicet vocis figurantis aërem,

in which it was originally conceived. Bacon repeatedly points to the importance of understanding the spiritual meaning of the text. Now "the text" is to Bacon what it was to all his predecessors and contemporaries, namely, the Latin translation. But although it would be possible to study the literal meaning from "the text," the latter could be of very little avail for the knowledge of the spiritual sense. "Suppose even 'the text' to be correct to the letter, innumerable false and doubtful notions still remain on account of the ignorance of the languages from which the translations had been made." Therefore Bacon comes to the conclusion that there was only one remedy, the study of the original languages. "But our theologians do not even know the Hebrew alphabet!"

et animae rationalis bonae vel malae, et corporis, et coelestis constellationis, potest ineffabilis fieri variatio et mirabilis in aëre, et in rebus contentis; et hoc si eligatur tempus bonae constellationis vel malae, secundum qualitatem alterationis quae cogitatur, et intenditur, et desideratur, et fortiter operatur. Nam tunc fiet alteratio certa secundum conditionem constellationis cum adiutorio aliarum virtutum operantium, sicut medicus peritus qui juxta desiderium purgandi choleram, quae est causa morbi, quaerit debitam constellationem in aliqua hora. . . . Et per hanc viam verborum aestimavit Avicenna in sexto Naturalium, quod prophetae et sapientes antiqui alterabant materiam mundi, ad pluvias et siccitates et alias alterationes aëris. Et aestimaverunt philosophi quod sic contingit allicere homines et animalia bruta et serpentes, et dracones de cavernis, et fugare secundum libitum hominis, et uti iis. Et hic oritur omne genus fascinationis; non quod fascinatio dicatur per solum verbum casualiter prolatum . . . et nihil operetur, nec fit aliquid, nisi diabolus propter peccata hominum operetur latenter. Sed si virtutes quatuor praedictae concurrant cum quinque conditionibus animae, scilicet forti cogitatione, desiderio vehementi, intentione certa et firma spe, bonitate animae vel malitia, et cum complexione corporis mala vel bona, tunc erit alteratio, quocunque modo vocetur, seu fascinatio sive aliud. Et hic oritur tota consideratio carminum et incantationum et characterum, etc.—Cf. *Opus Majus*, IV, vol. I, p. 395 sqq., Bridges.

¹ *Opus Minus*, p. 349: Nam si litera est falsa pro majori parte et dubia in aliis, quae dubitatio cadit in virum sapientem, ut probatum est, tunc oportet quod sensus literalis sit consimilis, et per consequens sensus spiritualis. Deinde posito quod litera esset totaliter correcta, cum certa probatione, adhuc loquitur falsa et dubia quasi infinita. Et una rei hujus radix est ignorantia linguarum de quibus textus est translatus. . . .

But all such ancillary motives, as the improvement of Church management, the interests of theology and science, the spread of Christianity, the annihilation of incurable infidels, the understanding of the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures, were not the only levers that moved Bacon's mind towards the study of languages. He was, besides, powerfully affected by another fundamental incentive, of which, however, he was perhaps less conscious than of any of the other, purely subservient, motives. Bacon possessed the true philological instinct; he had a keen perception of the connexion subsisting between the various dialects belonging to groups of languages. At a time when that study was as yet entirely unknown in Europe, Bacon speculated upon the kinship of languages, and we need not be surprised that he extended the idea beyond its proper limits. He far surpassed Reuchlin in this respect. He meditated on the origin of all languages, on the primitive language, on the language spoken by Adam, and the way in which he found names for things. He ponders on what would happen if children were to grow up in a desert; whether they would have intercourse by speech, and how they would give expression to their mutual feelings when meeting under such circumstances. He considered such inquiries to form a part of grammar, and of no other discipline, and thinks them indispensable alike to theology, philosophy, and all other branches of wisdom¹.

Unde Hieronymus semper inducit Hebraeum et Graecum fere ad omne verbum, quod exponit, et probat expositionem suam per linguas. . . . Sed nos theologi ignoramus ipsa alphabeta, quapropter oportet quod ignoremus Dei textum et expositiones sanctorum . . . nullus autem potest hoc intelligere, nisi sciat alphabetum Hebraeum et orthographiam eorum.—*Cf. ibid.*, p. 357.

¹ *Opus Tertium*, XXVII, p. 101: . . . et multa intermiscui difficilia, ut de lingua prima Adae et qualiter dedit nomina rebus; et an pueri in deserto nutriti aliqua lingua per se uterentur, et si obviarent sibi invicem quomodo mutuos indicarent affectus. . . . Unde reputo hanc partem grammaticae summae necessariam theologiae, et philosophiae, et totae sapientiae. Et probo quod sit pars grammaticae et non alterius sapientiae.

The conclusion Bacon arrives at is that "there was a universal grammar, that the grammar of all languages was essentially the same, and that the differences were of a purely accidental character¹." He declares that Arabic, Chaldaean, and Hebrew were only dialects of the same language, in the same way as Picardian, French, Normandian, Burgundian, Parisian, Provençal, were only dialects of the common French tongue, and that the dialects spoken in the countries between Apulia and Spain all belonged to the common Latin stock. It was necessary that the Latins should possess a short and concise treatise on other languages, especially on Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, to serve as an introductory manual to the grammar of their own (Latin) language; not only because all knowledge possessed by the Latins was borrowed from books written in those idioms, but because the Latin language itself was based upon those tongues².

The want of books, which was so serious a drawback to Reuchlin, was a much greater impediment in the case of Bacon. Both the one and the other sought far and wide to unearth the works they wanted for their investigations. Reuchlin particularly deplored the impossibility of obtaining Cabbalistical and Talmudical works. He even suggested

¹ Greek Grammar, quoted by Emile Charles, *Roger Bacon, Sa vie et ses ouvrages*, p. 263.

² *Opus Tertium*, XXV, p. 88: Transeo igitur ad partem tertiam in Opere Majori et illa est de linguis, seu de utilitate grammaticae, secundum linguas praecipue tres, scilicet, Hebraeum, Graecum, et Latinam. De Arabica tango locis suis. . . In prima ostendo quod necesse est Latinos habere tractatum brevem et utilem de linguis alienis quo utantur, et quae deberet esse prima pars grammaticae, quia totum studium Latinorum dependet a linguis alienis, et etiam ipsa lingua Latina.—Ibid., p. 90: . . . idioma est proprietas alicujus linguae distincta ab alia; ut Picardicum et Gallicum, et Provinciale, et omnia idiomata a finibus Apuliae usque ad fines Hispaniae. Nam lingua Latina est in his omnibus una et eadem, secundum substantiam, sed variata secundum idiomata diversa.—*Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VI, p. 438: Chaldaeus enim sermo et Hebraeus differunt sicut idiomata unius linguae; ut Picardicum, et Normandicum, Burgundicum, Parisiense, et Gallicum, una enim lingua est omnium, scilicet Gallica. . . —*Opus Majus*, III, vol. I, p. 66, Bridges.

that the Jews should be compelled to lend books on good security, for the purposes of learned research, till the universities should have obtained books of their own by printing, or by the purchase of MSS.; and he declared that he would like to pay the price for a copy of the Talmud twice over. Bacon complains of the want of books in even stronger terms than Retchlin; but then his needs were greater, on account of his multifarious scientific investigations; besides books he wanted instruments, diagrams, tables, and other scientific appliances on a large scale. He says that the most indispensable books, such as the works of Aristotle and Avicenna, of Seneca and Cicero, could not be obtained without spending a fortune. He had searched for books in every nook and corner with only occasional success. Besides, there were only few people who knew such books, or who knew how to select, out of the infinite mass, that which was really needful. The consequence was that no comprehensive special treatises ("scripta principalia de sapientia philosophiae") could be composed, nor could any defects and errors in the Latin texts be detected. Prelates and princes would have to come to the rescue¹.

¹ *Opus Tertium*, X, p. 34: . . . oportet habere libros aliarum linguarum plurimos, scilicet de grammatica, et textus singularum partium philosophiae, ut viderentur defectus et falsitates in codicibus Latinorum. Sed hi libri . . . non possunt procurari sine principibus et praelatis.—Ibid., XI, p. 35 sq.: . . . nam sine instrumentis mathematicis nihil potest sciri, et instrumenta haec non sunt facta apud Latinos, et non fierent pro ducentis libris, nec trecentis. Adhuc autem sunt tabulae meliores . . . et hae tabulae valent thesaurum unius regis. . . . Et saepe aggressus sum compositionem istarum tabularum, sed non potui consummare propter defectum expensarum, et stultitiam eorum cum quibus habeo facere. . . . Deinde sunt alia instrumenta et tabulae geometricae practicae, et arithmeticae practicae, et musicae, quae sunt utilitatis magnae; et necessario requiruntur.—Ibid., XV, p. 55: Sed libri istius scientiae Aristotelis et Avicennae, Senecae et Tulli, et aliorum, non possunt haberi nisi cum magnis expensis; tum quia principales libri non sunt translati in Latinum, tum quia aliorum non reperitur exemplar in studiis solemnibus, nec alibi; quia libri Marci Tulli *De Republica* optimi nusquam inveniuntur, quod ego possum audire, cum tamen sollicitus fui quaerere

Bacon's prospects of seeing the evil remedied were smaller than those of Reuchlin in another respect also. In Reuchlin's time the art of printing had been invented, and the multiplication of books, once they were obtained or written, was comparatively easy. But in Bacon's age of MSS. the obstacles were almost insurmountable. How much parchment, Bacon says, and how many copyists were required, and how many proof copies had to be prepared before one copy could be produced in a finished form so as to stand the final test! Many assistants were required, the merely mechanical work had to be entrusted to a number of lads, and many readers must be employed to purge the text from errors; inspectors were wanted to prevent the copyists from committing frauds, and to superintend and account for the expenses. He had himself attempted to make provisions in this direction, by means of useful collections and the training of young men to such kind of work, and had spent more than two thousand livres on such preparations, and on experiments and the acquisition of instruments and tables¹.

per diversas partes mundi, et per diversos mediatores. Similiter sunt multi alii libri ejus. Libros vero Senecae, quorum flores vestrae beatitudini conscripsi, nusquam potui invenire, nisi a tempore mandati vestri, quamvis diligens fui in hac parte jam a viginti annis et pluribus. Et sic est de multis aliis utilissimis libris istius scientiae nobiliss. Paucissimi etiam sunt qui sciunt hujusmodi libros, nec sunt exercitati hic, nec scirent ex infinita multitudine colligere quae necessaria sunt, nec collecta ordinare.—Ibid., XVI, p. 56: . . . et recitavi difficultatem habendi istas, tum propter raritatem personarum quae sciunt de his, tum propter raritatem librorum, tum propter expensas varias in personis, in libris, in instrumentis, in tabulis, in operibus sapientiae magnis, in experiendiis secretis. Et ideo patet quod scripta principalia de sapientia philosophiae non possunt fieri ab uno homine nec a pluribus, nisi manus praelatorum et principum juvent sapientiae cum magna virtute.

¹ *Opus Tertium*, XI, p. 36: Nam primo oportet facere instrui pueros decem vel duodecim in canonibus et tabulis astronomiae vulgaris, etc.—Ibid., XVI, p. 57 sqq.: . . . exigerentur pergamentum infinitum, et scriptores multi, ut multa fierent exemplaria, antequam unum haberetur ultimum. . . . Oportet manus multiplicari, et scripturas varias consumi,

Bacon was thus under the necessity of creating for himself such opportunities as are deemed the first requisites by all intending students. He had hardly any resources, except such as were of his own making; and this was the case just as much in his scientific researches as in his philological studies.

As to the means by which he sought to master the Greek and Hebrew languages, they were the same as those used by Reuchlin. Both Bacon and Reuchlin were of opinion that there was no better plan than learning Greek from the Greeks and Hebrew from the Jews. Reuchlin, when staying at Basle, grasped the opportunity of learning Greek from Andronicus Contablas, a born Greek. As envoy to the court of the Emperor Maximilian, he became acquainted with Jacob Jehiel Loans, the Jewish body physician of the emperor, who became his first teacher in Hebrew. At a later period, when at Rome, Reuchlin obtained instruction in Hebrew from Rabbi Obadiah Sforza, who was a classical scholar, a physician, a philosopher, and a Cabbalist. It was in the same way that Bacon obtained a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, by taking instruction from Greeks and Jews. He declared "that Jews were to be found everywhere, and that their language was

antequam habeatur exemplar unum limatum et ultima examinatione probatum. Nam tractatus sufficiens debet habere septem conditiones. . . Et hae septem conditiones non possunt fieri nisi multa fiant exemplaria, et destructio pergamenti ineffabilis. Iterum, cum omnia verificantur et certificantur per figuras et numeros, ut patet ex operibus quae mitto, oportet quod multi sint collaterales et adjutores, et maxime juvenes qui figurent et numerent; nam seniores taedio afficerentur talibus operibus puerilibus. Atque correctores varios oportet haberi, qui omnia scripta praevia vice corrigant, ad exemplaria ultimata, donec artifices principales perlegerent omnia, ut nihil esset superfluum, nihil diminutum. Et plures oportet haberi qui praeessent fraudibus scriptorum, et qui rationem redderent et facerent expensarum.—Ibid., XVII, p. 59: Nam per viginti annos quibus specialiter laboravi in studio sapientiae, neglecto sensu vulgi, plus quam duo millia librarum ego posui in his, propter libros secretos, et tabulas, et alia; tum ad quaerendum amicitias sapientium, tum propter instruendos adjutores in linguis, in figuris, in numeris, in tabulis, in instrumentis, et multis aliis.

substantially the same as Arabic and Chaldaean. There were besides people in Paris, in France (*sic*), and in other countries whose knowledge was sufficient for this purpose. Greek accorded greatly with Latin, and there were many persons in England and France who knew enough of that language. There were many places in Italy where the clergy and the population were purely Greek, and it would be worth while to go there for information. Prelates and wealthy people should send thither for books and teachers, after the example set by Robert de Grosseteste¹."

We do not know whether Bacon's intercourse with Jews constituted a count in the indictment, on the strength of which, it is said, he was condemned and thrown into prison². We know how much Reuchlin had to suffer for similar conduct; how he was upbraided with not sufficiently hating the Jews. Bacon was certainly guilty of the same offence. In the face of such zeal as he displayed for the conversion of all mankind to the faith of his Church, for the annihilation of all those whose conversion would be impossible, and the early disappearance of the Mahomedan religion, it is noteworthy that not a single expression is found in his writings disparaging to the Jews of his time. It need not be said that he extolled the superiority of Christianity over the religion of the Jews³; but, even from his standpoint, he maintained the infinitely higher claims of Judaism over those of any other religion. There is a total absence of

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VI, p. 434: Doctores autem non desunt; quia ubique sunt Hebraei, et eorum lingua est eadem in substantia cum Arabica et Chaldaea, licet in modo differant. Suntque homines Parisius, et in Francia, et ulterius in omnibus regionibus, qui de his sciunt quantum necesse fuerit in hac parte. Graecum vero maxime concordat cum Latino; et sunt multi in Anglia et Francia qui hic satis instructi sunt. Nec multum esset pro tanta utilitate ire in Italiam, in qua clerus et populus sunt pure Graeci in multis locis; et episcopatus, et archiepiscopatus, et divites ac seniores possent ibi mittere pro libris, et pro uno vel pluribus qui scirent Graecum; sicut dominus Robertus, sanctus episcopus Lincolnensis, solebat facere.

² Cf. Mr. Bridges' Introduction to the *Opus Majus*, p. xxxi.

³ *Opus Majus*, VII, vol. II, p. 366 sqq., Bridges.

odium theologicum in his discussion as regards the Jewish religion, and no trace of any bitterness against the Jews. He must have known many of them; he made use of them in his Hebrew studies, and says that they were to be found everywhere, yet not a single insulting epithet escapes him. He goes even so far as to deprecate any attempt to convert them. Theoretically, he believes, of course, in their ultimate conversion to Christianity, but he was quite content to relegate such consummation till after the conversion of all the rest of mankind, quoting the New Testament in support of this view. But he considered that time to be still distant. "There were many nations still steeped in paganism, and there were pagans whose territories were not so remote from Paris, as Paris was from Rome, and they inhabited countries larger than Germany, France, and Spain¹." More than that, he has even a good word to say for the Jews who lived at the time of the birth of Christianity, and who used to be held up by Christians of all shades of opinion as the worst criminals on earth, whose actions were relentlessly visited, and are being visited still, upon their descendants. He says that "there were at the time of the crucifixion many holy and good men among the Jews; and, nevertheless, they all rejected the Lord, except his mother, and John, and the Marys; nay, it is even said that nobody really believed in him except his mother²." This judgment about the Jews at

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, I, p. 402 sq. : . . . aut praeveniet unus beatissimus papa, qui omnes corruptions tollet de studio, et ecclesia, et caeteris, et renovetur mundus, et intret plenitudo gentium, et reliquiae Israel ad fidem convertantur. Quoniam Apostolus constituit Judaeis convertendi terminum in conversione plenitudinis gentium, dicens ad Romanos xi [25]: "Cum intraverit plenitudo gentium, tum reliquiae Israel salvificent," . . . nondum tamen adimpletum est. . . . Sicut nos scimus, non solum a longe sed prope nos, regiones maris esse quae in puro paganismo adhuc remanent, quibus nunquam fuit praedicatum, nec legem Dei receperunt. . . . Et non distat principium terrarum illarum a Parisius, nisi quantum Roma; et sunt majora regna quam Allemaniae et Franciae et Hispaniae. . . .

² *Opus Tertium*, IX, p. 28: Certe multi fuerunt sancti et boni inter

the time of the crucifixion, as uttered by the mouth of a Christian theologian, is unique; and we should have no reason to be surprised if such sentiments of tolerance towards the Jews had weighed heavily in the scales of those who, we are told, brought about his condemnation.

Bacon understood perfectly well that neither every Jew nor every Greek, although acquainted with his own language, was, therefore, competent to impart scientific instruction.

We see, he says, many laymen who speak Latin very well, and yet have no notion of the grammatical rules of that language; the same is the case with almost all the Jews and real Greeks, let alone the Latins who knew Greek and Hebrew. Only very few of the former class are able to teach grammar efficiently and in a methodical and rational manner, as we Latins are able to do by means of Priscian's books. We must, therefore, look out for men who have a scholarly knowledge of those languages, but this would entail great expense¹.

Bacon was reasonable enough not to expect that every student would acquire the same knowledge of languages. He carefully marks out the limits to be reached, and classifies the proficiency attainable under three heads.

I do not mean to say that every one should completely master the learned languages, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaean, and know them as he knows his mother tongue; as we speak English, French,

Judaeos quando transfixus est Dominus, et tamen omnes dimiserunt eum, praeter matrem suam, et beatum Johannem, et Marias; et dicitur adhuc quod sola mater Dei fidem rectam habuit.—Should the contents of the Toulouse MS. be brought home to Bacon, his intercourse with Jews would prove to have been still more intimate, for, in that case, he would, like Reuchlin, have corresponded with Jews in the Hebrew language. Vid. S. Berger, l. c., p. 39.

¹ *Opus Tertium*, X, p. 34: Vidimus enim multos laicos, qui optime loquebantur Latinum, et tamen nihil sciverunt de regulis grammaticae; et sic est modo de omnibus Hebraeis fere, et similiter de Graecis veris, non solum de Latinis qui sciunt Graecum et Hebraeum . . . ita quod paucissimi eorum sciunt docere grammaticam veraciter, cum causis et rationibus reddendis, sicut nos Latini scimus per libros Prisciani. . . . Oportet igitur primo habere homines peritos in linguis alienis, et hi haberi non possunt sine magnis expensis.

and Latin. I do not even demand the student to be proficient enough to be able to translate scientific books from such languages into his (Latin) mother tongue. It is better to be satisfied with a third degree of knowledge, which could be easily acquired under a proper teacher. It is enough for us to master so much Greek and Hebrew as to read and to know the accident, according to the theory of Donatus. Once this is learned and a proper method followed, the construing and understanding of the words become easy¹.

Bacon considers it advisable not to attempt more; because people, when aspiring to the first and the second degree of linguistic knowledge, will despair, and never reach even the third degree. "If a person were to apply himself diligently from his youth for thirty years, he might attain all three degrees, or, at least, the two last degrees; for it is the first degree which offers all the difficulty, as we, who tried it, know by experience²."

This statement of Bacon's, that thirty years' close application to the study of languages was required to master them, curiously contrasts with his notions as to the time necessary to obtain the lowest degree of proficiency. There

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VI, p. 433 sq.: Prima igitur est scientia linguarum sapientialium a quibus tota Latinorum sapientia translata est; ejusmodi sunt Graecum, Hebraeum, Arabicum, et Chaldaicum. Non tamen intelligo ut quilibet sciat has linguas sicut maternam in qua natus est, ut nos loquimur Anglicum, Gallicum, et Latinum; nec ut sciamus tantum de his linguis ut quilibet fiat interpres, et transferre possit in linguam maternam Latinam scientiam de linguis illis. Sed tertius gradus hic eligendus est, qui facillimus est habenti doctorem, scilicet ut sciamus de his quantum sufficit ad intelligendum quae requirit Latinitas in hac parte. Et vis hujus rei stat in hoc; ut homo sciat legere Graecum, et Hebraeum, et caetera. Et ut secundum formam Donati sciat accidentia partium orationis. Nam his notis, constructio et intellectus vocabulorum linguarum illarum, quantum Latinis sufficit, de facili habentur per modos quos inferius assignabo.

² *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VI, p. 434: Stulti enim homines et imperiti quum audiunt loqui de scientia linguarum, aestimant se obligari primo gradui et secundo, et ideo desperant et contemnunt tertium gradum facillimum; quamvis si considerarent et diligentes essent a juventute, etiam post triginta annos possent pertingere ad omnes gradus dictos, et saltem ad secundum cum tertio. Nam tota difficultas consistit in primo gradu; ut nos qui talibus insistimus experimur.

is certainly a great difference between thirty years and three days ; and yet the latter is all that Bacon demands for the acquisition of the lowest degree. He says that, although he had himself devoted forty years to study, he was, nevertheless, certain to be able to impart the results of his investigations to a studious and earnest person in less than six months, provided he had first composed a compendium. He could teach such a student, within three days, enough Hebrew to enable him to read and understand all that had been written by the saints and ancient sages, in elucidation, correction, and exposition of the sacred text. But the student would have to follow the prescribed method. In another three days he would know as much Greek ; so that he would be able to read and understand everything pertaining to theology, philosophy, and the Latin language¹. The possibility of teaching Hebrew in three days is, at first sight, altogether unlike Bacon's other estimate, and differs also greatly from that of Reuchlin, who declared that the student

¹ *Opus Tertium*, XX, p. 65 : Multum laboravi in scientiis et lingua, et posui jam quadraginta annos postquam didici primo alphabetum ; et praeter duos annos de istis quadraginta fui semper in studio, et habui expensas multas, sicut alii communiter ; et tamen certus sum quod infra quartam anni, aut dimidium anni, ego docerem ore meo hominem sollicitum et confidentem, quicquid scio de potestate scientiarum et linguarum, dummodo composuissem primo quiddam scriptum sub compendio. . . . Sed certum est mihi quod infra tres dies ego quemcunque diligentem et confidentem docerem Hebraeum, ut sciret legere et intelligere quicquid saneti dicunt, et sapientes antiqui, in expositione sacri textus, et quicquid pertinet ad illius correctionem et expositionem, si vellet exercitare secundum doctrinam datam. Et per tres dies sciret de Graeco iterum ; et non solum sciret legere et intelligere quicquid pertinet ad theologiam, sed ad philosophiam et ad linguam Latinam. Nam consideret vestra sapientia quod in linguarum cognitione sunt tria ; scilicet ut homo sciat legere et intelligere ea, quae Latini tractant in expositione theologiae et philosophiae et linguae Latinae. Et hoc est facile. . . . Sed aliud est in linguarum cognitione, scilicet ut homo sit ita peritus ut quod sciat transferre. . . . Tertium vero est difficilius utroque, scilicet quod homo loquatur linguam alienam sicut suam ; et doceat, et praedicet, et peroret quaecunque sicut in lingua materna. De istis igitur duobus non loquor modo, sed de primo. . . .

commenced to master Hebrew only at the moment when he reached the stage of despair, and was on the point of throwing up that study as an impossible task. But the two notions can be easily reconciled; and Bacon's view, that thirty years were required, is perhaps more pessimistic than that of Reuchlin. He defines clearly how much, or, rather, how little knowledge three days' application could supply. It is the sort of Hebrew knowledge that was probably possessed by Bede and Alcuin; just enough to rescue the student from stumbling when, in the commentaries of the Bible, especially those of Jerome, he came across some exposition based on a derivation from the Hebrew.

In reference to the extent of Bacon's actual knowledge of Hebrew, we must consider two classes of evidence: firstly, his declaration of his own proficiency; and, secondly, those passages in his works in which he alludes to matters connected with Hebrew. If we were only to consult the evidence derived from the latter source, as presented now in his printed works, we might feel inclined to form a very low estimate indeed of the amount of his Hebrew learning. Bacon's quotations in reference to Hebrew are hardly any of them original; they are for the most part explanations of passages taken from Jerome and others. On the other hand, we cannot by any means be sure that the MSS. have preserved everything that Bacon may have said on the subject. The transcribers did not greatly relish copying Hebrew or even Greek. They simply omitted, as a rule, the passages which they were unable to understand, and which did not interest the people by whom they were employed, who were mostly as ignorant of Hebrew as themselves. Thus the important passage in the third book of the *Opus Majus*, containing the Hebrew and Greek alphabets, with interlineary transliteration and explanatory remarks, is, as far as known, extant only in two MSS.¹; the

¹ In the Cottonian MS. in the British Museum (Julius D.V.), and in another MS. in the Vatican, of which the learned editor of the latest

others simply omit it. But why speak of transcribers when even Jebb, in his edition of the *Opus Majus*, omitted the whole passage, although he had the very MS. before him from which it was first edited by Mr. Bridges—and that incompletely. Many other passages, of the greatest value for gauging Bacon's extent of knowledge of Hebrew, may thus have become lost; and nobody can say with certainty that he never wrote the Hebrew Grammar mentioned among the works attributed to him¹.

But the little we do possess bears ample testimony that Bacon had sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to satisfy his own demands of a third-rate, and even of a second-rate, Hebrew scholar. He clearly understands what he is about, when explaining derivations of words from the Hebrew, or exposing blunders made by other scholars, and he speaks with undoubted authority and knowledge of the subject. He has added nothing to the stock of information; there is not a single observation of his which can be called original; but there is enough to show that Dr. Steinschneider's observation about the absence of evidence in Bacon's works of any direct knowledge of Hebrew is unfounded².

edition of the *Opus Majus*, Mr. John Henry Bridges, possesses an excellent photographic copy. Mr. Bridges kindly allowed me to collate from that copy, which contains a portion of the *Opus Majus*, the passages in question. Mr. Bridges did not have that MS. before him, when editing the *Opus Majus*, and he intends to re-edit this portion, many passages of which are much more correctly given in the Vatican MS., than in any other.

¹ Pitseus. Bale.

² M. Steinschneider, in H. Brody's *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, I, p. 53. Steinschneider cites an article by Dr. J. Guttman in the *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Breslau, 1896, p. 323. Guttman confined himself to the consideration of the passages in Bacon's works relating to the Jewish Calendar, for which the latter had an unbounded admiration. The table which he composed, *Hebraicis literis*, and inserted in the *Opus Majus* (vid. *Opus Tertium*, pp. 215, 220; cf. *O. M.*, vol. I, p. 208, note, Bridges), has, it seems, not been preserved. The *Liber Febrium*, by Isaac Israeli, quoted in the *Opus Majus* (vol. I, p. 246, Bridges), and Gabirol's *Fons Vitae*, quoted by Bacon without the author's name (Charles, p. 324), were neither of them originally written in Hebrew, and were known to Bacon from Latin translations.

On the contrary, his observations show him to have been a tolerable Hebrew scholar.

To give a few instances. It is only in consequence of his intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the Bible that Bacon was saved from falling into the error, committed by "all theologians," as to the meaning of an observation of Jerome's. "All theologians" were under the impression that the Lamentations of Jeremiah were written in the Chaldaean language. The cause of the error was Jerome's remark that one *pericope* of Jeremiah was written in Chaldaean. The word *pericope* bears the meaning of a *small part*, and the Lamentations being the smaller of Jeremiah's works, they thought that this was alluded to by Jerome. But Bacon, from his acquaintance with the text of the Hebrew Bible, was able to explain that Jerome's remark applied to one verse only (Jer. x. 11). Bacon gives the verse in full in the original Chaldaean, adds a Hebrew translation, and supplies both with interlineary transliteration and Latin translation¹.

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VI, p. 438: Fono exemplum de prologo Daniel, in quo beatus Hieronymus dicit quod una pericope Hieremiae scribitur sermone Chaldaico, sed tamen Hebraicis literis exaratur; quod omnes theologi intelligunt esse librum Threnorum, et ita exponunt prologum illum, decepti vilissima et ficta auctoritate Britonis, cujus expositione omnes in prologis Bibliae abutuntur. Auctoritate igitur nulla docti dicunt *pericope* Graece est parva particula Latine, et libellus Threnorum parvus est respectu majoris voluminis Hieremiae. Sed hic error intolerabilis est. Nam libellus Threnorum, ut omnes Hebraei sciunt, sicut scribitur literis Hebraeis, sic sermo Hebraeus est. . . . Deinde testantibus omnibus Hebraeis Latinis inveniimus illam particulam in decimo capitulo libri magni Hieremiae, ubi dicitur in Latino: "Sic igitur dicetis eis, Dii qui coelum et terram non fecerunt, pereant de terra et his quae sub coelo sunt." Haec parva particula est illa de qua Hieronymus dicit, ut omnes Hebraei sciunt; quia proculdubio literis Hebraicis scribitur. Sed sermo est Chaldaeus.—Similarly in the *Opus Majus*, Pars III. Both the Cottonian and the Vatican MSS., after the description of the Hebrew alphabet, proceed thus: Et sic invenitur hic in hoc Hebraeo quod sequitur: Chidenah כדנה etc.—the whole verse, with transliteration and translation, and the note, "Litera Hebraica Sermo Chaldaeus." This is followed by the Hebrew translation (with transliteration, Latin translation, and

Bacon gives the Hebrew alphabet, with the names of the letters and their equivalent sounds. He describes the ordinary and final letters, with terms answering to the expressions פתחה, כחמה, and משמה¹. There is only the ש, but the subsequent passages show that Bacon was fully aware of the difference between Shin and Sin. He calls the letters *aleph, ain, he, heth, iot, vaf*, vowels, and describes their sounds, quoting Jerome for his authority. In describing the vowel-points he renders the kametz as *linea cum puncto* —, and thus we find it in all old MSS. Of the semi-vowels he only mentions the ׃, omitting the ׂ— which, however, occurs subsequently—and the ׂ׃. He briefly mentions the signs for *dagesh* and *rapheh*, and observes that ף sounds like z “ut cum dico *adamas*,” and ץ “ut cum dico *dabo*,” but he does not explain the difference of pronunciation of the other letters of בדרפת, when written with or without the *dagesh lene*, although he seems to allude elsewhere to the difference of pronunciation between ץ and כ².

Mr. Bridges points out³ that Bacon's scheme of transliteration and pronunciation of the Greek was altogether in accordance with modern Greek, and that the cause of this must be found in the fact that he not improbably

the note “*Litera Hebraica Sermo Hebraeus*”), thus: כה חסדו ליהוה אלהים (sic) אשר שמים וארץ לא עשׂו יסדו מארץ ומחיה שמים אלה. In the Cottonian MS. the words are in irregular order, the Vatican MS. reproduces them correctly. The passage is omitted in Mr. Bridges' edition. Cf. S. Berger, l. c., p. 39.

¹ In the Cottonian MS. of the *Opus Majus*, the Norman-French terms “*uverte*” and “*close*” (סגורה and פתוחה) are used in the case of ו and כ; the ך and ף are described as “*nun draite*” (*dreite*), “*sazike draite*” (ססזיקה); the ן and ם are marked with a hardly legible word, which I think is “*curvatum*” (כסורה), the כ and ך, ס and ף are without any distinguishing mark. In the Vatican MS. the ו, ן, ף, and ך are described as “*uverte*,” “*clase*” (sic), and “*dreite*.” All this will be more fully explained in my notes to a fragment by Bacon on Hebrew grammar, to be published shortly. Vid. *infra*, p. 87, n. 1.

² *Opus Minus*, p. 351 : . . . et c nostrum valet caph eorum, nisi quod debet asperari c nostrum, sicut *Sesach*.

³ Introduction, p. 1.

learned the language from one of the Greeks who had been invited into England by Grosseteste. This opens up some interesting questions, not only in reference to the pronunciation of Greek, but also to that of Hebrew, and to the mode in which Latin was pronounced in those days by English scholars.

It is remarkable that the cases of Roger Bacon and of Reuchlin are parallel on all three points. It is evident that Bacon, in teaching Greek, made use of that style of pronunciation which has since received the name of *Itacism*, and which is commonly called the Reuchlinian pronunciation. But if Bacon's seeds had fallen on more fruitful ground, it would have been known as the Baconian mode of pronouncing Greek, in distinction from the *Etacism*, introduced by Erasmus. Again, in regard to the pronunciation of Hebrew, Reuchlin introduced the one which he had learned from Italian Jews, and which mostly corresponds with the one in use among the Sephardic Jews, as distinct from the style in vogue among the Ashkenazim. The former has since become the mode in which Hebrew is pronounced at the European universities. It is not here the place to dwell on the origin of that difference of pronunciation, and to compare it with the way in which Arabic, Aramaic, and other dialects belonging to the Semitic stock were formerly spoken. But one thing is certain; if Bacon had, like Reuchlin, succeeded in interesting his contemporaries in the study of Hebrew, the Christian scholars in Europe would have been led into the same direction by Bacon as they were led, at a later period, by Reuchlin; for Bacon says that both the *pathach* and the *kametz* were to be pronounced as *a*, and the *cholem* as *o*. He transliterates פ, פ, פ, פ, and פ, into *ba*, *be*, *bi*, *bo*, *bu*, &c. Once only the letters ף and ץ are given, in the Cottonian MS., as *heis* and *teis*, in all other cases they are described as *cheth* and *teth*, and we always find *bet* and *tav*. It is greatly to be regretted that the Hebrew grammar, which Bacon is said to have written, is not now extant—if it ever existed;

but by comparing the various passages bearing on this subject in Bacon's printed works, it becomes evident that his knowledge of these matters was derived, partly from instruction received from Jews, and partly from Jerome's commentaries. It appears that the Jews consulted by him must have used the so-called Sephardic pronunciation. An investigation into the mode of pronouncing Hebrew by the Jews of England before the expulsion might be worth the trouble.

Bacon's pronunciation of Latin was evidently the one common on the Continent. If the English scholars of those days, when reading or speaking Latin, gave the vowels the sounds they have in modern English, it is clear that Bacon did not follow their example. His transliterations of Greek and Hebrew show that he gave the vowels the value they had, and still have, on the Continent. He says that the letter *iot* (ι), when it is a vowel only, sounded "*sicut i nostrum*." He transcribes the *pathach* and the *kametz* by the letter *a*, the *segol*, *tsere*, and even the *shva* and *chatuph segol* by the letter *e*, and observes that the vowels have the sounds "*quinque vocalium 'nostrarum' a, e, i, o, u,*" implying the sounds these letters have abroad. It is possible that all English scholars spoke their Latin in the same way.

If, however, Latin vowels were sounded in England as those of the vernacular, it is clear that Bacon discarded the local pronunciation and adopted the foreign one; in the same way as Reuchlin exchanged the local German mispronunciation for the more correct Italian. For, when Reuchlin was still quite a young man, it happened that papal nuncios arrived at the court of the Margrave Frederic, and when they came to take their leave and to receive their dispatches they were addressed by the high chancellor, a native of Hechingen, who spoke Latin after the abominable pronunciation of his district. He began his oration, but the Italians could not understand a word, and refused to receive this as a dispatch. In this embarrassment some one remembered that Reuchlin, who was then the chan-

cellor's amanuensis, could speak pure Latin. He was called, and carried on the conversation in the style he had learned during his travels. Thus the cases of Bacon and Reuchlin seem to be parallel in this instance also.

Bacon's references to Hebrew, although showing no originality, yet prove that he spoke with a full knowledge of the subject; and his acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the Bible becomes apparent in his illustrations of comments made by older scholars. A curious instance is the way he exposes a blunder of Pope Gregory the Great, already alluded to. Pope Gregory, in his commentary on the Book of Job, is rather puzzled by the name given by Job to one of his three daughters, born after the latter's restoration to health and wealth. He quotes Job xlii. 14 thus: "And he called the name of one, Dies; and the name of the second, Casia; and the name of the third, Cornustibii." These are meant to be the renderings of the Hebrew names Jemima, Keziah, and Keren-Happuch (יִמִּימָה, קֶזְיָה, and קֶרֶן הַחֲפֻּחַ). Gregory considered Cornustibii (= *Cornus tibii*) to be the compound of two words denoting certain musical instruments, something like "trumpet-fife," and observes that "the translator appropriately took care not to insert them as they are found in the Arabic language, but to show their meaning more plainly when translated in the Latin tongue. For who can be ignorant that Dies and Casia are Latin words? But in Cornustibii (though it is not *cornus* but *cornu*, and the pipe of the singers is called not *tibium* but *tibia*) I suppose he preferred, without keeping the gender of the word in the Latin tongue, to state the thing as it is, and to preserve the peculiarity of that language from which he was translating. Or because he compounded one word out of the two (*cornu* and *tibia*), he was at liberty to call both words, which are translated into Latin by one part of speech, whatever gender he likes."

Bacon¹ alludes to this passage, and says that it was

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophias*, VI, p. 440: Cum igitur beatus Gregorius in fine Job, loquens de tertia filia ejus, exposuerit "*Cornus tibii*," licet

clear to any one, able to compare the original Hebrew, that the text used by the Pope was corrupt; that the second part of the compound word was not *tibii* but *stibii*; and that the name of Job's daughter was Cornu Stibii, meaning a horn or receptacle of stibium, and not the monstrosity Cornustibii (trumpet-fife). Bacon correctly traces the etymology of the name from the Hebrew, and adds that the term used here for stibium (קַחַב) was the same as 2 Kings ix. 30, where we are told that Jezebel dyed her eyes with stibium. If Brito, or William the Fleming, or Michael Scot had been guilty of an error of the kind, how mercilessly would Bacon have taken him to task. But he had much too great a reverence for the Pope not to try and palliate the fault. He held Pope Gregory in great veneration, and fully believed that the latter's works, which were, after their author's death, in danger of being burned, were saved "by a beautiful miracle of God¹." He therefore says that the holy man's time was fully occupied, and he did not have the leisure to collate many copies of the Bible, and to see what the Greek and Hebrew texts offered. But Bacon is very indignant with the crowd of modern theologians, who disputed about things they did not understand, and persisted in defending Gregory's rendering.

Dr. Steinschneider's remark², that Bede's *expositio nominum* videatur ei quod *cornus* non fuisset Latinum nec *stibium* similiter, sed sic inveniens in exemplari suo, non ausus fuit immutare, propter textus sacri reverentiam et propter ejus summam humilitatem; cum illi qui modo solliciti sunt de veritate textus Dei, et qui sciunt Graecum et Hebraeum, possunt docere sine contradictione, quod exemplar beati Gregorii fuit corruptum, aut vitiose . . . ut dicatur *cornus stibi*, cum tamen deberet dici *cornu stibii*. . . . Et sanctus homo forsitan multis occupatus non habuit tempus examinandi plura exemplaria, nec quid in Graeco vel Hebraico scriberentur. Nam in Hebraeo est *cornu stibii*, id est cornu plenum stibio, secundum glossam Hebraicam; sicut vas aquae dicimus, id est, plenum aqua. Nam idem vocabulum ponitur hic pro stibio, et quarto Regum, nono capitulo, ubi dicitur quod Jezabel depinxit oculos suos stibio. . . . Sed tamen vulgus modernorum theologorum disputans de his, quae ignorat, nititur salvare expositionem beati Gregorii, et dum Scyllam vitare nititur incidit in Charybdim.

¹ *Opus Majus*, I, vol. I, p. 19, Bridges.

² Vid. supra, p. 37, n. 1.

num proved, as little as any other explanatory index of Biblical names, a direct knowledge of the Bible, does not apply to Bacon; for the latter is never content with merely repeating what previous writers had said, but whenever quoting them adds an explanation of his own, which shows that he was fully able to account for his opinions. Thus, for instance, when mentioning Jerome's etymology of the name of Israel as denoting "Master with God" ("princeps cum Deo"), and not as others before Jerome had explained it, "a man who saw God" ("vir videns Deum"), Bacon fully enters into the grounds which prove the latter derivation to be untenable. He explains that the circumstance that in Hebrew *Is* meant *man*, *Ra* = *seeing*, *El* = *God*, led those commentators to believe that the patriarch's name was a compound of these three words. But Jerome rightly objected to this derivation. For the name contained the five letters Iod, Sin, Resh, Aleph, Lamet, which made up the name ישראל, Israel. But the other compound would consist of eight letters, namely, Aleph, Iod, Sin, Resh, Aleph, He, Aleph, Lamet, making the word אֱיִשְׂרָאֵל. Besides, he argues, these letters would make Iserael a word of four syllables, whereas the name has really only three, because a dot under a letter denoted the vowel *i*, two dots (tsere) *e*, and a stroke with a dot underneath *a*; but the strongest argument must be taken from the sense, which was explained in the verse itself. Bacon illustrates this further by reproducing the whole verse in Hebrew¹. These argu-

¹ *Opus Majus*, l. c., p. 82: Nam apud Hebraeos *Is* est *vir*, *Ra* videns, *El* Deus; et ideo crediderunt multi quod hoc nomen patriarchae habet resolutionem in illa tria. Sed Hieronymus reprobatur per multa argumenta . . . in nomine patriarchae sunt hae quinque literae per ordinem: Iod, Sin, Resh, Aleph, Lamet, sicut ipsum Hebraeum hic positum declarat יִשְׂרָאֵל, Israel. Sed in hoc triplici vocabulo hae octo literae habent hunc ordinem, scilicet, Aleph, Iod, Sin, Resh, Aleph, He, Aleph, Lamet, ut hic Hebraeum ostendit אֱיִשְׂרָאֵל. Et quarto argui potest explicatio. Nam sicut puncta ostendunt nomen proprium non retinet apud Hebraeum sonum praecisum illorum vocabulorum. Nam secundum majorem quasi Iserael sonatur in quatuor syllabis, tamen ibi vocabulorum sonus in solis

ments are set forth in the *Opus Majus*, and repeated in the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*¹, where Bacon modestly adds that a fuller explanation of this difficulty would carry him too far, and that, for the present, he was neither obliged nor competent to enter into all the niceties of Hebrew grammar connected with the question. I suppose he refers to the differences between *shva quiescens* and *shva mobile*, between ם and ן, &c.; but this very modesty shows all the more that he was not a mere transcriber of Jerome's remarks, and that his knowledge of Hebrew was quite sufficient to enable him to distinguish between the right and the wrong derivation.

Another instance of Bacon's competency is the way in which he explains the derivation of the name of Sisach = Babel, as given by Jerome, who himself followed the Rabbis. Bacon's words prove that he fully understood the transposition of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet after the scheme כ, ט, ב, ש, א, &c.²

It is unnecessary to give an exhaustive list of all the instances in Bacon's works in which his knowledge of

tribus syllabis coarctatur, quoniam punctum sub litera sonat i, et duo puncta sonant e, et linea cum puncto sub ea sonat a. Sed argumenta fortiora trahuntur ex sensu vocis secundum Hieronymum. Et hoc ostendit ipsum Hebraeum hic scriptum hoc modo: ויבן יאמר לא יקב יאמר עד: שכן כי אם ישראל כי שרה עם אלהים ועם אנשים חזק. In the Cottonian MS. the words of this verse also are jumbled up in a curious manner.

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VI, p. 436: Sed propter brevitatem transeo; quia expositio plena hujus difficultatis requirit magnam notitiam Hebraeae grammaticae, quantum ad praesens non debeo nec valeo explicare.

² *Opus Minus*, p. 350: Similiter cum Jeremias prophetavit contra Babel, non ausus fuit ponere hoc verbum, ne suscitaret furorem Chaldaeorum contra ipsum et populum Dei sed posuit *Sesach* pro Babel. Cujus nominis ratio nullo modo potest sciri, nisi homo sciat Alphabetum Hebraeum. . . . Nam cum Babel scribatur per duo *Beth*, et unum *Lameth* punctuatur more Hebraeo (?) posuit propheta duo *Sin* pro duobus *Beth*, ut Chaldaei nomen ignorarent. Cum tamen omnis habere, videre, et dividere possit nominis rationem, quia more eorum est instruendo parvos, quod faciunt eos conjungere primam cum ultima, et secundum cum penultima; et sic ulterius usque ad duas medias simul positas, scilicet *Cap* secundum

Hebrew transpires. The seventh chapter of the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* contains a list of words and names which used to be considered as being of Latin origin, but which are in reality derivations from the Hebrew. In some cases Bacon is at great pains to expose the absurdity of such views; as, for instance, in regard to the words *arrabon* and *Gehenna*, which Hugutius and Brito and "other idiotical grammarmongers" ("et aliae grammaticellae idiotae") explain as *arra bona*, and the Greek *ge* and *ennos*. In all these cases Bacon shows no originality, but he displays a complete knowledge of the subject. By far the greater part of his remarks refers to misunderstood explanations by other commentators, especially Jerome. Bacon's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the Bible is particularly conspicuous in a passage in the fourth book of the *Opus Majus*, in which he rectifies the innumerable errors of the Paris text, especially in the matter of figures, e.g. that Arpachsad lived after the birth of Shelah 303 years instead of 403 years, or that Reu lived 35 years instead of 32, &c. The whole passage supplies, as Mr. Bridges justly observes, further illustrations of the corruption of the Paris text, and at the same time of the care with which Bacon had collated the Septuagint and the Hebrew text¹.

Yet it seems that Bacon himself fell occasionally, however rarely, into errors of the same description. Thus he says² that *Abel*, although a man's name, was, besides, the name of a city (Judges vii. 22), and also denoted "a stone"

et *Lamet*. Et in his sic congeminitis utuntur una pro alia maxime, quum volunt aliquod secretum occultare. Et ideo cum *Sin* et *Beth* sint congeminita, ponit duo *Sin* pro duobus *Beth*, et eadem ratione pro *Lamet* posuit *Caph* secundum; et *S* nostrum valet eorum *Sin* in proposito; et *C* nostrum valet *Caph* eorum; nisi quod debet asperari *C* nostrum, sicut *Semach*.

¹ *Opus Majus*, IV, vol. I, p. 221, Bridges.

² *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, VII, p. 445: *Abel* est nomen hominis ut scitur, tamen alibi sumitur pro nomine civitatis; Jud. VII, et pro lapide Reg. Sexto capitulo.

(1 Kings vi. 18). He overlooks the fact that in the first case the word is spelt with a He, in the second it is written with an Aleph, and is part of a compound word (אֶבֶל כְּחוֹלָה), and in the third passage the word is not *Abel* at all, but *Aben* (אֶבֶן)¹.

It is strange that Bacon makes no mention whatever of the Hebrew accents, or the "tonic accents," as they are called. He treats fully on all subjects referring to accentuation, aspiration, punctuation, and prosody. He says that "the Hebrew text contains many kinds of metre, and complains that the Latin translators did not possess that musical power which was owned by the patriarchs and prophets. He says that the only way in which theologians could obtain a knowledge of Hebrew metres and rhythms was to recur to the Hebrew original². And yet there is no evidence that Bacon was acquainted with the Hebrew accents. This is particularly astonishing considering that he was instructed in Hebrew by Jews, and that he had a thorough knowledge of the text of the Hebrew Bible. If Bacon had known the Hebrew accents and their values, we may be sure he would not have failed to mention them, in the same way as he enters fully into the subject of accents, metres, and rhythms of the Greek language. On

¹ The passage, *ibid.*, "Hieremias, Hierico, Hierusalem, Hieronymus et hujusmodi debent aspirari in principio," might lead us to suspect Bacon of having committed an error, such as he always relentlessly censures in others; for how comes the name of Hieronymus to be included in a list of names derived from the Hebrew? The sentence is, however, merely an abbreviated reproduction of the parallel passage in *Opus Tertium*, LXI, p. 247, and is hardly in its proper place here.

² *Opus Majus*, IV, vol. I, p. 237, Bridges: Item multa genera metrorum continentur in textu sacro Hebraico.—*Opus Tertium*, LXIV, p. 267: Sed translatore Latini non habuerunt illam musicae potestatem, quam patriarchae et prophetae, qui omnes scientias adinvenerunt. Et ideo non remanserunt haec in textu Latinorum . . . ideo oportet theologum recurrere ad sapientiam Dei in Hebraeo, ut sciat ex ipso fonte haurire aquas sapientiae. Et cum ibi tradita est per vias musicae, metricae, et rhythmicae, necesse est quod perfectus theologus sciat rationem istarum partium musicae.

the other hand, we must not lose sight of the fact that such matters, if referring to Hebrew, might have been suppressed by the copyists. The subject of the accentuation of Greek is treated in his Greek grammar, as yet unpublished¹, but which is being edited now by the Reverend Father Nolan of Trinity College, Cambridge, and will appear shortly, and the Hebrew accents may have been described in the mysterious Hebrew grammar of his, which I feel inclined to believe that he really wrote, although no trace of evidence of the fact can be found in any of his printed works. If Bacon had succeeded in composing his "*Scriptum Principale*," more light would probably have been thrown on this question; for in the first volume he meant to deal with grammar and logic, and we know what a considerable factor Hebrew was to Bacon in his grammatical researches.

I am of opinion that the direct evidences of Bacon's knowledge of Hebrew contained in his works do less than justice to him. His own testimony as to his proficiency in that language cannot be lightly set aside. He describes himself as a zealous student of Hebrew, who had studied the subject for a number of years. He declares² "that although he referred elsewhere to the Arabic language, yet he did not write it like Hebrew, Greek, and Latin." Bacon was not an idle boaster, and full credence is due to assertions of that kind. But his researches in the field of Hebrew lore, like many of his discoveries in other branches of learning, died with him³. His admonitions as to the

¹ In connexion with this Greek grammar, two small fragments by Bacon found in the University library at Cambridge, will be published; one, on Greek grammar, edited by the Rev. Father Nolan, and the other, on Hebrew grammar, edited by me.

² *Opus Tertium*, XXV, p. 88: De Arabico tango locis suis; sed nihil scribo Arabice, sicut Hebraee, Graece, et Latine.

³ He may have had a very apt pupil in the Englishman, Willermus de Mara. Vid. Berger, l. c., p. 32 sq. Vid. *ibid.*, p. 49 sq., about a translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew, MSS. of portions of which are extant in Oxford and Cambridge, and which it would be premature to discuss here.

necessity and usefulness of pursuing this discipline remained unheeded, and two more centuries had to pass by before Johann Reuchlin succeeded in disclosing to European scholars the existence of a Hebrew and Rabbinical literature.

S. A. HIRSCH.

ON THE OCEAN.

From the "Yiddish" of M. Rosenfeld.

THE storm-wind has risen: he flies in his wrath
To fight with a ship far away on the main,
But brave and undaunted, she holds on her path,
And ploughs through the waters, her timbers astrain.

Deep calls unto deep, ever more and more loud—
How rattles the cordage, how quivers the sail,
As they wrestle together, embittered and proud,
In life and death combat, the ship and the gale!

Now high on the crest of the wave is she toss'd,
Now sinks down engulfed in the foam and the spray,
Now backwards, now forwards, her reckoning lost,
The sport of the billows, that leap for their prey.

The ocean roars fiercely with thundering sound,
Its depths, black as midnight, they howl and they hiss;
The storm rages wildly above and around,
Below opens wide the unfathomed abyss.

Now prayers, lamentations and wailings arise,
For great is the danger and direful the need;
And each to his God in his agony cries,
From death and the terror of death to be freed.

Then shrieks and confessions of sin fill the air,
The women lament and the little ones weep,
And body and soul sink in hopeless despair
And dread of the terrible scourge of the deep.

But down in the steerage two men sit apart,
Untroubled by danger, unshaken by fear,
Unheeding the peril that chills ev'ry heart,
As though sea and heaven were placid and clear.

They look undismayed upon death face to face,
Unmoved by the tempest's all-conquering might.
It seems as though death, in his icy embrace,
Had clasped them and reared them in darkness and night.

"Now tell us what manner of men you may be,
Who wait thus in silence your terrible doom,
Who sigh not and fear not and weep not to see,
Dark opening before you the gates of the tomb?"

"Say, is it the grave that has given you birth?
And is there no creature remaining to weep—
No father, no mother, no children, no wife—
When you sink to your rest in the pitiless deep?"

"What, have you no home, where you fain would return,
No fatherland dear, where you first drew your breath,
That life with its hopes and its gladness you spurn,
And wait, calm and still, for the shadow of death?"

"What, have you no Saviour in heaven above,
To call on in sorrow and desperate strait,
No faith to uphold you, no people to love—
Forsaken and wretched ones, what is your fate?"

Dark lowers the abyss and the billows gleam white,
The lofty masts bend 'neath the stress and the strain,
Still loud and more loud howls the wind in its might,
And, weeping, then answereth one of the twain:

"The black realm of death has not given us birth,
Nor yet was our cradle the grave deep and bare;
A mother beloved, an angel on earth,
She bore us, and reared us with tenderest care.

"A mother has cherished us, tender and wise,
And gathered us close in her sheltering arm ;
A father has lovingly gazed in our eyes,
And shielded us fondly from danger and harm.

"A home was once ours—it is ruined to-day,
And burnt are our holiest treasures. Our best
And dearest lie sleeping as cold as the clay,
And exile and chains is the doom of the rest.

"Our country—you know it. 'Tis known, in a word,
By hunting and harrying ever anew,
By tumults and riots, by fire and sword,
By torture and death to the suffering Jew.

"Yes, yes, we are Jews, and our sorrows ne'er cease,
Jews, wretched and friendless, no end to our pain.
Oh, ask us no further! Oh, leave us in peace!
America drives us to Russia again.

"To Russia again, whence we fled in despair,
To Russia, because of our penniless plight!
What have we to hope for, or why should we care
For life and its burden, for earth and its blight?

"Good cause have you all to lament and to fear,
To shrink from the touch of death's conquering hand.
You all have a home, that you seek and hold dear,
Nor were you thrust forth from America's strand.

"We only are desolate. Earth, cold and stern,
Begrudges us fiercely the home that we found.
We journey, but no one awaits our return.
Oh, tell us, I pray of you, whither we're bound.

"The tempest may rage, and the storm-wind hold sway,
The seething abyss all its terrors reveal,
For lost are we Jews, be the end what it may,
And naught but the ocean our anguish can heal."

ALICE LUCAS.

AN HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE HEBREW FRAGMENTS OF SIRACH.

It was a dream. The great discovery which so pleasantly excited all Biblical and Hebrew scholars, and which has exercised their learning and acumen for the last two years, proves to be an illusion. The fragments of Ben-Sira, published from the Geniza in Cairo, by Dr. Schechter and Dr. Neubauer, and more sheets of which are in Cambridge and the British Museum awaiting publication, are not portions of the Hebrew original of Sirach, and do not belong to the third century B.C., but are remnants of a re-translation of the Greek and Syriac Sirach into Hebrew. That translation was made in the eleventh century C.E. by a Persian Jew. This "Ben-Zew" of the eleventh century had become aware of the existence of the complete Sirach. He conceived the wish to recapture the work for "the dear Hebrew language," and in "honour of his race." He gets one teacher, who reads with him the Syriac Sirach, and another, who—for good "reward"—translates for him the Greek Sirach into Persian. The zealous Jew is intent next upon collecting "parallels from the Old Testament," in order to make use of them in his translation. Equipped in this way, he composes a Hebrew Ben-Sira, adapting himself at one time to the Syriac, and at another time to the Greco-Persian Sirach. During the process he becomes the victim of many misunderstandings and errors, but he occasionally succeeds in surpassing in correctness the two other versions, which constitute the only basis of his labour. "He restores the original felicitously once or twice where both versions are misleading." He records on the margin

other attempted translations of single words or of whole verses. Death prevents the completion of his work. His MS. falls into the hands of a pedant, who knows more Hebrew than the master; and who supplements the marginal notes of the translator with some poor and worthless emendations. This MS. was the basis of the fragments of the Hebrew Ben-Sira of the Geniza.

This is the romance pictured to himself by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford, which is to take the place of the assumption that the fragments reproduce the Hebrew original of the Wisdom of Ben-Sira¹. It is evident that a grave scholar could only be induced by grave reasons to put himself into opposition to all those who hitherto have considered and discussed the Hebrew fragments of Sirach as the newly discovered original text of Ecclesiasticus, to assert the modern origin of this Hebrew text, and to deny it the alleged great importance for the understanding of Sirach, and for the history of Hebrew language and literature. As one of those who have given close attention to the fragments of Ben-Sira, I intend, in the following remarks, to examine the grounds which led Prof. Margoliouth to his astounding assumption, and to test their value.

As Prof. Margoliouth says himself (p. 4), the point of issue for his hypothesis was offered him by the Persian marginal note on fol. 1, right side, of the Oxford MS., which reads *מי מאניד כי אין נא בינוכתי אצל בור אילא נאקול מי נופח*. According to Prof. Margoliouth *נאקול*, i. e. *נאקיל*, is as much as "translator," and the sense of the marginal note is: "It is probable that this was not in the original copy, but was said by the translator." But Prof. Margoliouth leaves to conjecture what the note in question refers to. In reality, the Persian note is only the conclusion of a larger Hebrew note, which reproduces verbatim a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin, 100 b): *כל ימי עני רעים: בן סירא אומר אף בלילא ברם לרבים*. According to the

¹ *The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus*, James Parker & Co., London, 1899, 20 pp., 4to.

explanation given by me in *Revue des Études Juives*, t. XXXVII, p. 310, the Persian note—whether written by the same hand which wrote the Hebrew, or by some other hand—refers to Talmudic quotations from Ben-Sira, which was written on the margin, and means: “It seems that this did not occur in any copy (of Ben-Sira), but that it was communicated, orally, by one who delivered the tradition¹.” The Persian glossator wishes to explain the fact that the apophthegm about the sad condition of the poor, mentioned in the Talmud in the name of Ben-Sira, did not occur in the present Hebrew Ben-Sira (indeed it is not to be found either in the Greek or in the Syriac version). That נאקל, *naqil*, means one who delivers a tradition, need not be proved. In addition, I mention the expression שֶׁרַח הַנֶּאֱמָרִים (שרח אלנאקל) in Maimūni’s *Sefer Hammitsvoth* (p. 29, l. 7, ed. Bloch), where נאקל is the same as the frequently recurring ראיון (ראיון). The tradition itself is called הנקל (אלנאקל). The word המעתיקים, which is so frequently employed by Ibn Ezra, and which designates the bearers of the Tradition, is a rendering of الناقلون. Prof. Margoliouth will himself be obliged to admit that this explanation of the first Persian marginal note in the Oxford MS. is so natural and clear, that it excludes any other assumption of the meaning of the word נאקל. From the same hand as this note is also the other on fol. 5 verso, which reads: אין נוסחא דא אידר בוד, i. e. اِنْ نُسَخَتْ نَا اَيْدَر بُوْد (vide *Revue des Études Juives*, *ibid.*), “this copy went thus far.” This note is placed where the *variae lectiones* at the margin of the fragments cease, and means that the copies of Ben-Sira, from which the *variae lectiones* were taken, did not go any further (xlv. 8). If Prof. Margoliouth had taken into consideration this note also, he would not have so misunderstood the nature of the *variae*

¹ I take נאקל as an abbreviation of אַנְאֵל, i. e. اَصْلًا, which, joined with the negative, means as much as “by no means.” It may, however, also be assumed that נאקל belongs to the preceding word, and that נוסחא נאקל (= نُسَخَتْ اَصْل) means “the original copy,” the original text.

lectiones, as he does in his hypothesis. According to the latter, this second Persian note has no sense whatever. The only meaning it can possibly have is this, that *variae lectiones* were added to the text of the fragments, which were taken from an incomplete copy, which went only as far as xlv. 8, and which, of course, cease at that verse. But what is the meaning of the second note in the light of Prof. Margoliouth's hypothesis? It is absolutely unintelligible.

It will be seen from what has been said, that the Persian marginal notes, upon one of which Prof. Margoliouth bases his hypothesis, are not only inapplicable thereto, but offer an argument opposed to it. Nevertheless, I will disregard these notes altogether, and rather proceed to those proofs which he adduces, from the text of the Hebrew Sirach fragments themselves, in support of his view. I admit that some of them are capable of stupefying one at the first moment, and certainly testify to the acumen and intelligence of their author. But, on closer inspection, they cease to be formidable and lose their demonstrative force.

The most striking are those passages as to which Prof. Margoliouth assumes that the Hebrew Sirach becomes only intelligible if viewed in the light of a reproduction from a Persian draft, i. e. from a Persian translation of the Greek Sirach. In this he starts from the assumption that the Persian draft was written with Arabic-Persian letters. The most conspicuous among these passages is, perhaps, the following:—

xliii. 1 (p. 10). The Greek has *χίονα*, the Hebrew in the same passage *רָקָא*. "Snow" becomes "lightning," because the author of the Hebrew erroneously read *برق* (Arabic-Persian for "lightning"), instead of *برف* (= "snow"), and put the Hebrew word *רָקָא*, which is identical with the former. First of all, it ought to be stated—as Prof. Margoliouth has stated—that the "snow" is quite out of place here, and that the word *χίονα* is a corruption

of old standing (the Latin version has also *nivem*). On the other hand, the "lightning" is here quite appropriate, and is, moreover, directly attested by ויקום (v. l. ויקים) in the second half of the verse (ἀστραπὴς in the Greek¹). As a further proof for the reading ברק there is the marginal v. l. בקר, which is, of course, a corruption of ברק. But how this latter *varia lectio* is to be understood, according to Prof. Margoliouth's theory, is absolutely unintelligible. This applies, indeed, to most of the other marginal notes of the Hebrew Sirach fragments. It is not my business to explain how it came to pass that, in the Greek, "snow" was put instead of "lightning," limiting myself on this, as on all the other passages, to showing that Prof. Margoliouth's assumption is, in each case, either unnecessary or simply impossible.

xliii. 2 (p. 9) reads in Hebrew: שמש מביע בצורתו חמה. The Persian draft had, according to Prof. Margoliouth, rendered διαγγέλλων by سُخِّن افشاندن "to utter speech." The author of the Hebrew took سخن in the Arabic sense of the word as "heat," and translated מביע חמה. I shall not dwell on the fact that the phrase سُخِّن افشاندن is not attested (Vullers does not know it), for it is not impossible that it was used in the sense of "speaking." But it is most doubtful whether the Hebrew, which says in the second half of the verse that the sun on rising proclaims מִן נֹרָא מַעֲשֵׂי י', should thus have misunderstood the phrase. In reality, we fare best if we consider the Hebrew as the original. I am of the opinion that ver. 2 a originally read thus: שָׁקֵשׁ מִבֵּיץ בְּצִיאוֹתָ אֶמֶר. The expression מִבֵּיץ אֶמֶר is taken from Ps. xix. 3 (יִבֵּץ אֶמֶר). The Greek read מביט instead of מביע², and translates it ἐν παρασῆλ (looking=with the look); it also read אֶמֶר instead of שָׁקֵשׁ, and rendered it by διαγγέλλων (=announcing). But by an error, which is easily explained, א was changed in the Hebrew into ה, and ר into ה, and

¹ Cf. Mishnah Ber. ix. 2: על הדיקים . . . ועל הברקים.

² Cf. also the *varia lectio* in the Hebrew in the preceding verse (xliii. 1), מביט נהדח, which can best be explained as מביע נהדח ("pours out light").

thus the word became חמה, an alteration all the more explicable by the nearness of the word שמש; thus the *varia lectio* has also מופע for מביע. This disposes of the necessity of refuting what Prof. Margoliouth says about the ridiculous misunderstanding, of which in the Hebrew the word *δρασμα* became the victim. The word בעצמו (= ἐξ ἑξῆς) is, of course, the original reading, for which in the Hebrew בצירתו was erroneously written.

The double ירח in xliii. 6 a (p. 10) is explained by Prof. Margoliouth in this way, that the Persian text had باهر (= ἐν πᾶσι in the Greek), which was read as one word باهر, which sometimes means "moon." But باهر (cf. בורר, Job xxxvii. 21) can be at the best only an attribute of the moon, and the Hebrew could not render this by a noun, since the noun ירח precedes it, but he would have probably put the Hebrew בהיר or a similar adjective.

In the same section of the verse the Greek has εἰς καιρὸν αἰῶν; according to Prof. Margoliouth, the Persian translator rendered this by بر بار, an expression which I consider to be very problematical; Prof. Margoliouth proceeds that the Hebrew text, and two marginal notes in the Hebrew had their origin in this expression; the correct reading بر بار produced the Hebrew ער עת; the reading עת עת, and the reading עת עת (again very problematical), עתות שבות (Prof. Margoliouth does not explain why it should be in the plural). But for the second section of the verse the Persian draft also offered the opportunity for amusing misunderstandings, for χρόνος was rendered in the Persian translation آمد (plur. آماد), an Arabic word which means "period" and also "end," hence קץ in the Hebrew. The preceding word ἀνάδειξιν was rendered in Persian by نمودن, which not only means "to show," but also "to order"; hence in the Hebrew, influenced by Gen. i. 16, ממשלה. Thus the verse offers quite a load of misunderstandings, to assume which a strong faith is required. It will be more advisable, and, at the same time, easier to consider the Hebrew as the original, and to solve the difficulties in another

way, rather than to have recourse to such artificial hypotheses.

xliii. 17 c (p. 11). Greek ὡς πετεινά, Hebrew כְּרָשָׁיִם. Prof. Margoliouth completely ignores the possibility of the two expressions agreeing, and that כְּרָשָׁיִם may mean winged beings, birds¹. He prefers assuming that the Persian translator rendered the Greek word by پرواز, which means "flight" (*volatus*, properly *alarum solutio, separatio*, Vullers). There is no reason why he should have employed an abstract word for translating a concrete word. Nor is there any reason why the Hebrew should have understood that Persian word in its other meaning (*lumen, splendor*), and have employed a word (קֶשֶׁר) for its rendering, which is of very rare occurrence, and never has the meaning of "splendour." Still less obvious is it why the Persian should have translated the verb πᾶσαι (to scatter) by شکستن, which means "to break." The Persian translator used it, according to Prof. Margoliouth, in the sense of "to scatter," and the Hebrew took it to mean "to shake," and rendered it by רָעַח. But the Persian verb can have either meaning only metaphorically. The word καθιπτόμενα in the Greek is disregarded by the Hebrew.

xliii. 22 b (p. 12). The word רָשָׁן in the Hebrew text arose thus. ἡλαρώσει is translated into Persian by چربی (*mansuetudo, lenitas, clementia*), and the Hebrew took it in its first meaning (*pinguetudo*), and rendered it by רָשָׁן. In the same passage the marginal note to שֶׁרֶב is רֹטֵב; this, according to Prof. Margoliouth, must be understood in this way, that the Hebrew read in the Persian translation سراب instead of شراب, which properly means "drink," and translated it by רֹטֵב (*moisture, damp*). These are unnecessary hypotheses. They rest upon the assumption that, in this sentence, the Greek is "fine and clear," the Hebrew "ludicrous." In my opinion, it is just the Hebrew, if correctly

¹ Vide my remarks in *Revue des Études Juives*, XXVIII, 151 sq. Rashi explains לִשְׁמֵי Ps. lxxviii. 48 לִשְׁמֵי; Ibn Ezra לִשְׁמֵי דֵּוֹת Deut. xxxii. 24 אֲכֹלֵי שָׂמָיִם.

understood, that gives excellent sense. Only, that the word פורע must be taken in a sense which it does not have elsewhere, but which is nevertheless attested by the Aramaic פפרע (= Hebr. פפר, פפרה). It having been said in ver. 21 that all vegetation is being parched by the heat of the sun, we read in ver. 22 :—

מריפא כל מערפא ענן
כל פורע לרשן שרב

“Healing for everything is what the cloud leaves, the dew comes quickly to make the glowing desert green.” מערפא is a noun formed from יערפ (Deut. xxxii. 2) to designate the rain springing up in the cloud; unless we read מערפא and take ענן as its subject. For לרשן cf. רשן, Ps. lxx. 12, which denotes “luxuriant vegetation,” and רשן, Ps. xcii. 15, denoting “luxuriant growth of trees.” (For instances of this use of the word in post-Biblical Hebrew, vide Levy, I, 430 a.) שרב has the same meaning here as in Isaiah xxxv. 7. Besides the suggested explanation of פורע (cf. Ps. cxlvii. 15 עד מהרה ירחן רברו), I would suggest an alternate one, based upon a slight alteration. I read כל פורה, an expression which must have existed; for we read in a passage, referring to God’s beneficent deeds, and which has a strong resemblance to our passage in Sirach : וחקדש ברוך הוא משיב רוחות ומוריד גשמים ומפריח כללים ומגדל צמחים ומרשן הפרת (Pesikta, ed. Buber, 99 a, in a Baraitha of the Tannaite Nehemiah), idem, ib. 69 a and parallel passages from Jannai, one of the oldest Amoraites¹. כל פורה corresponds with יורד גשם. It is not here the place to discuss the way in which the Greek translated this passage, so clear and beautiful in Hebrew. At all events he read רשן, and translated it in a metaphorical sense by *λαρόω*. Cf. Prov. xv. 30, where רשן stands parallel to יעצח.

xliv. 8 b (p. 18). Prof. Margoliouth’s Persian translator rendered ἀνεστησασθαι ἐπαινοὺς by انشاد مرث (“to recite praise of the dead”). The Hebrew read میراث instead of

¹ Die Agada der paläst. Amoräer, I, 43.

מֵרַחֵם, and translated it נִחְלָחֵם; regarding the word انشاد he vacillated as to the right reading; once he read استناد, which he rendered לְהַשְׁתַּנֵּחַ, at another time انشاد, and then placed the corresponding term לְהַשְׁתַּנֵּחַ in the margin. Very witty, but highly improbable. מֵרַחֵם, the plural of مَرثِيَّة, means "lamentation for the dead," also "elegy," but the word would hardly have been chosen for the rendering of ἐπαινος. Much more simple is the assumption that נִחְלָחֵם in the Hebrew is a corruption from נִחְלָחֵם. In the same way לְהַשְׁתַּנֵּחַ is evidently a corruption for לְהַשְׁתַּנֵּחַ, as given in the margin. Nobody who managed Hebrew so well as the author of the Hebrew text, even in Prof. Margoliouth's opinion, would have chosen such a monstrous form instead of לְהַשְׁתַּנֵּחַ.

xliv. 10 b (p. 18). Greek δικαιοσύνη, Hebrew תְּקוּמָה. According to Prof. Margoliouth, this alteration from "piety" into "hope" arose thus, that the Persian translator rendered the Greek word by تَقْوَى, and the Hebrew, misled by the similarity in sound, translated it by the Hebrew word for "hope." Too great a carelessness is attributed here to the Hebrew author. It is much easier to assume that the Greek had before him the original reading צְדָקָתָם (more correctly צְדָקוֹתָם).

xliv. 17 d (p. 18). The assumption that בְּרִיתוֹ arose from the Arabic عَهْد in the Persian translation, which word means both "time" and "covenant," is not sufficient for deriving the Hebrew text from the Greek. At all events the Hebrew makes here better sense than the Greek; for בְּרִיתוֹ בְּעִבְרוֹ הָיָה שְׂאִרִית is the natural continuation of חוֹל כָּבֵד. The Syriac must also be understood as a paraphrasis of the Hebrew ("God swore unto him, that there would be no more flood"). בְּרִית is, of course, an allusion to Gen. ix. 11.

xlvi. 11 (p. 19). Greek ὁσων οὐκ ἐξήπόρνευσεν ἡ καρδία; Hebrew כָּל אֲשֶׁר לֹא נָשָׂא לִבּוֹ. Prof. Margoliouth thinks that the Persian translator employed the Arabic verb فجر, which the Hebrew read as نخر. This most artificial hypothesis becomes unnecessary, once it is understood (vide *Revue des*

Études Juives) that we must not read נָשָׂא (or נִשָּׂא), but נִשָּׂא, which the Syriac renders by נָשָׂא, in the same way as the Peshitta renders הִשָּׂא, Gen. iii. 13, by אִנְשָׁא, and הִשָּׂא, ver. 3, by אִנְשָׁא. The Greek translator is more free, but in the same sense (cf. לָבַח הוֹנָה, Ezek. vi. 9).

We see that in most of the passages discussed thus far, Prof. Margoliouth operates with Arabic words, which figured in the vocabulary of the Persian translator posited by him. In the same way he attributes to his Ben-Zew of the eleventh century Arabisms which he supposes him to have employed in his re-translation. Such Arabisms are, according to Prof. Margoliouth: xl. 26 (p. 7), Greek βοηθειαν, Syr. מְעִירָא,¹ Hebrew מְעִין, which he believes to be nothing else but the Arabic مُعِين, "helper." But it is only Smend who believed that the word, the ך of which is entirely obliterated, ought to be read as מְעִין. Lévi only finds traces of the initial letter מ, but no trace of the other two letters, and adopts my suggestion מְעִין. However this may be, it is quite out of the question that the author of the Hebrew text should have expressed a notion, to express which the Hebrew language is particularly rich, by a purely Arabic word, the participle of an Arabic verb.

xl. 9 (p. 5), Greek κόσμος φωρίζων; Hebrew מְהִיר, with the *varia lectio* מְהִיר. Prof. Margoliouth assumes the verbs both of the text and of the *varia lectio* to be Arabisms: مُشْرِق and مُزْمَر being equivalent to the Greek verb φωρίζω. Here also the same objection applies as to the preceding conjecture. The Hebrew would not have resorted to Arabic verbs for an idea so easily to be rendered in Hebrew; which verbs, by the way, are not such as to suggest themselves in the first instance. Nor does Prof. Margoliouth explain how מְהִיר originated in the Hebrew text. As a matter of fact, the *varia lectio* has preserved here the original text, for מְהִיר, "ornament" (κόσμος), is parallel with the preceding expressions הָרָר and הָרָר. As to מְהִיר, it will have to be considered as

¹ Cf. Septuagint and Peshitta to Gen. ii. 18 (מְהִיר) βοηθόν, מְהִיר.

a most remarkable Arabism of Ben-Sira. But it can, perhaps, be disposed of by a conjecture, which would, moreover, explain the *varia lectio*. Ben-Sira wrote, perhaps, עדי מצהיב, "glittering ornament" (cf. Mishna Middot, ii. 3 טשחן מצהיב), or עדי מחיב (vide Levy, IV, 175 b). This could easily have been altered into מחיר. On the other hand, it is hard to understand how מצהיב or מחיב was turned into משריק. Is it possible to assume a verb to שריק, Zech. i. 8? ואורי is an apparently explanatory alternative to ועדי.—Prof. Margoliouth suggests also a double Arabism, similar to the one in xliii. 9, in the immediately preceding verse, where the Hebrew text reads מרצף, and the marginal note has מערץ. Both words are Arabisms, according to Prof. Margoliouth. I need not again point out that it is unnecessary to go back to the Arabic to find the meaning of "meeting gaze" in the word מערץ, for the Hebrew word מַעֲרִץ has that meaning in Isaiah viii. 13. As to מרצף, cf. *Revue des Études Juives*, t. XXXVII, 314.—A few verses before Prof. Margoliouth finds two Arabisms (xliii. 4 c), one orthographic and another lexicological. The spelling of לשאן instead of לֶשֶׁן (thus *v. l.*) must have arisen from a combination of the Hebrew word with the Arabic !لسان. And חנמר is "both in form and meaning pure Arabic." But חַנְמֶר is much better explained from the Aramaic חַמְרָא, "a coal," than from the Arabic نَجَمَر. Even if taken as synonym to חַבְלָה (חַמְרָא = חַבְלָה) it would make better sense.

The following passages are explained by Prof. Margoliouth by the assumption that the Hebrew translator based his work not only upon the Persian version of the Greek Sirach, but also upon the Syriac text.

xli. 12 (p. 14). The Hebrew אצרות חכמה accords with the Syriac סִמְתָּא דְעִמָּא (the Hebrew for which would be אצרות חכמה). But the author of the Hebrew text did not recognize in the word דְעִמָּא the noun עִמָּא, to which the particle ד is joined, but took דְעִמָּא to be equivalent to the Hebrew דָעָה, but did not render this by its Hebrew equivalent, but by

חֲסִדָּה! Is it not much more simple to assume that the *varia lectio* to חסידה, namely חסדה, was the original reading, and that the Syrian understood this חֲסִדָּה *in malam partem* (cf. Exod. xx. 16, Mic. ii. 2), as illegitimate covetousness of other people's property? The Greek must have read חרון (χρῶσις).

xlii. 11 e (p. 15). Hebrew תור אל די אשנב. This section of the verse, if connected with the second section, makes good sense. "The place where she abides let there be no lattice," namely, to look out (vide Judg. v. 28). But Prof. Margoliouth considers this as meaningless, and prefers assuming a foolish misunderstanding. In the Syriac the half verse reads: אחר דעמרה לא חשבקה נפקא. The Hebrew read חשבניה for חשבקה, and this was a Syriac Arabism (تَشْبِكَة), "provided with bars"; he connects נפקא with the next section of the verse. I abstain from further discussing Prof. Margoliouth's explanation, but decidedly deny that the Hebrew can only be understood in the way he suggests. Unfortunately, the whole passage is missing in the Greek.

xliii. 2 b (p. 16). מה נרא מעשי יי: "How wonderful is God's work!" These are the words which the Sun proclaims on rising. The sense is so natural that it is astonishing that Prof. Margoliouth prefers the Greek and the Syriac: μακάριον θαυμαστόν, ἔργον ὑψίστου, מאנא דחרמרתא, עברה דמרימא: "Wonderful vessel, work of the Most High!" This gives no unexceptionable sense, either taken by itself or in connexion with that which precedes. But Prof. Margoliouth is of opinion that the Hebrew misunderstood the Syriac מאנא, which he took to be an interrogative particle, and rendered by מה. Exactly the opposite must be assumed. By an error (probably of hearing) the Greek mistook מה נרא, as if it were נרא מן. The Syriac was here not taken from the Hebrew, but from the Greek.

xliii. 9 (p. 17). Prof. Margoliouth explains the plural in the Greek text (ἄνθρωποι) so that the plural in Syriac ܐܢܬܐ was read without the points, and taken as a singular.

It is much easier to assume that the Hebrew also originally had כוכבים, and that this was subsequently abbreviated.

xlvi. 20 (p. 13). Greek τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ: Syriac אורחא. According to Prof. Margoliouth, the latter was preferred by the Hebrew, who had both versions before him, and he rendered אורחא by דרכיו. But most probably the original reading in the Hebrew was אחריתו, which was erroneously read by the Syriac as ארחתיו, whereas the Greek translated τελευταίαν.

xlvii. 6 c (p. 17). בעמותו צניף נלחם. This arose, according to Prof. Margoliouth, through a combination of the Greek and Syriac. But the Hebrew bears here the stamp of originality. צניף is the royal diadem (Isa. lxii. 3 צניף סלכיה); נלחם is the introduction, required for the second section of the verse, ומסביב הכניע צר. In the Syriac the translation of בעמותו is missing, whilst צניף is rendered by כליל, "diadem," which was turned into קליל אחכתש ("he fought a little"), so as to establish a sense with the following words. The Greek has no translation of נלחם; or, rather, the translator read another word for נלחם, which he translated δόξης.

Besides those mentioned here, Prof. Margoliouth discusses a few other passages, for the purpose of showing that the Hebrew is less intelligible than the Greek and the Syriac, and cannot be considered as the original. Such a passage is xl. 16 a (p. 8), בקדמות על נחל נחל; Greek, ἀχει ἐπὶ παντός ὕδατος καὶ χείλους ποταμοῦ; Syriac, ואין חבלכלא ריעת על גרנפא; דנחלא. Prof. Margoliouth is of opinion that the Hebrew original ought to have had אחו, because the Greek has ἀχει. But neither has the Syriac that which we should expect as a translation of אחו (Job viii. 11). The rare word employed in the Hebrew shows rather that this is no re-translation. Prof. Margoliouth, indeed, attributed to the Hebrew the absurdity of having used קדמות in the meaning of "axes" (Ps. lxxiv. 5), and ignores the existence of a Mishna word קדומית (קדומית), which means a sort of rushes (vide JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IX, 559), and which

undoubtedly is meant here. The Greek translator could very well have selected for this the word ἀχαι, which is of Egyptian origin; for this was for him not a "Coptic word," but was well known to him from the Greek version of Gen. xli. 3, 18, which was also familiar to his readers. What meaning the axe can have here after this hypothesis, and how it was possible for ἀχαι to be misunderstood, cannot, of course, be easily explained by Prof. Margoliouth.

Meaningless appears also to Prof. Margoliouth xliii. 24 (p. 8), יִירְדֵי הַיָּם יִסְפְּרוּ קְצֵרוֹ, "they that go down to the sea tell of its bounds." This translation, as given by the editors (Mr. Cowley and Dr. Neubauer), is made by Prof. Margoliouth the subject of a sneering criticism, as if, literally, the end, the boundary of the sea were meant, about which, of course, those who go down to the sea are not wont to tell. But קְצֵרוֹ does not mean here the boundary of the sea, but a part of the sea (cf. קְצֵרוֹ, Num. xxiii. 17, opp. כָּלוֹ), somewhat in the sense of קְצוֹת דְּרָכָיו, Job xxvi. 14. The seafaring man tells only a part of the wonders which the sea offers, and we are astonished at that which our ears hear.

To xliii. 10 (p. 10), vide JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IX, 552; *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXVII, 314.

I believe that I have sufficiently proved that the grounds which Prof. Margoliouth adduces, in support of his hypothesis, as sketched out above, have no validity. I do not dwell upon the facts that the passages examined by Prof. Margoliouth are only a small minority, and that, in spite of the acumen and ingenuity displayed in his inquiry, he has not been able to dispose of a single difficulty, of the many which a number of passages of the Hebrew text offer, both on their own account and in their relation to the two ancient versions. Nor will I enumerate the positive grounds which point to the originality of the Hebrew fragments of Sirach,

and are opposed to Prof. Margoliouth's theory of a re-translation; among which the strophic character, the pure parallelism, of our fragments would not occupy the last place. The most ingenious re-translator would not have been able to carry this through, if merely guided by translations. I am content with having shown the untenableness of Prof. Margoliouth's arguments. It is not the hitherto generally adopted view of the character of the Sirach fragments, as the genuine original of Sirach, which is an illusion; but it is the hypothesis of Prof. Margoliouth, which rose, like a soap bubble, from the Sirach inquiry, only to burst after a short brilliancy.

W. BACHER.

BUDAPEST, *June*, 1899.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have nothing to add to the foregoing article, which was written before the appearance of the Cambridge fragments edited by Prof. Schechter and Dr. Taylor. In a special excursus to this splendidly-edited work, Dr. Taylor proves that Prof. Margoliouth's arguments are untenable. Prof. Smend, in a review of the Cambridge volume (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Sept. 1, 1899, No. 18, p. 505), also writes, with reference to Prof. Margoliouth's hypothesis: "Dass wir auch in der neuen Handschrift das hebräische Original und nicht etwa eine Rückübersetzung vor uns haben, ist evident."

Only one of the most zealous and successful of the investigators of the earlier fragments published by Dr. Neubauer and Mr. Cowley—M. Israel Lévi—has now arrived at a different conclusion. He says (*Revue des Études Juives*, tome XXXVIII, p. 308), with intelligible regret: "Hélas, il faut nous rendre à l'évidence: le texte hébreu, qui a son intérêt, ne saurait plus être considéré comme l'original; il peut uniquement servir à le reconstituer." My honoured

friend thus returns to the sceptical view which he expressed (*Revue des Études Juives*, XXXII, 303) after the publication of the first page discovered by Prof. Schechter, though on other grounds than are supplied by Prof. Margoliouth. M. Lévi will probably soon publish the reasons that have led to his conversion. He only gives a single argument which seems to him to have decisive weight against the originality of the Hebrew Sirach, and forces him to hold that the text is a retranslation which must be ascribed to a Jew whose mother-tongue was Arabic. This argument he finds in the verb חָלַק, which occurs twice in the Oxford edition: עָסַק נָדַל חָלַק אֵל (xxxix. 25), and מִכָּבֹד לְמִכָּבֹד חָלַק מִרָאשׁ (xl. 1). In both cases the Greek and the Syriac have a verb which signifies "create" (κρίειν, חָלַק). Lévi holds, following the lines of Prof. Margoliouth, that the Hebrew retranslator rendered the versions by the Arabic for "create" خَلَقَ, written חָלַק. Now such an assumption is in the highest degree improbable, if not impossible. It is scarcely thinkable that an eleventh-century Jew, so skilful a Hebraist as the author of the Sirach fragments certainly must have been, should use an Arabic word for the idea "create" instead of the common Hebrew verbs בָּרָא, יָצַר.

Secondly, consideration must be given to the fact that an Arabic Jew of the eleventh century would not have transliterated خَلَقَ by חָלַק, but by כָּלַק (see my remarks in *Z.D.M.G.*, XXXVII, 458). On the other hand, if we accept the Hebrew as original, the verb חָלַק presents no real difficulty. It may be explained on the hypothesis that the Hebrew חָלַק had anciently the same meaning as the Arabic verb with a similar sound. We have thus to deal here with an ancient Arabism. In point of fact, Jerome in rendering חָלַק, Deut. iv. 9, writes "creavit" (see *J. Q. R.*, IX, 549). As applied moreover to God, the senses to "allot" and to "create" are not widely different. I hold, therefore, that it would be very rash, on account of isolated difficulties which the corrupt fragments of the Hebrew Sirach present, to allow weight to so unnatural and un-

tenable a hypothesis as that the Hebrew is a retranslation. It is antecedently improbable that it would have been necessary by means of a retranslation in the eleventh century to restore to Hebrew literature a work which was demonstrably extant in the original Hebrew so late as the tenth century. And the actual relations between the Cairene Hebrew and the versions speak for the originality of the former.

The further fragments published by Prof. Schechter supply fuller material for comparing the Geniza text with the previously known citations from the Hebrew Sirach. As was at the outset probable, the character of the text presented by the citations of Saadia Gaon is now found to so closely resemble the fragments published by Prof. Schechter that it is sometimes altogether identical with the latter. This, however, is not the place to speak at length on these points. I shall find another occasion to express myself more fully.

W. B.

BUDAPEST, *Sept.* 8, 1899.

NOTES ON THE CAMBRIDGE TEXTS OF BEN SIRA.

THE following notes are the result of three days' study of the Hebrew fragments in the possession of Prof. Schechter. I went very carefully through the MSS., comparing them with the printed text in the *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, edited by Prof. Schechter and Dr. Taylor, and noting every point in which there was reason to differ from the reading adopted by the editors. The text is, however, so accurately reproduced that there is very little to alter in it, and the proposed changes are mostly unimportant, or concern passages in which the reading must remain a matter of individual opinion. Of course, in the short time at my disposal I may have overlooked some points, and could not hope to puzzle out many of the difficult lines in which the writing has almost entirely disappeared. Some differences, which are merely trifling or quite uncertain, are omitted from the list. With regard to MS. A, it is worth mentioning that, though the writing is distinct and usually well-preserved, some letters (ב and כ, ד and ר, ו and י, ך and ן) are often hardly distinguishable; such alternatives are therefore usually not noted below. I have to thank Prof. Schechter very sincerely for his courtesy in giving me access to the fragments and affording me every facility for my work.

Chapter v. 4. For אִךְ read אִךְ.

vi. 7. For בְּנִסִּין read בְּנִסִּין.

vii. 16. For תְּחִשְׁבֶּךָ read תְּחִשְׁבֶּךָ.

21. After כִּנְשׁ there is a hole: a letter *may* be lost.

23. For לָהֶם read לָהֶם.

- xii. 5 d. For רעה read רע.
- 14 marg. For ען read ע; it should be one line higher: perhaps a variant for זון.
- xiii. 6. For צריך read צריך.
26. For ושיח read ושיח.
- xiv. 9. For קעט read קעט.
13. For חמית read חמית.
- 16¹. For לכפי (above the line) read לפני; the correction is not quite distinct, and so is repeated in the margin.
- 18 c marg. For מרחות read מרחות.
27. For ובמענותיה read ובמענותיה.
- xv. 3. For והאכלתו read והאכלתו.
14. For כי (over מבראשית) read ט i.e. אדם is to be read
14. For אדם read אדם } eighth and מבראשית
ninth word in the line.
- xvi. 23. Read אלה ונבר פ[ו]חה (the ו printed above ונבר is really the tail of the ק in צדק in the line above.
24. [מש] לי what is left of the first two letters suggests שכלי.
- xxx. 15 marg. For עשר read עשר.
- 19 marg. For ימב לאלי very doubtful: the remains of letters look like י.ש.ל.לי.
- 19 marg. Of ירח only a ר (?) is visible.
- 19 marg. For מדוני read perhaps .ממת.
- 23 a. For פת read פת (for פתה = *πάρα* of several Greek MSS. Cf. Syriac).
- xxxi. 1 marg. חפרי is crossed through.
- 10 b. For תפארה read תפארה (cf. margin).
- 10 d. For רע read רע.
- xxxii. 1 marg. For ובכך read ובכך.
- 5¹ marg. For נהפך read נהפך (תהפ'?).
- 11¹. For שלחן read שולחן (the ש is very doubtful).
12. The first letter seems to be כ.
17. For תורה read תורה.
- 22² marg. For מצות read מצות (?)
- xxxv. 10. For לאל read לאל.

- 19 d. For **ושמחתם** read **ושמחתם**.
- 20¹. For **ב...ט...פ...ך** read **ב...פ...ה...ך**.
- xxxvi. 4. For **לעיניהם** read **לעיניהם**.
6. For **האדר** read **האדר**.
- 17 d. For **אל[עו]ל[ם]** read **אל[עו]ל[ם]** (on account of the space).
- 18 marg. Before **חסור** there seems to be a **ה**.
- 18 marg. **בבטן** very doubtful; the remains of letters look like **רד**.
- 18 marg. **ממעול** looks like **ממעול** (?).
- xxxviii. 5 marg. For **מעין** read **מעין**.
- 10 marg. For **נכה** read **הסר** (?).
11. For **נ[ח]ח** read **נ[ח]ח** (?).
12. After **מקום** some letters very indistinct: perhaps **חירא**.
23. For **מחושבת** read **מחושבת**.
27. The remains of letters admit of the reading **אף עשה חרש ועצב** (?).
1. 8 a. The first two words are written **בנפענפי** (the second may be **נ**).
- 9 b c. Read **א. יל** (?); the missing letter looks more like **ט** than anything else.
- 16 d. For **להזכיר** read **להזכיר**.
21. **העם כלו** very doubtful: the remains of letters are like **ל**; perhaps no letter after **הל**.
24. For **פיתחם** read **פיתחם**.
- li. 4 a. After **שלהבת** read **סביב** (tops of letters only remaining).
- 20 a¹. For **אמה** read **אמורה** (tops of **רה** only remaining).
- 20 a². For **אחח** read **אחור**.
- 20 a². For **בתוכה** read perhaps **בה**.
- 20 b, c, d. For **ב...ך** read **ב...ך**.

A. COWLEY.

GENIZAH SPECIMENS.

THE following document is contained in a long sheet of parchment (40 × 23 cm.) written in large square letters, excepting the signature of Samuel b. Judah, which is in a markedly cursive hand. Unfortunately, the MS. is badly injured, a large part of it, as indicated by the dots, having been torn off. How many lines are missing at the beginning it is impossible to say, whilst the whole of the right column extending over the first fifteen lines of the document has now, with the exception of a few letters, entirely disappeared. Probably the missing part formed an acrostic. As to the remaining contents, they were probably written somewhere in Spain in the eleventh century, and seem to represent a letter of introduction given to a person emigrating to Egypt. This fact is suggested by the word נגידים, a dignity more common in that country than in any other. The Scriptural verse quoted in line 14 also points to מצרים (cf. Isa. xxvi. 14), to the Jewish communities in which the letter was addressed. The cause of the emigration seems to have been some general persecution, in which also the fortunes of the bearer of the letter were involved. Perhaps we have here a reference to the troubles which followed the assassination of Joseph ibn Nagdila in the year 1066. The style is in the well-known allusive manner, but is not so obscure as that of the Paitanim. The quotations in lines 14 and 19 are provided with dots in the MS. to show their Biblical origin. On the other hand, the dot over the first *yod* in עיני (l. 27) is to show that it has to be cancelled. For the form בישן in the same line, see Zunz *Syn. Poesie*, p. 402. The dots which we should expect in l. 28 have probably faded away. The word after המלך in line 21 would suggest מאכלי, but no sign is left of the upper stroke of the *lamed*. Before the ו again a mark is to be seen which may be taken as a big *yod* or a small

resh. Of the three signatories to the letter, who seem to represent the *Beth Din* of a Spanish community, nothing is known to me so far.

S. SCHECHTER.

.
 נגידים
 וכל . עב ב (?) . חנם סעודים
 לכל עובר ובא מכל צדדים
 ויגדילם כגדול ליהודים 5
 ורגליהם ישמר מלכדים
 ומתבל תבואות כל מנדים
 להראותם לילדיהם ילדים
 כננאלו במשמש מבית עבדים
 וחמאתם בנבכי ים ירוחים 10
 וירצו כמו קרבן תמידים
 וישבו אל נה ספיר יסודים
 לקבץ פזויר עם בכל פינה נד[ים]
 ככתוב ביום ההוא יתקע בשופר גדול ובא[ה]
 15 חכמים נדיבים . החשובים לפני ק[נ]
 [חכ]מים הבקיים בסברה ותקיים מעון הברורים והבחורים הא[ה]
 נים (?) אשר על כל מים זורעים ובר לא מונעים לקראת הבא פוסע . .
 במ ועל במותי ארץ ירכיבם . בחצרות קודשו להציבם הם קהילות הקוד[ש]
 יפלט לסובבם ואל ימשם ואל יעזבם כענין כי לא יפוש יי את עמו
 20 לכם אנו אנשי קהל גרנטה מדינת רבנא שמואל הנגיד ויהוסף בנ
 אף זה מוביל (?) כתבינו וזיה אביו מראי פני המלך ומ
 מזל ונתקלקל המתוקן ונבעט כל אורח ומעגל
 מוצאי גולה מפני חרב נמשח ומפני קשת דרוכה
 בעשיית מצוה חייב הוא למחר אליה ולהקדים עשייתה
 25 כי ראוי למחר ולרץ אליה כמחר אל אפית בעק מצה מא
 מזהירים אלא כמזכירים והוא לא הוצרך לזה הכתב כי ברזך
 הוא עיניו ובושן ודברים רבים המקום יצילם מזו המ
 בבם מקרא שכתוב ונשא נם לגרים ואסף נרחי ישראל[ל]
 [שמ]ואל בר יצחק נ"ע יצחק בר יוסף נ"ע שמואל בר יהודה

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.

I (*continued*).

SUPPLEMENT TO § 20.

A.

THIS Supplement contains mostly *additions* to the names already enumerated at their places, and explained or ascertained by quotations; and some *articles* already indicated by an asterisk. All these names are arranged here according to their number, put in brackets, and without a line above the Hebrew catchword. Some entirely *new* articles are inserted at their respective places in the same form as the original ones.

A considerable number of *geographical* names may be explained by means of the large geographical works of the Arabs, which were not at my disposal.

I here give the title of a work which I have quoted in the latter part of § 20 and in this Supplement by the mere name *Kaisarani*: Homonyma inter nomina relativa auctore Abu 'l-Fadhl Mohammed, &c., vulgo Ibn al-Kaisarani (448–507 H., see Pref., pp. viii, xi, xii), quæ cum appendice Abu Musæ [Mohammed ibn abu Bekr] *Ispahanensis* (ob. 581 H.) e Codd. Leyd. et Berolin. edidit Dr. P. de Jong, Lugd. Bat., 1865, 8vo.

By the abbreviation "Neub." I quote Neubauer's *Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS.*

This supplement was finished and ready for printing at the end of March, when Mr. E. N. Adler, on a visit to Berlin, was kind enough to show me two other old leaves of the

Geniza at Cairo, full of names, twenty of which offered a supplement. Of greater importance is a recent purchase of his, a MS., which in different respects merits a closer investigation than my time admitted. The short notice only which I am able to offer here regards this MS. as the *source* of about fifty supplements, partly consisting of new articles; see below under 218 c.

This MS. contains an imperfect, hence anonymous, Hebrew Divan, which I shall cite as "Div. Adl.," the Arabic running number referring to the single pieces, counted by Mr. Adler, which are about three hundred (see below); the pages are not numbered, but above n. 174 the leaf is signed ה and خامسا, which designates the first leaf of the fifth half-quire. A former possessor, Abraham b. חלפן ha-Rofe, wrote his name in the margin of nos. 180 and 270, and probably noted the decease of a son A. 1763 in the margin of n. 4.

The poems are mostly very short, some consisting of only two lines, for instance, a *beit* (Distichon) in Arabic language (n. 22). They are composed partly in praise of some named persons, or as elegies on their death; but also *riddles* (חידות) on mere names, as Adam, Noah, &c. (n. 235 ff.).

The author lived certainly *before the middle* of the thirteenth century, since he composed some verses in honour of the living (one lamentation on the death of) Abraham, son of Maimonides (n. 108 ff., n. 280, beginning אהה נלקח ארץ (רת עם כרובים), and on the death of Isak ibn Schuweik (214, see שו"ת*). He lived at Alexandria, but travelled as far as Bagdad (בגדל, 118, 214, or עדינה, 214, 270)¹, where he seems to have lamented the death of a daughter of the Rosch Jeschiba Samuel ha-Levi (n. 6), to whom we shall return, and where some other persons became the subjects of his poetry. צפת is mentioned in n. 168. The subscriptions of all the pieces are Arabic. The Hebrew style and the manner of the unknown author is that of his elder con-

¹ On these names of Bagdad, see my *Polem. und apologet. Literatur*, p. 293 *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 90, note 8.

temporaries Jehuda al-*Charisi* and *Moses Dar'i*, who became a Karaite, and since n. 118 is addressed to the head of the Karaites, as I understand (see n. 118, under שרף), I thought at first sight to have detected another copy of his Divan, but I could not find sufficient arguments for that conjecture.

The author remains an interesting literary problem, and may perhaps be discovered by a peculiarity of his elegies. After lamenting in oriental exaggeration, not without biblical puns, he consoles the mourning members of the family, and furnishes valuable biographic materials of a time and of countries where our stock is very scanty.

Is no trace of the Divan itself to be discovered elsewhere? Mr. Adler and his learned friends could not find any. By means of my list of names I found easily that a Divan of the same author, only two separate leaves, was once in MS. Bodl. Hunt, 525, which I put in a Codex fragmentum, described by Neubauer, n. 2424⁴, without noticing that I had published the whole fragment in Schorr's *he-Chaluz*, III (1856), 150-153. It contains the end of an elegy (n. 289), another elegy on David, son of the author, n. 281 (for another son see under סמאראח*), a poem addressed to עלי, head of the Academy, n. 282 (Div. Adl. 179), and another addressed to Mordechai ibn אלהריב (comp. *he-Chaluz*, IV, 66). Some details respecting these articles will be discussed at their places in the Supplement itself.

א

(Vol. X, p. 130, n. 2, אביריהם). אבו דירחן, ap. Sambari, quoted by Vogelstein and Rieger, II, 44, is probably an error. "*Abudarum*" (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XII, 44, under "Annuaire") at Marseilles, 1887? Jehuda b. Abraham אבו דירחם "abu Dirham" (Neub. 1426, Index, p. 1070). The family in Africa is mentioned by Sam. Romanelli, about 1790 (*Massa*, pp. 72, 88).

⁴ב. אַל־אַבִּירָה? Abraham (Neub. 2329).

⁴ג. אַבְסֶכְאָן? Sal. (quoted in חורדים, f. 52, with the attribute

טובינת דחכמי, best of the sages), and so Conforte, f. 52, Ghirondi, p. 326, n. 30, so he signs a document at Safat (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 269); hence אמכנא, ap. Sambari, p. 151, is incorrect.

(20), אם אלדולה, *Umm al-Daula* (mother of the state), byname of a relation of Sa'ad al-Daula (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVI, 253, see under n. 218 c*).

[P. 131, l. 3, אמרבליה, misplaced p. 130 penult.]

(P. 131) 7^ב. אלאדיב, *al-Adib* (well educated), Nissim ibn (Div. Adl. 39).

(10. אואני), comp. אואנא, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XX, 11.

12^ב. אואיני (אל), *al-Awini*, lamentation on abu 'l-Faradj ha-Levi ibn abi Is'hak (Div. Adl. 187; members of his family are Samuel, Isak, Meborach).

12^ג. אזדי (אל), *al-Azdi*, belonging to the tribe Azd (Suj., p. 11, Suppl., p. 12; Kaisarani, pp. 6, 170; ap. *H. Kh.*, p. 1046, are wanting the references to several names, as, for instance, Abu'l-Abbas Ahmed, n. 66; Abu Abd Allah Mohammed, n. 354; Abu Bekr, &c., n. 2382; Abu 'l-Hasan Moh., n. 3337; Abu Ishak Isma'il, n. 3976; Abu Moh. Abdul-Hakk, n. 6287, and others). I do not know whether a Jew could adopt the name of the tribe at once with the Islam. A grammarian named Harun b. Musa al-Azdi, who died at the age of seventy-two years, א. 170 H. (786-7), was also called *al-Akhfasch* (monocle, or short-sighted, &c.) *al-Schami*. He is said to have been born a Jew—his name means Ahron b. Moses: see Flügel, *Die grammat. Schulen*, &c., p. 126; an article of 'Safadi, quoted by Goldziher in *Monatsschr.*, &c., 1875, p. 92; ap. Hammer, *Lit.*, III, 305, the name of the teacher of Harun is not quite correct¹.

17^ב. אסאפי? *Iskawī* for Is'hak; Responsa, ed. Harkavy, n. 389; see also *ibid.*, p. 378.

¹ A different person is Harun b. Musa al-*Asadi* (الاسدي), this word is wanting in the *Lesarten* of O'seibia, p. 43 to II, 46) in Spain (tenth cent.); Hammer, VI, 477, gives Hasan and the year 379 (980); Wüstenfeld, p. 129, n. 34 (like Nicoll) has *Enai*, not "*El Adouy*," as Leclerc, *Hist.*, I, 429, pretends, confusing the following n. 35 of Wüstenfeld.

17^c. אלוף (אל) ? Efraim (Jellinek, *Kontres*, p. 8).

(P. 132) 19^b. אלשנה ? (perhaps אל is the article ?) Isak b. Efraim Kohen b. א' (Neub. 94).

(22. אמן אל) might also be אמן אלדולה *Amin al-Daula* (the reliable of the state), byname of abu Man'sur אלמאסערי, whose name was Elasar (father of Jeschua and Isak, Div. Adl. 181).

23^b. אמירה *Amira*, name of a woman, probably the feminine of Amir (Emir), mistress ; comp. סת.

(24. אמראני) also מראני ?

(25. אמשאני) Poznański in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXIII, 1896, p. 308 ; comp. the Catal. of the Arab. MSS. of the Khedive, VI, 43.

25^b. אניסי *Anisi* ? ibn (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

25^c. אנצאם *Andham* or *Indham* ? Isak b. Ja'isch (Neub. 1690).

(26. אנקאוא) see also נקה.

29^b. אסכנדרי *Iskandari* (of Alexandria), Abraham (Neub. 146), Suleiman (? Neub. 1977, but see under סכנדרי). "Iskandarani," ap. Kaiserani, p. 8.

(31. אספהאני), also אצפהאני (אל), ap. al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 433), abu Is'hak b. Ibrahim b. al-Isp.

31^b. אסקרא ? Chananel b. Meir b. Abraham א' of Spain went to Jerusalem to study the Kabbala (thirteenth cent., Luncz, *Jeruschalajim*, V, 55, mentioned by Isak חלי a. 1334 ; Schemtob ibn Gaon dedicated to him his work ... ברי הארץ, see Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 284.

(32. אענאכ), see also כלפה.

32^b. אפיד ? or אפידה, a name which I found only with a Karaïte about 1622, whose name was Elia Begi (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XX, 94), perhaps a Greek name ? Jost, in his "Notizen über die Literatur der Karaiten" (*Intelligenzbl. der allgem. Litteraturzeit.*, 1830, nos. 98 and 99), had beyond doubt a copy of Simcha Lucki, with the reading אפודה *Aphoda*.

32^c. אפנס (אל) ? (perhaps אפטס *Aftas*, "Simus, depressum

et latum habens nasum"? Freytag, III, 858), Jehuda b. Josef b. al-A. (Neub. 86).

32^d. אפראנים *Ifranim* is a graphic error, افرانيم instead of افرانيم *Efraim*, which the Arabs may have pronounced *Ifraim*. See under הבֵּה אֱלֵלָה; comp. "Evronim" (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XIX, 250).

32^e. אפריקי *Ifriki*? (of Africa?), Isak (Neub. 1517), Moses b. Elia פרי (Neub. 856).

(33. אעבאן, Efraim b. Isak (Neub. 940).

(P. 133) 34^b. ארינאני? see under עטר.

(34. אשבילי), (אל) *al-Ischbili* (Suj., 15 بکسر), not "Aschbili," Abr. (Neub. 2361²).

38^b. אשית (אל)? Asriel Petachja (Neub. 1424).

(40. אשקר), Moses al-A. called (ידיע) *al-Katib* (the writer, Neub. 1599).

40^b. אשרבי? (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(41. אטרי), see under משאלה, 388.

ב

42^b. באלאנסי *Balansi* (of Valencia), see בלאנסי.

44^c. בבי? Salomo b. Abraham b. Samuel ibn B...? (Neub. 347).

(45. בני) read XX, 94, and see p. 536, n. 214, note, and under סערוק.

(46. אל בנל), ibn al-B. (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

47^b. בדיע אלזמאן *Badi' (a)l'-Zaman* (the wonder of the time), a (fictitious?) byname of one Pinchas (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 136, repeated by Cazés, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XX, 79).

47^c. בדירי (אל) *al-Badiri* (Hamdani, Index, p. 12, and Kaisarani have only بدري), in the Siddur of Yemen, MS. Ginzburg (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XVII, 47).

47^d. בדראני (אל) *al-Badarani*? see under כְּלִיפָה* (Neub. 582).

(P. 134, n. 49. בוהלל), Samuel, see Sambari, p. 160; it answers to the Hebrew *Hillel* by a mere assonance (*Resp.*, ed. Harkavy, n. 16, see p. 345); see also under צלח.—Jona ibn B. (Neub. 618).

58^b. בוניארה *Bu-Gajjara*? Schalom called "Boghiara" at Oran, 1832 (Schwab, in *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXXIV, 129, 130).

59^b. (אל)בוסי? David b. Moses (Neub. 2346).

(61. בורניל), Natan, in שובה ישראל by Jehuda Djarmun, 1886.

(62. ברשערה), see also שערה.

(63. בזא) רפיא (see this article) = Joshijja, apud Jehuda ha-Levi?

64^b. בזרג מיהר *Buzurg Mihr* (Persian, the great Mihr, or Mithra), name of a Wezir; also quoted in ibn Gabirol's *Ethik*, but corrupted in print; has been made a byname of a Karaite, see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 136, XIV, 57; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 1052; repeated by Cazés, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XX, 79 (hence Kaufmann in *Die Haggada von Sarajevo*, by D. H. Müller and Schlosser, p. 298).

(67. ביאן), see § 29.

67^b. ביינה or ביינא, name of a woman (*Bajjina* = "prudentia"?), in epitaphs, ap. Firkowitz, p. 24, n. 83 (A. 845?), p. 38, n. 138 (A. 1003?).

67^c. ביים? Salomo b. Abraham ביום סן (for אמן?), Neub. 2385.

69^b. ביקעי? Elasar ha-Kohen (Resp. Bezalel Aschkenasi, n. 15, f. 49, col. 1 and 4).

69^c. בירדוחי? Mordechai (Neub. 2061⁴).

(P. 136, n. 74. בלאנסי), also באלאנסי (אל), Moses (1545, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XVI, 34).

[אל)בנאר], Mordechai, ap. Romanelli, *Massa*, p. 62, is incorrect, being a translation of Spanish *de la Mar* = بحر.]

(75. בלג), Chajjim (Conforte, f. 35); Isak, 1325 (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492); Isak, Salomo, and Samuel (Neub. 2356); Jakob (beginning of fifteenth cent.; MS. Halberstam 346, *Catal.*, p. 62). "Albalech," 1493, at Perpignan (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XVI, 193). بلغ בלג (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIX, 93).

75^b. בלדי (אל) al-Baladi (Suj., p. 42, Suppl., p. 36, Kaisarani, p. 19), see under עזר.

(76. אלבליאש), see also under עיש.

76^b. בלכי, *Balkhi* (of Balkh, Kaisarani, pp. 19, 183), see under כלכי.

77^b. בַּלְשָׁאָה, probably corrupted; see under רָקִי and תָּנָא.

80^b. בַּסְדִּם *Basedm* (much laughing), b. Simon al-Waschki (n. 168^b), of Huesca, sixth century of the Hidjra, to whom Ajjub b. Suleiman al-Marwani addressed an epistle, a rhetorical part of which has been extracted by Makkari (II, p. 355; the passage is not to be found ap. Gayangos, *Hist. of the Musulm. in Spain*, I, 161).

80^c. בַּסִּים? *Basis*? (little?), Jeschua (in שׁוּבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל of Jehuda Djarmun, 1886).

(P. 137, n. 83. בָּקָא, abu 'l-Bakai רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי אַחֲרָן (Div. Adl. 268).

(P. 138, n. 91. בִּרְהָן, Burhan *al-Fuluk*, a title or honorary name? (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, VIII, 71).

(92. בִּרְהוּן, "R. Barhun," author of כְּלֵי שֶׁבַח and דִּרְשָׁוִים, see under מִימֵן, n. 335, vol. XI, p. 138, note 2, where also Meimun b. B.

(94. בָּרוֹן), Astruc b. "Baron," 1293 (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXII, 265, 270), Salomon Hai "Benbaron" at Marseilles (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XIV, 302, article "Annuaire").

95^b. בִּרְחָאֵן? Hasan b. B...? (*Resp.*, ed. Harkavy, n. 555, see p. 537, n. 214).

(96. בִּרְחָא), see also בִּרְחָא, and as a proper name in a *Fragm. of Mr. Adler*.

96^b. בִּרְקוּלִי (אל) *al-Barkuli*; to Samuel ibn al-B. and his brothers one of the four dedications of the *Tachkemoni* is addressed (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 1310). The "*raïs aladjal*" abu Na'sr Josef ibn al-B. at Wasit (וַאֲסַט) in Div. Adl. (n. 113, 114, 161), and the *raïs* abu 'l-Ganâim ibn al-B. (*ibid.* 163), if he is not Josef, belong to the same family, if the name is a family name.

97^b. בַּשָּׂאָרָה *Baschara*, though of different meaning, seems to answer to the Hebrew or Arabic name בַּבְּשָׂר. B. b. Chalfon, 1409 (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 116, note 2 a, b).

(99. בַּשָּׂר, abu (ibn) B., see under מַאֲנֵר.

99^b. בַּשְׁרִיט *Baschrut*, see שְׁפִירוּט.

[בַּשָּׂת, Moses ibn Bassat (!) in *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XVIII, 306,

is a strange mistake of בננישת Benveniste, see *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 824, n. 9.]

99°. בַּתְּחֵלָה *Battât*? (qui conficit, vel vendit amiculum בַּתְּחֵלָה appellatum, Freytag, I, 81), abu 'l-Hasan ibn B., quoted by Moses ibn Esra (*Catal. of MSS. of Berlin*, Abth. 2, p. 128; ap. Brody (in *Festschrift-Steinschneider*, Hebrew part, pp. 36, 37, 38), Josef and Salomo, with the varia lectio יְבִרְחָא, certainly erroneous. Under Josef, the reference to אֶלְחָסָן is incorrect. Neubauer, *Catal.*, pp. 662, 664, nos. 47, 72, 168, does not hint at Salomo, and in n. 168 the name יְדִיָּקָה occurs.

2

(P. 513, n. 104. גַּלִּיב, abu גַּלִּיב, incorrectly in a Fragm. of Mr. Adler; G. bar Wahib (*Jew. Qu.*, XI, 646).

(P. 514) 107^b. גַּלִּימִידִי? *Galimidi*, Salomo b. Chajjim (Neub. 245).

(108. גַּמִּיל), Josef Nissim "Gamil," 1729-36 (Zedner, p. 383, comp. p. 35).

(109. גַּמְעִי), see under גַּמְעִי.

(114. גַּבְאִי), Josef b. Jakob (Neub. 2385).

114^b. גַּבִּי? Salomo (Neub. 1542).

(P. 515, n. 115. גַּבְלִי), Kaisarani, pp. 28, 181.

(116. גַּמְעִל = גַּמְעִל Isak (Neub. 1656).

(120. גַּמְעִל), as a proper name, G. b. Daud b. Sa'id (Neub. 1505).

(P. 516, n. 123. גַּמְעִלִי), at Constantinople (Sambari, p. 117, l. 8).

124^b. גַּמְעִלִי (*Djuleini*, ap. Suj., p. 66, would require גַּמְעִלִי), Josef, quoted by Josef ibn Na'hmiās (Poznański in *Zeitschr. f. Hebr. Bibliogr.*, I, 119).

124^c. גַּמְעִלִי? Daniel b. David "Gerasi vel Girasi" (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 853 et Add., and Add. at p. 1684; Gerassi, ap. Zedner, p. 195); Chajjim Elia (1804, *Mitteilungen der Gesellsch. f. jüd. Volkskunde*, III, Hamb. 1898, p. 62).

125^b. גַּמְעִל *Djils* (? social, perhaps *Djalas* with different meanings, see Freytag, I, 295), abu Ja'akub b. Ibrahim (al-Ba'sri) ibn Dj. (al-Hiti, *J. Q. R.*, IX, 433, 439).

125^c. נמאל אלדולה *Djamal al-Daula* (beauty of the state), honourable name of two brothers, according to Kaufmann, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 303). Dj. ibn אלנצאבי חנני (Div. Adl. 169). It is quite different from נמאל אלד', see this.

125^d. נמדר? Mas'ud b. Obadja (Neub. 1273).

(126. נמילה), also נאמילה (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XVI, 62); Dj., daughter of R. Maimon of שמטובה (*Schemtoba*? read שמיטבה *Xatiba*? Resp. Sal. Duran, 592); the wife of Abraham לוחם in the epitaph (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XIX, 158); *Giammilla* at Rome, 1623 (*ibid.*, 132), is an Italian pronunciation; נאמילה, bride of Ahron ha-Kohen (ap. Jellinek, *Kontres*, p. 10), is a printer's error¹.

126^b. נמיץ *Djami* (*Collection*, &c.), see under הבה אללה p. 522.

127^b. נמאיים (אל) *al-Gandim* (sheep), abu 'l-G., see under ברקל.

(P. 517), 128^b. נעילו? נעילו? Samuel ha-Levi (Neub. 1919).

128^c. נמצאיר (אל) *al-Ghadāiri* (*Suj.*, p. 187, Suppl., p. 179), abu 'l-Ridha ibn al-G. (*Div. Adl.* 210).

128^d. נרם אלדולה *Ghars al-Daula* (? plantation of the state) b. al-Mu'ir, whose name was Jecheskiel (ירש מאבוחיו דח תבונה) (*Div. Adl.* 220; comp. under אלדולה נע* and פיר*).

129^d. נרנטי (אל) *al-Garnati* (of Granada, Resp. of Isak b. Scheschet, n. 468, where אל is to be connected with ג', see n. 482); ap. *Suj.*, p. 186, Suppl., p. 174, غرناطي.

ד

(131. דאוד), ibn Da'ud, *Resch Geluta*, ap. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 60, English, p. 117, ed. Asher, certainly the source of Sambari, p. 100.

(P. 518) 132^b. דאנאן? (read דאנאן?), Isak (Neub. 2523).

(133. דאנה) Isak b. Mordechai, MS. Par. 1338 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 130).

¹ נאמילה, wife of Mose Luzzatto, ob. 18 Ijjar 1630 (*Letterbode*, III, 107), "Gemella" apud Berliner, *Hebr. Grabscr.*, p. 107; p. 92, נאמילה, if Italian, is to be spelled *Gemmella*, from נאמה Gemma, so the daughter of Sabb. Marini (Vossillo, 1880, p. 148).

(134. דאנן), Samuel Abendanon, 1324 (*J. Q. R.*, VII, 442). On Josef, see the article of Prof. D. Kaufmann, in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 282.

(P. 519) 135^b. דגנר? see סערוק and סערוק.

135^c. דהאן *Dahhān* (oilmaker), Ja'hja b. Samuel ibn al-D. (Neub. 2396, is the copyist?).

(138. דוויך), Moses "Dawik" (transcription of the reporter) Kohen, author of *יקח מסעם לישראל*, Calcutta, 1882 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XVI, 293).

(141. דווש), Mr. Halevy (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XIX, 315) gives also דנאם. At the end שכם read שכר, see this article.

(P. 520, n. 143. דיין). In Nicoll's *Catal.* (see Index) occurs Abd al-Ra'hman ibn al-Diyan (ديان).

143^b. דינאר *Dinar* (Denarius), Jakob b. Moses ibn abi Dinar (Neub. 1164).

(146. דמארי, دماري, apud Hamdani, ed. D.H. Müller, p. 46; see also דמארי).

(146^c. דמחי, see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XVI, 59; Sambari, p. 160, l. antepenult., says distinctly the name is derived from the town. Serach is wanted in the index, p. xxviii.

(149. דנאן), Isak ibn (Neub. 1277) Isak b. Maimon דאנן (? ibid. 1164, Index, p. 1082, Danân); Samuel b. Jakob (ibid. 1162); Saul b. Jakob (ibid. 1492).

149^b. דסטור *Dastur* or *Destur*, properly Persian (a noble person, authority), Samuel ha-Levi ibn al-D., whose daughter is lamented in Div. Adl. 6, is probably the Bagdadian mentioned by Maimonides.

149^c. דסטרי (= דסטריי, plur. דסטריי), Isachar b. Chesed b. Isachar (al-Hiti, *J. Q. R.*, IX, 435, 443; *Tostari*, Poznański, *Zeitschr. für Hebr. Bibliogr.*, II, 79); سُستري, Suj., p. 53; Kaiserani, p. 23.—The abstract name דסטר (comp. § 18, p. 127) in an anonymous letter addressed to the Gaon Salomo b. Jehuda (Papyrus Rainer, vol. V, see *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXI, 273)= דסטר אל (see under פירח, n. 582. Abraham al-Tustari, ap. Mas'udi, *Bibliotheca geogr. Arab.*, ed. De Goeje, VIII, 114).

ה

(P. 521, n. 152. הַנִּי), comp. al-Hasan b. Hani, ap. abu Bequer, p. 547, abu Nuwas al-'H. b. הַנִּי al-'Hakimi, ap. O'seibia, I, 157, 163; *H. Kh.*, VII, 189, n. 7060.

153^b. הַנִּי? name of a woman (Resp. ed. Harkavy, n. 546).

(154. הַנִּי אֵלֶּה), p. 522, b. Ali, see עֵלִי; b. al-שִׁי, see under שִׁי, l. 12 from bottom; see also Neubauer in *J. Q. R.*, VII, 554.

(P. 523, n. 155. הַנִּי), Harkavy (Resp., p. 391 to n. 161) conjectures also מְהַנֵּר; in the Index, p. 410, under מְהַנֵּר, "387" read 391.

(P. 524, n. 156^b. הַנִּי), see R. Hoerning, *Brit. Mus. Karaite MSS.*, p. v; David al-Hiti's Arabic treatise, published with an English translation by Margoliouth (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 431), was not accessible to me at the beginning of the present introduction; Suj., Suppl., p. 218.

(159. הַנִּי), Harun b. Josef b. Salim (Neub. 2333), and see וְהַנִּי, 218^a*. Harun, Wazir of Abd al-'Hakk b. abu Said, at Fez, fell with his master at the end of September or beginning of October, 1464. His brother was abu *Djana'h* (E. Fagnan in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 297, 298). The name occurs also in a Fragment of Mr. Adler.

ו

(P. 525, n. 161. וְהַנִּי), comp. Josef (de) Vais, Villaréal, Leghorn, 1685 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XVII, 104). On the letter ו see below § 38, note 109.

164^a. וְהַנִּי *Wahib* (= وَهَب, donor?), s. נָאֵב, n. 104^a.*

164^a. וְהַנִּי *Wakil* (Hebrew מְמַנֵּה, a charge or mere title? curator), see Bacher in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXII, 129.

(167. וְהַנִּי), not וְהַנִּי, as ap. Luzzatto, נְחֻלָּה שִׁי'ל (ed. Berliner), p. 66.

167^a. וְהַנִּי (אֶל) al-*Warrak* ("chartarius"), Natan b. al-W., contemporary of Jehuda ha-Levi.

(167^b. הרולאני, ורולאני, ap. David al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 434, 441, note 8, where the reference is not taken into consideration).

(P. 526, n. 168^b. חספי), of Huesca, Josef b. Salomo (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IX, 138), and see בנסאם*.

י

(After n. 169), זמנאן, see זמנאן.

(171. זבארה, Moses (Neub. 2322).

(P. 527) 175^b. זיזאד *Zizad*? b. Khalfun (comp. n. 284; Virchow's *Archiv*, XXXVII, 392, XL, 105, at the bottom; *Catal. of MSS. Munich*, 2nd ed., p. 236; Leclerc, *Hist.*, II, 410).

(176. זיזאט, comp. "Zayet," ap. Jacobs (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 489, according to Kayserling).

176^b. זיד *Zeid*, Husein b. Z. was the name of Abd Allah b. Salam; Samuel b. Z. of the tribe Kureitsa at the time of Muhammed (*J. Q. R.*, X, 113).

(177. זיזא, Moses ibn S. (Neub. 2003).

(178. זין), Saadia b. Z. (Neub. 1448), Z. *al-Daula* Abd al-Ra'him (ibid. 125, see corr.); *abu* Z. Abd al-Wa'hid ("Wahd," ibid. 710).

(180. זכרי, abu Z. שלקח השירה בשפלות ודלות (*Maimonides, Epist.*, f. 22, ed. Amst.); is this affair known?

180^b. זלאלה, see עמרן*.

(181. זלמאני, Salomo b. Josef (Neub. 2201).

(P. 528, n. 183. זמרה, Isak, called מנריל b. abi Z., wrote an eulogium to Gavison's *Omer ha-Schikcha*. Moses *Aben-semerro*, 1481 (Loeb, in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXII, 104, is wrong).

(After n. 184), זערקאן, erroneous, see under סערקאן].

184^b. זמאן, or זמאנאן, father of Efraim (see Part II of this Introduction, § 15), is probably not the unusual Hebrew אלצמן.

ח

(P. 529), 189^a. חַאִיכְיָה 'Haikijja (a feminine relative of חַאִיךְ?), ibn al-'H., contemporary of Jehuda ha-Levi (Neub., *Catal.*, p. 659, III, n. 9).

189^{aa}. חַאכְמָה 'Hakima? see under פַּאכְמָה.

189^c. חַאדְחִירִי (אל) *al-'Hadhiri* (of حَاضِر, Suj., p. 74), Musa (Neub. 2523).

(191. חבִּיב), 'H. אֶלְמַהְרִי (Neub., *Catal.*, p. 644, n. 44). Moses 'ח (ibid., n. 2323); Josef 'H. (1478, MS. Casanat. 63)¹. But *Amato*, דַּאמַטו and כַּאמַטו, in MS. Casanat. 9, seems to be the name of a place.

(P. 530, n. 195. חרֹב), Jakob, son of Isak (MS. Brit. Mus. 2826, Margoliouth, *List*, p. 75), is suspected, as well as another son Isak; see my article on Isak in the *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1899, p. 2 ff. Esra, correctly אֶלְחֹרֶב, in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXV, 216, l. 4, at Venice, Wednesday, 28 Tischri, 428 = 1667.

(195^b. חרִיד), Abraham, called (المعروف = הַיֵּכֶר) 'ח., or ibn דְּרִיד (Resp., ed. Harkavy, n. 570), and see under סַעְדֻן. Jochanan b. 'H. (Div. Adl. 26).

(196. חרִידָה), Isak (Neub. 2331). The MS. of Munich mentioned is n. 392.

196^b. חַדִּידִי *Hadidi* (acute?), David (Neub. 1485).

196^c. חַוְבִּי? Moses (Neub. 1087).

(P. 531, n. 202. חִיָּן), Resp. Simon Duran, III, n. 85; Josef 'H. (Neub. 1312).

(203. חכִּים), (a) Proper name: in Germany, 1096 (Zunz, *Lit.*, p. 341; MS. Hamburg 133, f. 122^b); Amram b. 'H. (Neub. 2140). (b) Family name: Efraim (Neub. 277); Josef b. Abraham, 1585 (ibid. 313); Elia (ibid. 102, erroneously Josua, and so in the Index, in n. 102 יוֹסֵף). Samuel חַאמָן is called חַאמָה, ap. Sambari, p. 158. אֶלְפִּיָּם = *Alfaquin* (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XIV, 67 ff.), *Alfaquim* (ibid., XV, 37); Samuel Alfaqui (*J. Q. R.*, VII, 409).

¹ The catalogue by Sacerdote, *Cataloghi di codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, fasc. VI, Firenze, 1897 (published at the end of 1898), p. 531.

(P. 532, n. 204. חלאי), Meir חלניא (ap. ibn Verga, p. 68, ed. Wiener, wanted in the Index, p. 146), "Alcoya" (? German transl., p. 135).

(206. חלבי) Chisdai (Neub. 577, 1645), Josef b. Zedaka and Jischai (not "Jesse," ibid. 1452).

206^b. חלים 'Halim ("mansuetus, intelligens"), Moses (Catal. Bodl., p. 2997, n. 88).

207^b. חמא (אל) and חמאי (حمای and حموی, of حمایة) al-'Hamawi, or 'Hdmawi, of 'Hama (Suj., p. 83, Suppl., p. 78), Ja'hja b. Da'ud (Neub. 1505), Schams (ibid. 1977).

210^b. חמסי (אל) al-'Him'si (of Emessa, Suj., p. 83, Suppl. 75, Kaiser. 47), Chajjim Elia (1804, see *Mitteilungen der Gesellsch. f. jüd. Volksk.*, III, 62).

(P. 533) 212^b. חנטה 'Hinta (wheat?), Abraham (MS. Munich 321). Perhaps it is the same as חנטי (אל) al-'Hinti (wheat-dealer, comp. חנטי, n. 211), Sabbatai b. Isak, 1759 (Jellinek, *Kontres*, p. 40).

(P. 533, n. 213. חנין), Moses b. Jehuda b. 'H. (*Resp.* of Salomo ibn Aderet, n. 512).

(214. חסאן), p. 537, Josef ibn 'H., author of מאמץ אלערב (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 884). Salomo חסאן (*sic*) חסאן ספרד (consul? Romanelli, *Massa*, p. 84). The Arabic name has even been composed with the Romanic "En" (= Senhor), and has become Nassan (*Société des Pyrénées*, XVII, 201).

(P. 537, l. 2), Jefet b. Sa'id, see also Harkavy, *Chadaschim*, n. 7 (1895-6), p. 50, n. 2.—(Ibid., l. 8 from bottom), see under בריכא*.

(P. 538, Abu 'l-H.) Esra (Brody, *Festschr. Hebr.*, pp. 34, 35, divides the byname from Esra), Jefet (Neub. 1281), Jehuda, the brother of Moses ibn Esra; Josef (?) or Samuel ibn ברתא (see this article*); Vidal "Abulhaca" (?), 1308 (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492); b. Samuel (see n. 326, מוריל).

(215. חסון), Ahron b. Suleiman ibn "Hasun" (Neub. 830), David (ibid. 1639).

(P. 539, n. 216. חסין), abu H. Josef, son of Samuel ha-Nagid (Catal. Bodl., p. 2461). David b. Ahron ibn Husein, at Morocco, 1790 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 120). See

also ששם אלדולה and *ויד. In a Fragn. of Mr. Adler I found חסין, where the *waw* designates the vowel.

(P. 540) 218°. אלחרבי (אל) *al-'Harraḍi* (Suj., p. 77, Suppl., p. 69), Suleiman b. Salīm (Neub. 2370); Abraham אלחאראי (Saphir, *Iben Safir*, I, 72).

218°. אלחרבי ? from a place حربة ? Harun Kohen (Neub., 614, 615).

218^a. חרבי ? *Harbi* and *Hurbi* (Suj., p. 77, Kaisarani, p. 41), the preceding name is illegible (Div. Adl. 164).

218°. אלחרביה (אל) *ibn al-'Harabijja*¹, whose proper name was Mordechai, is praised by the anonymous author of Div. Adler, when the former visited the ראר אלצר, which commonly signifies "the mint" (see *he-Chaluz*, IV, 66): we shall find the same expression under כראחה*. Grätz, VI, 214, 483, identifies Mordechai with Sa'ad al-Daula (1288-91); Mr. Israel Levi (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVI, 251) would identify also Mordechai, the restorer of the pretended tomb of Mordechai and Esther (1310), and suggests that Sa'ad introduced first the bynames composed with *Daula* with the Jews, beginning in his family (see in the Supplement, under נם, מעחמד, מהרב, נם, אמ [Hebr. *Elasar*], נז, פבר, צפי, ששם, שרף). He combines נמאל with נמאל. Mr. E. N. Adler (*J. Q. R.*, XI, 682, 866) suggests that his Divan makes "the assumption of Grätz a certainty." I am of the opinion that the Divan contradicts *all* the suggestions mentioned, if we do not attribute to the author an uncommon long life and authorship; see my notice above (beginning of the Supplement), written in the month of May.

ז

(Vol. XI, p. 115, n. 222. נאחר, see n. 233*), al-scheikh abu T. b. al-'Sabbag (Div. Adl. 216).

(P. 116, n. 231. נביר, Salomo (Neub. 340; is T. here a name of the family?).

¹ *Harabijja* is a place of Bagdad, Suj., p. 77, Suppl., p. 69, where ibn Khalikan is quoted (I, 240, ed. Slane).

(232. טבראני), الطابرائي, ap. Kaisarani, p. 94.

(233. טהור), "n. 1255" in Neubauer's Index, p. 1065, is a printer's error which I cannot correct. Goldberg (*Birkat Abraham*, pref. § 3) quotes Abraham abu טהור, ap. Benjamin, although he mentions the ed. of Asher; see n. 222.

(P. 117, n. 238. טויל), Kaisarani, p. 98; Eli (or Ali) b. Abraham (David al-Hiti, *J. Q. R.*, IX, 434).

(240. טיר), Kaisarani, p. 107; al-ra'is abu 'l-T. ibn Fadhlan, whose daughter married Sacharja, son of the Rosch Jeschiba Eli (Div. Adl. 178).

(P. 118) 241. טלב Talab or Talib? (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(245. טראבלסי), Kaisarani, p. 10, has اطرابلس, which I did not find in Hebrew.

(P. 119, n. 247. טרטושי), Suj., p. 128, Suppl. 152, gives *Tartuschi* (of Tortosa) in Hebrew, also טורטוסי (אל) and אלטורטוסי (*Catal. of Hebrew MSS. of Berlin*, p. 103, n. 1), Chajjim and Salomo (Neub. 2201), Menachem (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 1738), Moses al-T. (MS. Zunz 23, Neub. 72, 2008), Salomo אלטורטוסי (*Catal. Berlin*, l. c.), Samuel b. Salomo (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 218, so read in the Index, p. 1065, instead of the reference); בבי הט', *Revue des Ét. Juives*, V, 257; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 741.

(250. יאמיל), Abraham in Algiers (Pref. to Gavison's *Omer ha-Schikcha*).

(Pp. 120, 121, n. 254. יחיי). Mr. Halevy (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXII, 332) would explain the Arabic name by deriving it from a Syriac יחן, which is not likely and not necessary. We join J. b. Da'ud al-Hamawi (Neub. 1505), אלצייח (ibid. 2338), b. Salim (ibid. 2346), b. Suleiman (ibid. 2370), ibn אבוטעל (? ibid. 2512, not 2511 as in the Index, p. 1095). Whether Sar Schalom? (Neubauer, *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 547, n. 10). Gedalja ibn J. (Neub. 2589², comp. *Letterb.*, XII, 60), Josef (ibid. 2586⁴), Saadja (ibid. 2488), Salomo (ibid. 2297), Samuel b. Chananel (ibid. 1334).

(P. 121) 254. יאמיל (אל) perhaps a printer's error for

חנסי instead of חנסי (see this article), i. e. of Tunis? (*Resp.* of Isak b. Scheschet, n. 425).

(258. יעיש), Schemtob (Neub. 1428); proper name (Fragm. of Mr. Adler); J. b. Sam'hun (MS. Paris 228⁴, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XVI, 68). Perhaps Moses ibn יעיש, a physician (MS. Casanat., n. 198, 1327, *Catal.*, p. 617), is to be read יעיש?

(260. יעקוב), Azaria *Abenjacob*, 1327 (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492).

(P. 122, n. 261. יקא), Bacher repeats his conjecture in his preface to *Jona*, p. xi.

ב

(P. 123) 267^a. אל(באחרוני) *al-Kaziruni* (Suj., 217, *H. Kh.*, VII, 1128, n. 4693, where is to be added Sedid ed-Din, n. 7483). Salomo b. David ha-Chassan, called ibn al-K. (*Catal. Margoliouth*, n. 291, according to a communication of Mr. Poznański).

267^{aa}. כאלדה *Khalida* (feminine form of Khalid), aunt of Abd Allah b. Saba (Hirschfeld in *J. Q. R.*, X, 110).

(P. 124) 269^b. כבוא (for خبز, panis crassior subcineribus coctus?), Bu (= abu) Kh. Abraham edited פיט בר יוחאי, Leghorn, 1890.

269^c. כברי *Kubra*? ibn K. (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(275. כיר), abu כיר-ל and אבלכיר (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(P. 125, n. 277. כלבי), see also Kaufmann, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXII, 284, XXVI, 271. J. Derenbourg, *ibid.*, XXV, 249, prefers the form חאיי, quoted in the Book on the Soul attributed to Bechai, which he considers as the translation of אסף. This conjecture is more ingenious than critical. The name Asaf does not occur after the Bible, but in a medical Hebrew work, where Asaf b. Parakijja is a fiction (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 1050, *sub voce* A.). Saadia wrote his confutation in Hebrew, and why should he give an Arabic translation of the author's Hebrew name? The Arabic חאיי is a common word, even the title of a work of Hai Gaon, not to speak of others, like the gigantic work of al-Razi; why should it have been corrupted into חיי? It is more

simple to consider חמאי as a mere error, or a supposed emendation, of an Arabic copyist.

(278. כלף). Uri seems to have considered this name as an abbreviation of מכלוף? Samuel ha-Levi Kh. and his son דע (Jedaja? Neub. 171).

(P. 126, n. 281. כלסח), Khuadja Kh. (fictitious), byname of the Karaite Malkizedek (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 136, and again Cazés, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XX, 79); Salomo (Neub. 1193). Part of the following subscription is dubious (ap. Neub. 582): ראשיד בראמי א' ש' כלסח יערף א' בראמי?

(282. כלף), also in an old *Fragm.* of Mr. Adler.

(P. 127, n. 284. חלפון), recently also חאלפון, Josef (Jellinek, *Kontres*, p. 40); b. Zedaka ha-Kohen (copyist, Neub. 1461); b. Sa'adun (see סעדון, בשארה b. Ch., 1469 (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 116, n. 2 a, = מבשר, *ibid.*, 2 b), יבן (read יבן?) b. Ch. (l. c., IX, 120), Sa'ïd b. Ch. (Neub. 2442), Zedaka b. Ch. (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 117, l. 3); Chajjim Chalfan (Neub. 836).

(P. 128, n. 285. כמאל), see *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XI, 128; XXXVII, 305; see under n. 218 c*.

(286. כנוי) Jedaia Kenzi (Neub. 2371).

288. כנאבי? see נמאל . . .

(288. כראתה) Kurratha (leek)? Div. Adl. 186 and 196, 199, 200 (the last two I have not nearly investigated) contain some poems addressed to the raïs Abd al-'Azziz b. K. when he married his son abu 'l-Faradj b. כראאל, and to the raïs Schams al-Daula b. K., inspector (נאטר) of the דאר אלערב; comp. above under חרביה.

(P. 129, n. 291. כרם). A poem addressed to ben (ibn) al-K. b. al-Akrab when he circumcised (רקס) his son (named (Saadia) is to be found in Div. Adl. 184, and an elegy upon his death in the rhythm of ציון הלא חסאלי [composed by Jehuda ha-Levi], Div. 208? At the end are mentioned אשר Asarja and ננד עמים Samuel משרה. See below מעמחד*. No. 173 is addressed to abu 'l-K. b. al-Attar.

(295. כחיר), proper name in a *Fragm.* of Mr. Adler.

M. STEINSCHNEIDER.

(To be continued.)

NOTES. MISCELLANEA.

NAAMAH THE SHUNAMMITE.

SINCE writing the note on the text of Cant. vii. 3, 5-7 (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, XI, 404-407), I have made, as I almost venture to think, a discovery. Budde's theory that the bride in Canticles is called "the Shulammitte" (or, rather, following LXX, "the Shunammite"), because the "companion" of David's old age was the typical Israelitish beauty, is highly plausible; but the reference to "the Shulammitte" coming so soon after Cant. vi. 8, 9, where the bride is contrasted with Solomon's crowd of women, we should naturally expect "the Shulammitte" to be Solomon's chief wife. This, "Abishag" has never yet been supposed to have been. I am pretty confident, however, that "Abishag" really was this, and that 1 Kings i-iii originally stated the fact. It is most probably quite a mistake that the Shunammite damsel referred to in 1 Kings i was named Abishag. אַבִּישָׁג, to which the Anglo-American Lexicon gives the scarcely possible meaning, "my father is a wanderer," has arisen by transposition of letters and corruption of a letter from פִּלְגִּישׁ, "concubine"; it is no real objection to this that the text of 1 Kings i. 3, ii. 17-22, in its present form, assumes that "Abishag" represents a proper name, for we have before us a *very early* corruption. The damsel's real name was Naamah, and she was the mother of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 21, 31); עֲמֹנִיט is corrupted from שְׁנִמְנִיט. Does any one really think it likely that Solomon married an Ammonitess, and made her his chief wife? It is much more likely that he did what Adonijah tried in vain to do, and married the לִבְנָת of his father. The wife who was next in rank would be the Muzrite princess (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, XI, 554 ff.), but the child of the Shunammite had the birthright. And it is probably not once only that the word "Shunammite" occurs in Canticles. In vi. 12 (intermediate corrected text) and vii. 2 the expressions בַּת עַמִּי נָדִיב and בַּת נָדִיב, and in vii. 7 בְּתוּלָה, should, as I now think, rather be שְׁנִמְנִיט, "O Shunammite maiden" (in vi. 12 an interpolation). The alternative would be to suppose that שְׁנִמְנִיט in Canticles has taken the place of עֲמֹנִיט, "Ammonites," and to correct vi. 12, vii. 2, vii. 7 accordingly. But in spite of the friendly feeling towards Moabites in the Book of Ruth

I cannot think it likely that marriage-songs would be devoted to the implied glorification of an Ammonitish queen. It is true that Heshbon is referred to in Cant. vii. 6; but the passage seems to be corrupt. One would certainly be glad to think that Rehoboam's mother was not an Ammonitess, though the Chronicler (1 Chron. xii. 13, 14) was probably glad to account for Rehoboam's "evil-doing" by his Ammonitish descent.

T. K. CHEYNE.

ARABIC RESPONSES OF MAIMONIDES.

IN the last number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (XI, 533-50) Mr. G. Margoliouth has published twelve *Arabic Responses of Maimonides*. The two responses described as autograph were hitherto quite unknown; but as for the ten others, a part of a greater collection, they are also found in the famous MS., brought from Africa to Europe by Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, translated in part by Mordecai Tama, afterwards used by Geiger, Munk, Derenbourg, Goldziher, and others, and now, after the death of the Chief Rabbi Bernstein¹ at Hague, in my possession². My copy is quite legible, but not correct. I am therefore most thankful for the communication made by Mr. Margoliouth as a help for the critical control of ten responses. The ten published numbers are in my copy nos. 17-26, and they form a part (nos. 9-18) of the thirty-two answers sent from Maimonides to the scholars of Tyre, the pupils of R. Ephraim. Tama has omitted some of these responses, and dispersed the rest all over his book.

As the last of the responses is incomplete in the copy of the British Museum, I shall now complete both the small lacunae and the missing end, and forward some variations of readings found in my MS. I omit a number of insignificant variations and faults, but as the contents of the responsum is interesting³, I shall add a paraphrase of it in the English language. It will be seen that Tama's translation is not at all trustworthy. "MS. B. M." will designate the text published by Mr. Margoliouth, "MS. S." my copy.

¹ Not Dr. Ferrares, as Mr. Margoliouth says (p. 534).

² In Brody's *Zeitschrift für hebr. Bibliographie*, II, 151-3, I have corrected the superscription found in דוד דוד.

³ Löw, *Graphische Requisition*, I, 157, 6, and notes at the end of the volume, and Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften*, p. 23.

P. 549, l. 10. Instead of the vernacular **אש**, MS. S. has the correct form **אי שי**.

l. 11. MS. S. **אי קאבץ עמל**.

l. 13. MS. S. **אן¹ אל דיו חבר**.

l. 14. For **כבירא**, MS. S. **פאחשא**.

l. 14. MS. S. **לאן מן נץ אל משנה יבין**.

l. 15. Here MS. S. **בקנקתוס** and so often. Mostly as in MS. B. M. **קלקנתוס**².

l. 16. MS. S. **לימחק**.

l. 17. MS. S. **זלך sine**.

l. 18. MS. S. **ינמחי**.

ll. 21-2. MS. S. **יצבל בה אלאסאכפה**.

ll. 27-8. MS. S. **לכנה אן מחי ובלל פי מחזה אמתחי**.

l. 30. MS. S. **באלוית ואלופת ואלקלפוניא** [ונחואה].

l. 31. MS. S. **ינחמע**.

l. 32. MS. S. **בסמז ועמל קדר מא יתחק[י]**.

l. 32. MS. S. **דעכה**.

P. 550, l. 1. MS. S. **באלוית ותנמף פהוא הי אצולה**.

l. 1. MS. S. **חל באלמא**.

l. 2. MS. S. **פאן הווא ענדי נאית אלכמא והו קריב ממן**.

l. 3. MS. S. (read **יסתדרונ**) **לא יחבת בונה ולא יסתנג**.

l. 4. MS. S. **רוא ענבי**.

l. 5. MS. S. **בהוא אלדיו**.

ll. 6-7. MS. S. **שיא יראד בה אן יבקי אלאף מן אלסנין**.

l. 7. MS. S. **יעמל דו אן**.

l. 8. MS. S. adds **כי** before **דוסן**.

l. 9. For **יכתל** MS. S. has **יכתב**. Read **ولا يَحْتَلْ** ("and it will not be altered").

l. 9. MS. S. **ולא יצטרב ואן ארדת מחזה מחותה ען**.

l. 10. MS. S. **פעלטא נחן**.

l. 11. (last words) MS. S. reads **פיה מא** and adds **או מא**.

l. 12. MS. S. **אל אמור** [אלקאבצה קול ר' מאיר].

l. 12. For **שומה** always in MS. S. **סומה** as usual.

l. 14. Between **שך** and **לולא** MS. S. adds **אן**.

l. 15. MS. S. **הרדיו** [למא פעל פיה אלוואנ].

¹ The article is generally written in MS. S. as a separate word. In my notes I have taken no further notice of this peculiarity. The critical points I have added independent of the MS.

² See Löw, l. c., 147.

- l. 16. MS. S. has not חזי.
- l. 17. MS. S. [נמלה] היא שיה.
- l. 17. For לילא read with MS. S. ולא.
- ll. 18-19. אמא and פלא are correct.
- l. 21. For בלבד read with MS. S. בלבד (not more).
- l. 23. MS. S. has nothing between אנדא and וינפף.
- l. 24. MS. S. אראד יכתב בה חל.
- l. 25. MS. S. לכני.
- l. 25. MS. S. עלין אלאצל.
- l. 28. MS. S. בן יתבת.
- l. 30. MS. S. has not מניין.

After line 32 follows in MS. S.:—

להמחות ה"א (?) ואי זה זה הדיו שאין בו קלקנתום • פאעטרין עלי הוא אל קול והתניא מוחה מתוך הספר כשר • יעני כיה תקול אן פורש' סומה לא תכתב אלא בדיו שאין בו קלקנתום והיה אל ברית' תנף' באן ינו אן ימחק מתוך הספר וספר תורה אנמא הו מכתוב בדיו שיש בה קלקנתום פכאן אל גואב תפטר כהדין (בהדין MS.) תניא דתניא אמר' מאיר כל ימים שהיינו לומדים אצל ר' ישמעאל לא היינו נותנין קלקנתום בדיו פקד באן לך מן הוא אל נץ כן אל משהור אל מעלום ענדהם כתאבה ספר תורה בדיו שיש בה קלקנתום והו ליתבת ואן אל דיו סתם הו שיש בו קלקנתום והו אלמזכור פי שבת מע אל סקרא ואל קומום ואל קלקנתום ואן פי חץ תעלם ר' מאיר פקט כאן יכתב בדיו שאין בה קלקנתום ורואיה ר' יהודה ענהו לכל מטיילין קלקנתום אנמא הי בעד כמאלה וכונה יעלם לא יתעלם ואזא תחרינהא לאפוקי טפלונתא לא נמיל קלקנתום כמא קלנא וכמא עמלת אנא לכן יחל במא עפין . . משה . .

The Answer of Maimonides.

דיו is not at all identical with ¹حبر, the sort of ink that remains most firmly, more firmly than קומום, the rust of iron or shoemaker's ink ²,

¹ ¹حبر must consist of an infusion of galls and vitriol.

² Maimonides explains also in his commentary on the Mishnah (Sota, II, 4, &c.) קומום as a mineral, although it appears that the Gemara understands "gum" by קומא or קומא. The commentaries of Raschi, &c., and the lexicographers have "gum." Probably Maimonides explains in his own way, while it is not possible to write with gum without immixture of soot, coal, &c., and in the Mishnah and Gemarah no such immixture in קומא or קומא is mentioned. Tama has omitted the explanation of קומום

and קלקטום, a sort of vitriol. From the text of the Mishna Sota (II, 4) it is evident that it is possible to obliterate what has been written with ר"י. Again in Sabbath (XII, 2) is perspicuous that ר"י—just as the writing materials prepared with מ"י, red earth or cinnabar—remains more firmly than the writing effected with מ"ש or מ"ר. Indeed, מ"י rests on the vellum—and is therefore in Sabbath considered as דבר שהוא רשום; but if one would give himself the trouble to put it out he could cancel the writing, and ר"י is therefore in Sota considered as דבר שאינו רשום.

The ר"י [a kind of Indian ink] is composed thus: oils¹ and similar substances, such as olive oil, pitch, resin, gum ammoniac (اشق), are burned, and their soot is collected in vessels. The soot is then mixed with as much gum (سمن) and honey as it can accept, and bruised and rubbed, until thereof are made thin slices, which are anointed with olive oil and dried. If somebody were to dissolve this mass in water, and write a ספר תורה with the solution, he would err grossly². For such ink is not much more endurable than מ"ש and מ"ר. When the ספר has been revolved once or twice from the beginning to the end, most of the writing will have gone away. It is therefore impossible to think that Moses should have written his מ"ת, which should be a witness against Israel (Deut. xxxi. 26), and which he wished should endure thousands of years, with such ink. But, if the composition is dissolved in an infusion of galls³, and the writing, after that it has been dry, is polished⁴ with a bit of cloth (?), it will rest undisturbed. Nevertheless, it is possible to obliterate the writing. This ink possesses then the qualities of the Mishnaic ר"י, and Maimonides wrote therefore his own copy of the תורה with this composition, that the ספר should be unquestionably בנחלכה.

and קלקטום, as also the next following explanation of סקרא. And he has erroneously added: ורש שיש שני בן ר"י לר"י and כי מצינו כמה שיטות בזה, and so led Löw (l. c., 157-8) into errors.

¹ מ"ש וזמנים is an addition, not in the text. Perhaps Tama has read מ"ש for מ"י. Löw, l. c., 158, cannot but follow Tama.

² Vernacular for صمغ cf. note 12 (Löw, l. c., 158 otherwise).

³ Tama has erred grossly in adding וידה כרר יזה. Probably somebody has read the text for Tama, and Tama has written down the Hebrew translation. He has then misunderstood the Arabic word خطا, and thought to hear كابة. Cf. note 8 and note 12.

⁴ Tama adds מ"ש קלקטום quite erroneously.

⁵ مقل more vernacular than مقل. Tama has misunderstood مقل, and translated as if the text had نقل. Not credible if he had himself looked in the text.

Maimonides remarks that galls are absolutely necessary for the preparation of נ"ו . When R. Meir put vitriol in his ink to make it more durable (Sota, 20a), galls must also have been put in it. Otherwise the addition of vitriol would be of no use, and the writing would not last, as can be seen by experiment. But it is quite indifferent if one should prefer to put the galls in the first mixture itself, or if he would dissolve the described slices in an infusion of galls, as Maimonides has done it.

Finally, Maimonides decides, that albeit it is preferable (למנוח) to write the נ"ו with the ink he has used himself, it is not at all prohibited (לעכב) to add the vitriol, so that one now gets a mixture of Indian ink (מדאד) and חבר . For thus says R. Jehuda, whose decision is peremptory, as the latest of the rabbis handling this theme, in the name of R. Meir (Sota, l. c.¹), that it is permitted to use vitriol except to the writing of נ"ו סוטה (which it shall be possible to obliterate). R. Nissim has also decided thus in a responsum famous with us², and also found here in Egypt, although he does not describe at length the procedure as Maimonides has done it. Also from Jerushalmi Sota (II, 4) it is evident that the addition of vitriol is permitted. It was but in the time that R. Meir was a pupil under the teaching of R. Ishmael, that he, following his master, did not add the vitriol. Afterwards, as he was himself a master, he did so, and from this time derives the tradition of R. Jehuda. Nevertheless, Maimonides made his ink—as has already been said—without vitriol to evade all discussion.

D. SIMONSEN.

COPENHAGEN, Aug. 1, 1899.

A HEBREW POEM IN VINDICATION OF THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY.

AMONG the MSS. of the Montefiore College there is a small volume in 16mo, containing Hebrew secular poems. They are written in

¹ The omission of the name of R. Meir by Tama has led Löw into the error that the reading in the Gemarah which Maimonides had should be another than ours (cf. Löw, l. c., p. 151 and note 662).

² "With us," that is, in Spain. Maimonides writes thus ser. Sel. 1488-1177. See ספר ודור , n. 53, the subscription under the last of the answers to the Tyrian scholars. Graetz (*Geschichte d. J.*, VI², p. 300, n. 1) is hence not correct when he writes that Egypt could not be a foreign land for Maimonides in the year 1175.

Italian cursive characters, and are exceedingly difficult to read. In his Catalogue (No. 178) the former owner, Mr. S. J. Halberstam, gave the volume the name שיר הלכנו, which is, however, doubly erroneous. In the first instance, these two words do not represent the title of the little book, but merely the heading of the first poem, which consists of three lines. Secondly, this heading should be read שיר תלונות, the poem being a lament on the death of a certain Daniel, a friend or relative (דודי) of the poet. This poem is followed by several others on the same subject.

The MS. has no regular beginning. It may have been lost or never existed, the author having probably copied his poetic productions into a booklet, while omitting to give it title and preface. In consequence of this omission it is impossible to ascertain the name of the author, unless we get a clue from one poem (fol. 26), headed מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת לְסֹפֵר שִׁירֹת וְהַשְׁבָּחוֹת לְאַלְפִים וּלְרִבּוֹת, where the words שִׁיר לְשִׁלְמֹה occur and are marked by dots. Now we find the same two words in a poem recorded in Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 554. 2. d, and what is more, in a dirge on a certain Isaac. Our MS. contains (fol. 30) an acrostic headed שִׁיר עַל הַנֶּכֶד יִצְחָק הַכֹּהֵן, and it is therefore not improbable that both poems are by one and the same author. Another poem (fol. 25) is devoted to a certain Isaac of קורייז.

There is, however, another feature common to both MSS. which helps to fix the date of our author approximately. On fol. 6 the latter gives a dirge on Josef Şarfāthi, who seems to be identical with Josef b. Samuel Şarfāthi of whom the Oxford MS. referred to above contains several poems. This is probably the physician Josef Şarfāthi in Rome, to whom, in 1524, the Pope Clement VII granted a renewal of the privileges given to his father Samuel¹. That he was both poet and physician is confirmed by two verses of the poem, viz.:

לֹא דִרְשׁוּ נָם רֹפְאֵי נִלְעַד לְשֵׁר תְּמִיד לְחֹרוֹתָם אִמָּת וְטֹלָה
לֹא בֹחֲרִי הַשִּׁיר עֲמַרְתָּ נָחַנּוּ נָם רֹדְפֵי מִשְׁקַל בְּרֹב מִקְהֵלָה

Otherwise the poem gives no information as to his identity.

The date of the author can be fixed with still greater certainty by another poem (fol. 22), bewailing the plague of Florence, which is, however, not the one of 1348, but another which took place in 1539²; further, a sonnet on Solomon of פֹּנֶצִיפֹנְצִיאה (fol. 24 verso),

¹ Cf. Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, I, p. 74.

² As to the plague in Italy cf. Fioravanti, *Il reggimento della peste*, Venice, 1594.

who is evidently the same as in Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue, No. 2223 and 2236. The relations between this Solomon, who flourished about 1533¹, and our author, appear to have been rather strained, because in the heading of the sonnet in question the former is described
 אשר קבר פתוח גורנו וכל מימותיו לאפול ועל כן בקרבו להב הקדחת לאכול.
 Other persons to whom poems are devoted are a certain Jehiel (fol. 2) also called איש פינצי (fol. 4), further Obadyah (fol. 3), Moses and Menahem (fol. 7, acrostics), Israel (fol. 21), Ismael of Rieti (ריאמה, fol. 23), Daniel (fol. 24, cf. above), and Abraham (fol. 26). Some light on the author's personal affairs is thrown by two poems, the one expressing gratification for recovery from an illness (fol. 23 recto), the other lamenting his fate when compelled to leave his home (fol. 23 verso בנולה כלכתי בתולה). Finally, there are to be mentioned two laments, headed: קינה לספור לצרה ולבכותה בעיר פראטו (Prato) ללחיה ואל הכהנים הנאנחים וכואבים כי חשכו עליהם שמש ירח נם כוכבים הרמים.

The chief object of this article, however, is to call attention to a poem (fol. 18 verso), headed רם הפילוסופיא הצועקת בקול רם אלה דברי האיש אשר הונף ואשר הורם נר החכמים אביר הרועים הרשב"א ואל כל חכמי צרפת יתר הפלטה אשר החרימו האנשים למולה נשים ומדברת שבחות בשיחות תהלתה ואת טוב תכונתה להוציא עמוקות באותות ובמופתים שבתוק מנופת צופים חכה חלקו משמן אמריה. "The following are the words of Philosophy, which calls out in loud voice against the man of exalted position, the light of the wise, *the chiefest of the herdmen*², Solomon b. Addereth, and against all the Rabbis of France³, *the residue of that which is escaped*⁴, who have placed under ban all people who approach her. She sings praises, and pronounces her glory and her excellent nature to uncover depths by means of proofs and arguments. Sweeter than honey is her palate, and smoother than oil are her words."

It may appear strange that nearly two centuries and a half should have been allowed to pass before this new protest was raised, but we must take into consideration the altered aspect of Philosophy at this period. Scholasticism was decaying, and Aristotelism was fast losing its last support through the discoveries of Copernicus. Our poem faithfully reflects the new state of things speculative. Considering

¹ Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue, No. 2236. 8.

² 1 Sam. xxi. 8.

³ Cf. Abbâ Mari's ספר קטמא ed. Bialiches, and Dr. Neubauer's analysis of the same in *Les Rabbins français* (*Hist. littéraire*, vol. XXVII), p. 655 sqq.

⁴ Exod. x. 5.

that Copernicus' work, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, was not published till 1543, the poem was probably composed under its immediate influence, and thus represents perhaps the oldest Jewish defence of the Copernican theory. It is remarkable for its enlightened views, and breathes a spirit antagonistic to the trend of scholastic Philosophy as well as to the encroachments of practical Qabbalah, which just at this period had found its most influential promoters.

It is not to be wondered at that the language of the poem is allusive rather than outspoken, as it had to deal with inborn prejudices. Although nearly every verse is more or less succinct in this respect, it is particularly the term תכונה, used both in the heading and in verse 4, which points to astronomy, while in verse 10 the author plainly denounces the use of amulets, having, in regard to this latter, probably a passage of the *Mōreh* (Munk, *Le Guide*, I, p. 271) in mind. The poem seems altogether to imply that, free from the dangers of the effete theories on the universe, Maimuni's philosophical writings could now be studied without apprehension. The verses 5 to 7 were probably written with the same object, although guarding against the possible reproach of endangering pure religion. The verses 8 and 9 reflect two of Maimuni's principles of the creed, viz. the existence of God, and the belief in prophecy. The most distinct allusion to the obsolescence of the old *Weltanschauung* is to be found in verse 13, where the author threatens that he will "trample on the head of people's corrupt ideas."

The form of the poem is that of the Spanish school, each half-verse consisting of 2 tenōōth, jathed, 2 ten., jathed, 2 ten.¹ (= Arab. Kāmil). A later owner has made a copy of the poem, in inverted manner, at the end of the volume. The text runs thus:—

יום [קם] ² בנו אֲדָרְתָּהּ וְהַשְׁבִּיעַ ³	לומד בחכמת ד' ומשפיע
או ענתה חכמה ומי הסיר	ממעשי העם והפריע
מתי יִתְּנָה אֵל וְיָקִים לִי	גבור ואמין לֵב לְהַרְשִׁיעַ
הן כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יִרְעַ תְּכַנְתִּי	יעלה מרום קרת ויריע
גבר אֲשֶׁר יבא בְּחִבְרָתִי	אאיר מאורי לוֹ וְאוֹפִיעַ
לִי מֵאוֹנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבִם אֶשְׁקֹל	הכל וְלִי פֶלֶם לְהַכְרִיעַ
אתן לִירְדֵי חֵן וְגַם אֶבְחַן	כל מַעֲנֵת ⁴ מִצֹּפֶת וְאוֹדִיעַ
אניד בְּמוֹפֶת לָךְ הִכִּי נִמְצָא	יִצְרֵר לְכָל נִפְסִים וְמוֹנֵי

¹ - - - - -

² Copyist's addition.

³ To be read thus on account of the metre.

⁴ Copyist reads and vocalizes נִמְצָא.

אשליך בבור תחתית ואשקיע	עבדים אשר כופרים נבואות אל
דלתי נבואות שוא ואצניע	אל הוברי שחק אני אסגור
עם מעשה כשוף וקמיע	אכחיש מציאות שד וגם לילית
ברת אני אהרם וארשיע	פנים אשר לא כהלכה הם
אדרוך ברגלי בן ואפסיע	על ראש סברות עם מזיפות
אשפיל שאל נצחם ואכניע	כל עוקרי עקר ופוקרי דת
מבחן לאמת כל וגביע	סוף כל דברים יש באמתתתי

TRANSLATION.

1. On the day when Ibn Addereth arose and conjured the students [not to be] too assiduous in the study of the stranger's¹ wisdom,

2. Philosophy replied: Who has estranged people, and caused them to abandon my works?

3. When will God raise a champion for me, a strong-hearted one to help me?

4. Let him who is acquainted with my nature mount the parapet and proclaim aloud.

5. On him who seeks my company my lustre shall gloriously shine.

6. Mine are well-balanced scales to weigh and decide everything.

7. I bestow grace on my friends, and endow them with the power of convincing by argument.

8. I give thee proof whether a Creator and Prime Mover of all beings exists [or not].

9. Such Hebrews as doubt divine prophecies, I will throw down and cast into the deepest pit.

10. For those who augur by means of the horoscope, I close and conceal the doors of [their] false prophecy.

11. I deny the existence of demons and Lillith, as well as all kinds of witchcraft and amulets.

12. I tear down and condemn all notions that deviate from regulation and law.

13. I put down the foot of reason, and trample on the head of all corrupt notions of the people.

14. And those lawless ones who endeavour to eradicate principles of faith, I humble and put their boast to shame.

15. Finally: I have in my sack a criterion for everything, and a goblet [for discovering the truth].

H. HIRSCHFELD.

¹ Aristotle. The restriction in question referred to the study of Philosophy before the age of thirty.

PROVENÇAL AND CATALONIAN RESPONSA.

In September, 1898, I acquired some MSS. from a little *Yeshiba* at Bounar Bashi, near Smyrna. One of these, which I will call MS. Smyrna, was a neatly written 4to MS. containing a collection of Responsa of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The book was evidently at one time considerably larger, but in the seventeenth or eighteenth century it was already a fragment and had lost no less than 269 responsa, for, in a comparatively modern hand, a preface and index are added and the שו"ת renumbered, so that No. 1 is what used to be 271 and so on.

The following is a copy of the collector's preface:—

זאת ליאודה ויאמר אברך את ה' אלרי אדוני אברהם אשר תחני בדרך
אמת כי הקרה לפני נחת שולחני | דשן אף ארצנו רעננה על מי השלח
הוא עדינו העצמי | מעין המתנבר במועצות ודעת יושב בשבת תחכמוני |
להשיב שולחו דבר בצרת אמרי פיו כחני | הוראה חצי המנוחות בשבני
ומוני | ונקרא שמו ושם אביו על כני הרב ר' משה בר בורסקוני | נפש
צורה לפני קוני | כיהא אדוני | הן אמרתי זה משה האיש שמו שמענו
אותו לא ראינו כתוב בספר הפוסקים ו'ל ראשונים וגם אחרונים אבל
סתוך דבריו מוכיח שהיה אחר מות שני בני הצהר' הרשב"א והרא"ש
נפש צורה בצורר חיים דשנים ורעננים ולב מנמנם אם הוא הרב ר'
משה חלואה זלח'ה אשר נודע בשערים שמו שולח מים חיים בזמן
הרבנים המאורות הגדולים רב' פרץ והרב רבינו נסים ו'ל כאשר כתוב
בס' קלג לחכמי פריש מצרפת היושבת בננים ובזמן הרב בן ששת ו'ל
היה בן שמונים שנה ככתו אז כחו עתה יוצא ובא למלחמתה של תורה
כאשר היה מלפנים האמנם י"ט תשובות מצאתי מהרב הנ"ל כי שמו בקרבו
בסוף התשובה לחכימא ברמיזא ולו שם בנבונים גם מצאתי י"ט תשובות
מהר"מבא ו'ל וקצת תשובות להריב"ש ורבנים אחרים מלאים מצוות
כרמונים מפורות אחת הנה ואחת הנה ואספתים אל תוך ביתי וציתי
לחעתקים כאשר מצאתים מלאים שמות וצינים ואלרי מעזים אשים דברתי
יעיר לי חכמה ודעת לשמוע בלמודים ואעבור עליהם לצרוף בבור וללכך

ועיין חש' הריבש שסמו ושצב ¹

לבנים ובחסד עלין ר' יהודה היה נותן בהם סימנים למען ירחן הקורא בו לא יעף ולא ייגע לקרב דין ודברים ממינים שונים ואל יאשם יאודה במצוה אחיו תשובה נרשמת פעמים כי לא דבר רק הוא והמשכילים יזהירו כוזהר הרקיע לפני אדון האדונים מאמר מרדכי הלוי ס"ם נן מזהר"יבל ח"ז סי' ג' שהזכיר להרב המהר"ם מהר"ם מקאנני הנקרא חליואה והריב"ש ס' שכ"ז מזכירו.

Pages 1 to 11 are occupied by Preface and Index.

Pages 13 to 94 contain 124 Responsa by a disciple of the רשב"א, R. Solomon ben Aderet (died before 1320). The author constantly quotes him as his master and final authority. Some of these Responsa are quite interesting. There is one on the efficacy of prayers for the dead. Another as to a poor Jew who was imprisoned for debt בבית הינוצר in custody of the tax collector on a Sabbath, although the community had a charter under the king's sign manual that no Jew should be detained on Sabbaths and festivals for a money claim, but the charter was mislaid on the Friday and did not turn up till Sabbath. Another as to יין נסך (Gentile wine).

Pages 95 to 129 contain "nineteen" (really eighteen) Responsa, stated in a gloss to be by R. Moses חלינייה, who was a contemporary of the רב בר ש"ש'ת הור"ף, i.e. R. Isaac ben Shēsheth, of Valencia and Algiers, who died about 1395, and R. Nissim Gerondi¹, of Barcelona, who died about 1374. This Rabbi is evidently the same man as the Moses חלא"י of Tortosa, referred to by Weiss in his דור ודורשיו (v. 166 and 186). He does not seem to be the author of the 124 legal decisions with which the collection commences.

Rabbi Israel Lévi, of Paris, has drawn my attention to the fact that in 1873 a work of this Rabbi Moses Chaliva was published at Jerusalem, entitled: חרושי מהר"ם חלאווה על פסחים. This contains an approbation by R. Abraham Ashkenazi, the then Haham Bashi of Jerusalem. He gives a reference by that number to 133 of my collection, from which it would seem that at that date this very MS. or a copy from it was in his hands (ח"י). How it afterwards found its way back to a little Yeshiba in a village near Smyrna is a mystery. Mr. Luncz has been good enough to send me the book from Jerusalem. The title-page adds another spelling to the orthographical puzzle of the author's name, but the edition tells us something new about him. The Haham Bashi in his הסכמה quotes a eulogistic reference to R. Moses as the equal of the RIBASH in the שו"ת of the מהריב"ל,

¹ Vide Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 162, as to R. Nissim's opposition to the mysticism and cabballistic tendencies of Nachmanides.

i.e. R. Joseph ibn Leb ben David, who died at Salonica or Constantinople in 1579¹. He also refers to the חיד"א (Azulai) as knowing the שו"ת of R. Moses. Azulai seems to be the only person who mentions a MS. of the works entitled: חזון התנופה ס' חוקות הדיינים אבן הראשה, as well as other Responsa, all of which occur in my MS., so that it seems justifiable to assume that Azulai also had my MS. in his hands, and that perhaps it belonged to him.

Weiss has pointed out how Graetz² and Steinschneider³ confound R. Moses with the RIBASH. His family name is probably חליוא as given in the preface to MS. Smyrna. "Chaliva" is a name still extant among the Portuguese Jews. In fact, one of the Dayanim of the Portuguese Synagogue in London who died about a dozen years ago was named Chaliva. M. Lévi suggested that the Leyden MS. might contain some of the Responses in MS. Smyrna. As usual, his expectations were more than verified.

I had an opportunity of consulting the Leyden MS. this summer, and following is a synopsis of the שו"ת in the Leyden and Smyrna codices. The names are those of the towns where the Responses were written. The numbers marked with an asterisk are those expressly ascribed in the MS. to be by R. Moses; S = Smyrna, L = Leyden.

S 125 = L 20 Monzon.

S 126 = L 21.

S 127 = L 22*.

S 128 = L 23 (Trina).

S 129 = L 10 and L 27 Alcania.

S 130 = L 24 Majorca.

S 131, beginning עוד כתב החכם נ"ר = L 25, beginning עוד כתב עור.

S 132 = L 26*.

S 133 = L 11* Paris.

S 134 = L 1* Calatayub in Arragon (vide Steinschneider, *J. Q. R.*, XI, 605).

S 135 = L 2.

S 136 = L 3 Barcelona.

S 137 = L 4* Cervera, between Barcelona and Lerida. Cap Cerbère is the last French station on the railway to Gerona and Barcelona. It gave his name to the famous Spanish Admiral of 1898.

S 138 = L 5* Fraga. With greeting to חברנו "our colleague" R. Shealtiel.

S 139 = L 6*.

S 140 = L 7 Saragossa.

S 141.

¹ Vide Steinschneider, 5948.

² VIII, 33.

³ *Leyden Catalogue*, Warner, 50, p. 223.

S 142=L 8*.

S 143=L 12* Gerona.

S 144=L 13.

L 14.

S 145=L 15.

S 146 קטרישה.

S 147.

S 148=L 17* שולשונה = Solsona.

S 149.

S 150=L 19*.

Thus in the Leyden MS. 17 of the eighteen (not nineteen) Responses appear, and eight of these are there ascribed to R. Moses Chaliva. S 141 answers a question as to the Levirate asked by R. Abraham אלפואל. L 23 adds another Catalonian town, Trina, to the Smyrna list of names. Five of the eight remaining Responses by contemporary Rabbis, including the RIBASH, are represented in the Leyden MS., where three of them are ascribed obviously in error to R. Moses. The Leyden MS. adds on pages 33 to 59 Responses by other French Rabbis, including the Paris Chief Rabbi R. Jochanan b. R. Matathias and his brother R. Joseph. This last has the honour of a full page in Neubauer's *Ecrivains Juifs Français* (p. 411). He was at one time the owner of the famous Talmud Codex, now at Munich, but probably written at Paris.

These Responsa are interesting both in matter and in form. In matter because they deal with communal and personal affairs in France and Spain about the time of the expulsion of the Jews from England. And in form because they are modelled upon those of the רשב"א. Nearly every letter is addressed from a different place, and the author, being very peripatetic, supplies us with quite an itinerary. The first is headed מונסין, probably not from Venaissin, but Monçon or Monzon in Catalonia.

Of them all, that written in Paris about its Chief Rabbi R. Jochanan ben R. Mattathias ("John Matthews," p. 110), has been already referred to. The incident of the attack on his Rabbinate made by an ordained usurper from Vienna is well known to history, and the רשב"א's responsa on the subject has been published. That of R. Moses is being edited in the *Revue des Études Juives*. The Rabbi says that he is eighty years old, that in his youth he was trained at Barcelona in the College of the רשב"א, the author of the תורת הבית. That he knew the Rabbi's son and Rabbenu Peretz and Rabbenu Nissim, the latter two of whom yielded to his opinion when they were in difference. That he had lived at Tortosa in penury for thirty-five years without aspiring to a Rabbinate.

Another responsum casts a lurid light on the troubles of the times. Reuben borrowed a book from Simeon, but when asked to return it pleaded that it had been burnt when the Gentiles raided the Jewish quarter and despoiled it. This accounts for the comparatively small number of Hebrew MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still extant. It was the epoch of the *Guerre des Pastoureaux*, when France was nearly as anti-Semitic as in 1899.

The responsum numbered 139, corresponds with no. 176 of the שו"ת הריב"ש. It mentions *Enchisdai Crescas*, R. Chisdai Chaninai, R. Shealtiel Gracian, and R. David Shoeib of Ragusa.

The nineteen end with the following note:—

ע"כ הי"ם תשובות יניע יראה לפני כל ידעי דת דין שלמחך ישא.

Then follow interesting Rabbinic decisions about a Jewish heiress of Gerona, to which an English *cause célèbre* of the last century, the case of Goldamid v. Bromer¹ in 1798, might well be compared. The young Girondist after becoming engaged to a young man, lost her parents and brothers and sisters and succeeded to an immense sum of money. Her שלי"ש, a third party or sort of trustee on her behalf to see that the betrothal was duly consummated by marriage, thought her too good a match for her *fiancé*, and got his own son to marry her clandestinely. Whence trouble and much contention and strife, and the calling into counsel of all the leading Rabbis of the day. Among the authorities consulted were R. Samuel ben Solomon Schalom (Sir Morel of London?), Don Astruc Crescas², R. Meir ben Levi Abulafia, and R. Isaac Bonafoux, the son-in-law of the ריב"ש who signs himself שאלתיאל בן שאלתיאל.

On page 147 there is a letter addressed to the קמ"רשה about the "Chalitzah" of the wives (!) of "En mose Bonastruc" by R. Chisdai Crescas³.

On the next page there is a response headed:—לוחיק:—שולשונה by ר"ר השלם דין אשתרוק קרשקש נ"ר, by R. Isaac ben Samuel ben Schealtiel.

From pages 151 to 165 we have eighteen abbreviated responsa (בקצור) by the ריב"מ R. Jom Tob ben Abraham of Hispala in Arragon (fol. 1342).

Next follows a correspondence between R. Solomon ben Simon ben Zemach, i. e. Solomon Duran⁴, and R. Nathan Nagar of Constantine.

¹ Hagg. Cos. Rep., 324.

² Vide Steinschneider, 757, 758, and cp. Renan and Neubauer's *Ecritains Juifs Français*, 548.

³ This is probably the grandfather or great-grandfather of the Chisdai Crescas (fol. 1410), referred to by Steinschneider, 841.

⁴ Steinschneider, 2306. Among my *Genizah* fragments I possess an original Hebrew letter addressed to his father, Simon Duran, dated 1439.

This is the *מליצה* or rhetorical epistle in Chaldaic, printed with letters of Prophiat Duran at Constantinople in 1577, and reprinted by Geiger in 1844¹.

From pages 170 to 172 we have six anonymous *ש"ת אשכנזיות* from German Rabbis, including one as to a striking clock.

Five responses of R. Isaac Corcosa occupy the next two pages.

On page 175 follow some important, but brief *ש"ת*, copied or abbreviated from the *עטור*², a work partly printed in 1608 at Venice, compiled by R. Isaac ben Abba Mari, a Rabbi of Marseilles in the twelfth century. They consist of responses on the subject of *קנין* (possession) by Paltoi Gaon, Samuel ben Hofni, Hai Gaon, Meshullam ben Kalonymos, the *RIF*, Nissim Gaon, Joseph ibn Megas, R. Moses ben Chanoch, Saadia Gaon, and one from R. Samuel *מאור* to R. Isaac *מסופוט*³, i. e. of Siponto, near Naples.

The remainder of MS. Smyrna is occupied by the following works:—

A. *חוקות הדיינים*⁴, pp. 183-274 being 236 *Dinim* on legal procedure in a Jewish Ecclesiastical Tribunal, from which courts martial at Rennes and elsewhere might with advantage take lessons on evidence. The author is the *RITBA*, i. e. R. Jom Tob ben Abraham, who lived in Ashbili in Spain in 1342. He says that the work is due to what he learnt from his master R. Solomon ben Aderet.

B. *דיני העסק* by the *RAABAD*. The author is R. Abraham ben David, junior, a Provençal Rabbi, who died in 1198⁵.

C. p. 279. *אבן הראשה* by the *RAABAN*, 75 *Dinim* by R. Eliezer ben Nathan of Mainz, also a worthy of the twelfth century⁶.

D. p. 290. Responsa of R. Meir of Rothenburg⁷, being 36 *Dinim*, described as follows: *דינין לקטתי מספר התשכץ עם הגרות הר"ם ז"ל והם תשובות שהשיב הה"ר מאיר מרוטנבורק ז"ל לתלמיד אחד מתלמידיו*.

E. p. 298. The differences in *Minhag* between the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews. This has been printed.

F. pp. 301-316 is a fragment of the *חזקת התנופה*⁸, an abbreviation

He is therein described as the head of the Community of Algiers (*אלג'יר*), where he died in 1444, aged 83.

¹ Steinschneider, 2117.

² Steinschneider, 1066.

³ This must be the Rabbi called in the *גהות* R. Isaac ben Melchizedek *מלחזקדק*, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, vide Steinschneider, 1137.

⁴ Benjacob, 199, apparently implies that this work was printed at Vienna in 1864 in a compilation called *קונטרסים*.

⁵ Steinschneider, 676, cp. Benjacob, 109.

⁶ Benjacob, 4.

⁷ Vide *Jewish Chronicle*, May 5, 1899, p. 21.

⁸ Benjacob, 199 and 188, and *Cat. Bod.*, op. 601.

of some of the Responses of the famous ר' אהרן, R. Aaher ben Jechiel, who died in 1327. This last is written in a different hand to that of the rest of MS. Smyrna, and the end is wanting. The author is R. Moses ben Moses ברושליש of Brussels. From Benjacob, it would seem that Azulai published some of these in his חיים שאל, at Leghorn in 1792.

The compilation is of value not only for its own sake, the authors, especially the other Rabbi Moses, being each in the Haham Bashi's hyperbolic language, a son of Anak, but because it throws a side-light on the practical methods of the Jews of the Middle Ages. They were then, as we are still, great sticklers for authority. Case Law, as embodied in Rabbinical Responsa, was their infallible, if contradictory, guide¹. The Responsa had to be abbreviated, collected, collated. Our MS. from Bounar Bashi is in many respects typical. As the Talmud was the digest of Jewish law in post biblical times, so would such compilations as this have constituted a Corpus Juris in the Middle Ages. But the growth and development of such a Digest was stopped by the persecutions and expulsions which, beginning in England in 1290, spread to France and Germany, and thence to Spain and Portugal in the succeeding centuries. There was neither time nor space for such bulky compilations. Fugitive Jews could not carry huge volumes with them. They preferred portable property and gold and jewels which they could easily convert into money anywhere. The Church and its censors provided fire and faggot for the odd volumes that threatened to survive. Dogmatic theology in the form of a *Tur* or a *Shulchan Aruch* had to take the place of the reasoned argument of literary Rabbis. The Code replaced the Digest. It is a survival, not necessarily of the fittest, but of the least bulky.

Happily not every Mastodon and Ichthyosaurus has perished out of Jewry. The publication of the "novels" (חידושים) of R. Moses Chaliva in 1873 is evidence to the contrary. And even R. Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulchan Aruch*, himself was not satisfied with his short compendium of the Jewish religion. His own *responsa* are neither few nor short. In the very cupboard at dusty old-world Bounar Bashi, where our MS. came to light, I found a bulky volume of Caro's שו"ת. His אנקת ריכל is but a specimen of these, and, if some there be who find fault with the *Shulchan Aruch*, they may expose themselves to the publication of a longer and weightier law, promulgated not only by his authority but supported by his arguments. This is the age of revivals.

E. N. ADLER.

¹ Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 431.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

LAZARUS'S "ETHICS OF JUDAISM."

"Die Ethik des Judenthums," von M. LAZARUS. Frankfurt, 1898.

PROFESSOR LAZARUS has crowned a long career devoted to the higher thought, by his treatise on Jewish Ethics—a subject most difficult to deal with adequately, yet calling imperatively for adequate treatment in these days when everything Jewish has been made the subject of attack. Professor Lazarus emphasizes in his Preface the fact that he has not written with any apologetic tendency, but the fact remains that a clear and sympathetic presentation of the principles of Jewish ethics forms the best defence for Judaism, and in reality Professor Lazarus deals, though in a positive manner, with most of the objections that have been brought against Jewish ethical principles. It will therefore form an armoury for the defenders of the faith, and must for a long time be the model on the lines of which any treatment of Jewish ethics must proceed.

The task which Professor Lazarus had before him was, indeed, one of appalling difficulty; one can quite understand how it has taken him fifteen years to produce even this first volume. The difficulty and the danger of the problem he had before him is sufficiently indicated in the elaborate first chapter, on the Sources of Jewish Ethics. Professor Lazarus rightly points out that there has never been any systematic attempt to formulate the principles of Jewish ethics, and, consequently, they have to be reconstituted from their concrete examples, rather than from any deliberate and conscious statement of them. He further points out, moreover, that we cannot merely take the Bible, or the Talmud, or even the whole Jewish ethical literature, as the basis of the treatment: the prayers, the poems, the communal institutions, the customs, and even the legends, have to be searched for evidence of ethical peculiarities in the Jewish race. What does this mean? It means simply that Jewish ethics is still alive, still adapting itself to its environment, yet still preserving

continuity with its older self in Biblical and Talmudical times, so that to describe its morphology one has to investigate its whole life-history. What that means, in the case of a national existence lasting over three thousand years, and changing its environment and even its inner constitution definitely, if slowly, any person conversant with the outlines of Jewish history can guess, but only Professor Lazarus can know. That he has, notwithstanding all these difficulties, yet succeeded in bringing out into prominence the ruling principles which underlie all these manifold and varying phenomena, is little less than a triumph of philosophic skill.

The question the critic has to ask is whether, in reducing Jewish ethics from an organism to a system, Professor Lazarus is still enabled to retain the vital principles. One feels a certain difficulty in deciding upon this crucial point, owing to the somewhat remarkable form into which Professor Lazarus has thrown his results. To put the matter shortly, he has endeavoured to make the Bible and Talmud speak in the terminology of Kant. He is concerned to say that Jewish ethics is autonomous, not heteronomous; that the categorical imperative is shown in the last clause of Deut. xxii. 3, and that the aim of Jewish morality is eudaemonistic rather than utilitarian. Let me hasten to add that Professor Lazarus, one of the masters of German style, has by no means put his results in such cacophonous phrases, but the fact remains that the problems he discusses, and the forms in which he discusses them, are dictated by the technicalities of Kant's Theory of Ethics. No student of the history of ethics can be unaware of the nobility of tone displayed by Kant in the most constructive portion of his philosophy, nor of the important influence that it has had upon more recent speculation; but, after all, his was a critical philosophy; he was concerned more with the fundamental and epistemological groundwork than with the more human superstructure, and the consequence is that Professor Lazarus, in following him, has produced rather *prolegomena* to any future system of Jewish ethics than a Jewish ethics itself—or at least let me qualify this by saying that his present volume consists of *prolegomena*, and that we are promised, in the second volume, the actual details of Jewish ethics, of which a very appetizing *aperçu* is given at the end of the Table of Contents in the present work.

If one could sum up so large and so closely reasoned a volume in a formula, one might perhaps say that in Professor Lazarus's view the two fundamental conceptions of Jewish ethics are Unity and Sociality. According to him, this unity is seen in the Jewish conception, not alone of God, but of nature and of humanity. It is easy for him to show (with half an eye, perhaps, to Anti-Semitic attacks¹, that even in

the Rabbinic period God was consistently regarded as the God of all mankind, and not alone the God of Israel. The unity of God involves the unity of humanity. Nature, again, is one in the Jewish conception, and not divided up into a hierarchy of natural forces, each of which could be worshipped, as in the idolatries of the ancient world. But there is a further aspect in which Nature, though one, is opposed to humanity, in the sense of being the environment and the object of the latter. In itself, Nature is non-moral, and when it comes into the moral sphere it is only as acted upon by human beings. Professor Lazarus gives a curious turn to a Midrashic gloss on Solomon's saying, "There is nothing new under the sun"—"not *under* the sun, but *above* the sun"—i.e. in the spiritual sphere. Again, to use the Kantian terminology, man makes Nature, though he does not create it. All this is very subtle, but I venture to doubt whether we can attribute an anticipation of Kant to the Midrashic sages.

In the sixth chapter of the present volume—one of the most original in it—Professor Lazarus explains from his standpoint the attitude of Jews towards the physical world. He points out that none of the moral laws of the Bible is limited to the Holy Land—in other words, that, regarded ethically, no land can be holy. The curious statement of the Midrash that every man should regard himself as if the world had been created for him, is interpreted by Professor Lazarus in such a manner as to throw light upon the Jewish conception of the existence of evil: natural ills exist so that moral excellences can remedy them. Pain and sorrow thus obtain their ethical worth, and the martyr becomes the highest ethical triumph of humanity since he overcomes the world. Judaism does not regard the senses as the opponents of morality, but the sins, like pride, envy, and so on. There is no opposition of soul and body in Judaism; Satan, evil desire, and the Angel of Death, are one and the same, according to Rabbi Levi. Hence joy is natural and praiseworthy; there is no pessimism in Judaism, though there may be asceticism, which only carries into practice the principle that spiritual joys are higher than corporeal. This joyfulness of the Jewish ideal is insisted upon to the end of the chapter, in which it is pointed out that amusements are part of the moral life. The Sabbath is not a "Judaic" one, but the day on which man has a double soul. Judaism knows nothing of original sin; it places all the good things of life upon a higher plane.

I have somewhat anticipated in dealing with this chapter, but it lends itself to a clearer and more rapid summary than most of the others, and, accordingly, forms an admirable example of the originality

and penetrating insight of Professor Lazarus's treatment, while at the same time it shows what a broad view he takes of his subject.

Reverting, however, to the earlier sections, one may stop for a moment at the fundamental difficulty of Jewish ethics—its interpenetration by theology. The Good is God's command: we seem therefore hedged in in a vicious logical circle, since when we ask, What does God command? we are obliged to answer, The Good. Professor Lazarus, however, points out, as has been done by others, that while the ethical Law and the divine commands are inseparable, they are not necessarily identical. A thing is not good because it is commanded, it is commanded because it is good. The ethical is the norm, by which we judge the divine. Professor Lazarus does not discuss the further difficulty to which this leads, which we may perhaps put in a phrase borrowed from Mr. Whistler—Why drag in the Divine? The whole Ethical Society movement takes its ground on this divorce of ethics and theology, and it would have been interesting to know from Professor Lazarus on what lines Jewish ethics defends its dependence on, or alliance with, theology. Perhaps the solution is to be found in the point made so consistently by Professor Lazarus, that the aim of the Jewish moralist, as such, is to become holy, i. e. to become like to God in those ethical qualities which constitute His nature.

After dealing in the First Book with the sources, the principles, and the character of Jewish ethics, Professor Lazarus devotes the second half to the Aim of Ethics, which he sums up in the phrase, "The Hallowing of Life" (*Heiligung des Lebens*). To sum up his argument here is even more difficult than in the earlier part, but the headings of the three chief chapters of the second part will perhaps serve to indicate the outlines—"Holiness is Ethicality" (*Versittlichung*), "Ethicality is Legality," "Holiness as Communion" (Chaps. iv, v, and vii). These titles, in our inadequate English version, indicate the chief topics of the more constructive part of Professor Lazarus's treatise. He had been previously concerned to prove that the moral Law in Judaism is an end in itself, is thus autonomous, in the Kantian phrase, that the Kantian requirement, that the only good thing is the Good Will, is entirely fulfilled by Jewish ethics, in which the moral Law is free and independent, and not determined (as is so often said) by the consideration of rewards and punishments. The well-known saying of Antigonus of Socho, "Be not as servants, serving for a reward," is here pressed, as usual, to do yeoman's service. But morality being the supreme thing in itself, what are its means? That is the question Professor Lazarus has to answer in the Second Part. His answer, in short, is, To make life holy is to make it moral.

Now holiness is either of ceremonial or of character, and it has always been an objection to the Law that it lays so much stress upon ceremonial holiness. It has usually been claimed to be the great advance of Christianity upon Judaism that it diverted the stress of morality from ceremonial to character. Without taking note of this claim, or of the second objection, Professor Lazarus is concerned to show that it is only as a preparation and a symbol of holiness of character that ceremonial holiness takes its place in moral paedagogics. Here the interpenetration of morality by theology effects the required union: the holiness of God is the link between the holiness of the ceremonial and the holiness of the worshipper. There is no contrast between the ceremonial and the ethical holiness, because without the latter, the former would have no meaning. Yet the ethical is raised to a higher power by the religious, which is expressed in Judaism by the notion of the Holiness of the Name (קדושת השם). Here Professor Lazarus puts in the significant and light-giving remark, that the idea that God can be hallowed is the noblest idea in Judaism and in all religion. The Sabbath, of course, is the type of both ceremonial and ethical holiness, and it would be needless to urge the point how completely the Sabbath confirms the unity of the two conceptions. Yet the difficulty remains that only God is holy; man cannot be holy, though he can aim to *become* so. From this Professor Lazarus draws the interesting conclusion that the ethical aim in Judaism is not the holiness of the Jew, but the holiness of life in general. In this way holiness becomes a sort of plan for the whole life, and binds it together by a sort of natural piety. The Good thus becomes not an act but a property of character, and the conclusion is come to that man must become good, that he may do good.

In all this Professor Lazarus is implicitly answering the objection to Jewish ethics, that it lays so much stress upon the good action, and so little upon the good motive. As will have been seen from the preceding analysis, he altogether denies this, and insists that the central motive of Jewish ethics is the holy character, not the holy act. But surely something may be said even in defence of the stress undoubtedly laid by Jewish practice upon holy actions. As I have elsewhere put it, it is mainly a question of paedagogics: Christian ethics says, Feel good, and you will do good; Jewish ethics (as I interpret it) rather says, Do good, and you will come to feel good. If that is applied to child life, surely experience is in favour of the latter plan. And, talking of plan, one of the most interesting points in the whole book is the conception it contains of life in the Jewish idea being regarded as a whole, and ethics as a plan for its

intricate course. From the rapid sketch given of the promised second volume, it is clear that this conception of a plan will form one of its main ideas.

Turning on to the chapter headed by the almost untranslatable sentence, "Versittlichung ist Gesetzlichkeit"—which answers, perhaps, to the idea which I have in my "Jewish Ideals" called "Morality as Law"—Professor Lazarus connects his conception with his ruling idea of holiness somewhat in the following way. The essence of ethicality (*Versittlichung*) is to act according to the norm of the Law; the essence of such action is obedience—obedience to God in religion, obedience to the moral Law in ethics—and the aim of this obedience is in order to become holy. The Law enables the Jew to treat life as a whole, and thus constitutes that plan which it is the essence of morality to supply to life. Here Professor Lazarus has implicitly to meet the objection that the Law is given from the outside, and is mainly negative. To the latter objection he answers that a negative precept must be regarded as a positive action: to refrain from sin is to do something, and here for once in a way he brings in his wide psychological knowledge, and points out that restraint means what the physiologists call inhibition. As regards the externality of legalism, Professor Lazarus points to such sayings as that of Rabbi Chanina—that the man who fulfils the Law when he is not obliged to do so, is greater than he who fulfils it when he is obliged—as proving that the inner feeling is the determining motive. As in the realm of religion feeling is everything, so in ethics (p. 230), because feeling is the bridge between idea and reality; and here again Professor Lazarus stands firmly upon a sound psychological basis. It is accordingly from this feeling that the moral merit of actions is to be judged; acts and deeds obtain their value from the love from which they spring (p. 232). Professor Lazarus quotes the words of Rabbi Eleasar to this effect in *Succa*, 49 b. It is characteristic of Professor Lazarus's treatment throughout that he illustrates almost all his points by similar quotations, which are generally discussed at greater length in his very valuable Appendix. In the present instance he is straightforward enough to point out that Rashi gives a different interpretation of Rabbi Eleasar's remarks.

The final chapter deals with "Holiness as Communion" (*Heiligung als Vereinigung*). It is in this chapter that he lays stress on the Jewish ideal, that ethics is essentially social. Robinson Crusoe could not have been holy, that is, of course if he had been born on the island. Here Professor Lazarus makes use of his distinction between ceremonial and ethical holiness: the priest was ritually holy; the whole people was holy ethically. Here we have one of the few

instances in which Professor Lazarus uses the ethical systems of other nations to point his contrasts: the Greek aim was individualistic; the individual was an end in himself; not so in Israel, for whom the aim was to be a holy people, not a nation of holy persons. The communal responsibility of each for all and all for each is thus characteristic of Judaism, and here our author, as is usual with him, points to the characteristic trait in Jewish custom, that all communal matters are to be done in the Name of God, i. e. not for personal ends. He subtly connects his principle with the continuity of Jewish tradition, and even with the experience of Jewish martyrdom. The Jewish community was bound together, not alone by the bond of common action, but by the memory of common suffering; every insult hurled at us tends thus to give Israel a closer bond of union. Translated into the language of to-day, Anti-Semitism helps to keep Judaism alive. The type of this communion is in the family, and here Professor Lazarus has a remarkable point to make. The love of parents for their children is natural—common to all animals, but the love of children for their parents is ethical; hence in the Law we do not find parents commanded to love their children, no more than they are commanded to breathe in the air. Even in the most personal part of a man's life, viz. his work, the personal limit is overcome; a man works for the world, not for himself, or else he would starve. The chapter and the book are concluded by a fine passage on justice as the essence of communion, which has almost a topical interest at the present moment, while Professor Lazarus goes on to point out that justice has to be tempered with mercy and beneficence, for which Judaism makes so elaborate a provision. Sociality is thus the essence of communion, as that again is the essence of holiness. It is needless to add that throughout the book Professor Lazarus has been at pains to prove that Judaism does not limit its social sentiment to Jews alone, but extends it to humanity at large.

It has been impossible in this rough sketch of the main lines of Professor Lazarus's epoch-making treatise to do justice to the many brilliant and illuminating ideas on special topics of ethical interest with which it abounds. It is a book, indeed, difficult to criticize because of its very brilliance, which at times produces a certain effect of discontinuity in the treatment. Only one point I will endeavour to make against the general conception. As was perhaps natural from a distinguished member of the Reform movement in Germany, Professor Lazarus, though he recognizes the force of tradition and traditionalism in Judaism—no one could fail to recognize that,—does not sufficiently (to my mind) recognize the historical basis of

Jewish ethics—the conception that a Jew's good deed goes towards a great storehouse of Israel's good deeds,—that there is continuity in the national life, and that that national life is the norm and type of the holy. I have elsewhere called this conception the *Hallowing of History*, and it is chiefly the absence of this conception which enables me to indulge in even the slightest criticism on Professor Lazarus's work. Even this, however, may be premature; his second volume is still to come, and I observe that he is to deal there with the *Messianic Hope*, so closely connected with the conception of the hallowing of history. Perhaps the best criticism one can make of the present volume is that it makes one long for its successor.

Before parting, however, from it, there is one topic which fails to appear, and yet seems to call for treatment by the very title. Abstract theoretic ethics is universalistic, and Professor Lazarus is concerned to show that Jewish ethics is equally universalistic, but does not this necessitate some explanation why any ethics can be called Jewish at all? The immorality of theft or murder is recognized by the Samoan islanders with quite as much stringency as the most advanced European. Hospitality, respect for parents, and most of the minor moralities, are recognized by savages and Moslems, by Buddhists and Agnostics, as much as by Jews or Christians. In what sense, then, can we speak of a Jewish or, for the matter of that, a Christian ethics? Jews complain that Christians are apt to arrogate to themselves the monopoly of the virtues, to speak of "Christian" charity and the like, with the implied exclusion of Jews and Turks, infidels and Pagans, from the realm of duty. It seems at first sight inconsistent that they themselves—or such a distinguished representative of them as Professor Lazarus—should in their turn claim a distinctive division in the Kingdom of the Good. Professor Lazarus's treatment tends to bring this initial difficulty into prominence, since what he is chiefly concerned to prove throughout the first volume has been the exact fulfilment by Jewish ethics of all the formal requirements of Kantian or abstract ethics. Jewish morality, he seems to argue, is as autonomous, as categorical, as internal and free, as Christian ethics. Why then discriminate between the two? might be the retort of the enemy within or without the gate. Professor Lazarus would doubtless have his answer to all this, and even his whole book is implicitly an answer, but it would have been desirable to have discussed the Christian formula, since it is raised by the very subject matter of his treatise. My own answer, however, has been that while Jewish ethics recognizes each fundamental principle of general ethics with as much force as any other system, it differs in the stress it lays upon various items, and differs still more in the

connexion it makes between the various principles, while in certain directions it adds certain bonds of union which other systems either repudiate or do not recognize at all. Thus, to take one example, the conception of Morality as Law, as I call it, or Ethicality as Legality, in Professor Lazarus's phrase, is a conception repudiated by Pauline Christianity, and yet interpenetrates the whole of Jewish life and morality. It is because Professor Lazarus's treatise brings out into due prominence these combining principles which weld together the elements of morality into a definitely Jewish system, that I regard it as of such importance in the history of Jewish speculation.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.

Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS. Vol. II.
Feign—Kinsman. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899.

THE second volume of the *Edinburgh Dictionary of the Bible* carries on to the beginning of the letter K the same principles displayed in the first volume, and already commented upon in these pages. As before, special, and it would seem unnecessary, attention is paid to the English terminology of the Authorized Version. No Jewish names appear in the very extensive list of contributors, and Jewish scholarship is but slightly represented in the Bibliography in the treatment of the *Realien*, where it might be thought no sectarian influences need be feared. On the other hand, there seems to be less tendency to present what I called "minced manual" to the student; and the articles on the Hexateuch, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, are by no means so statistical as that on Exodus, though Genesis and Kings are filled with lists, the exact object and value of which it is somewhat difficult to see. The volume is distinguished, owing to the eccentricities of alphabetical arrangement, by an exceptional number of articles on the archaeology of the Old Testament: Food, Garden, Gate, Glass, Hair, Headband, Hunting, Hospitality, Jewel, and King, fall within the limits of the volume, and go over a large section of Old Testament life. It would be impertinence for any one person to profess to criticize contributions to the whole field of theology by some of the most distinguished theologians of the day. I will content myself, as on a previous occasion, with pointing to a few cases where Jewish research and Jewish conceptions are not

adequately represented in the new Bible Dictionary. A few notes, following the alphabetical order of the articles, may possibly be of use in a future revision of the Dictionary.

I must, however, make an exception in my comments on the longest, and in many ways the most important article in the volume, that devoted to "Jesus Christ," which is contributed by the Rev. Prof. Sanday, of Oxford, and runs to no less than one hundred columns. It is needless to say that Jews are interested in watching the development of Christian opinion about Jesus, both from the historical and the theological standpoint, from both of which the contrasting position held by Jews of the past and of the present forms a portion of the treatment. In particular, the alleged superiority of the Christian position, as against the so-called narrowness of the Pharisees, has been contested time after time by Jewish writers, and it is of interest to watch how far their protests have affected Christian opinion. It is pleasant to report a distinct improvement in tone in Prof. Sanday's article. In his treatment of the state of religious thought and life in Palestine at the beginning of the first century, Prof. Sanday recognizes the difficulty and delicacy of his task, and adds:—

"It is too apt to seem like an indictment of the Judaism of nineteen centuries, which not only on general grounds, but specially in view of the attitude of some Jewish apologists of the present day, a Christian theologian will be loth to bring."

And he does more than recognize the difficulty; he attempts to overcome it. While he adds a section on the darker side of contemporary Judaism—an almost necessary section, if the claims of Christianity are to be adhered to—he has by a pleasing novelty devoted a section to the brighter side of contemporary Judaism, which, according to him, consists in the fact that, after all, Judaism is a continuation of the religion of the Old Testament, that certain portions of the New Testament and of the Apocryphal literature are based on Jewish documents, and that the Talmud contains many grains of fine wheat among its chaff. We should have more confidence in Prof. Sanday's right of judgment on this latter point, if he had not allowed it to be seen that he considers Akiba's date a hundred years before the true one. Still, it is a new phenomenon for even this much to be allowed, and it is clear that the work of Mr. Montefiore in particular has exercised a beneficial influence upon current theological speculation on this point, so important to Jews. Here, as elsewhere, *la vérité est en marche*. Prof. Sanday draws attention to what he calls the "special seed-plot" of Christianity in the importance attributed to the poor in the Psalms. It is to be regretted he was not acquainted with the

work of the late M. Isidore Loeb on this subject, which would have convinced him that this was a special seed-plot for even Pharisaic Judaism. And when we come to details it is found that many conceptions hitherto claimed exclusively for Christianity are, in like measure, common to Judaism, and therefore derivative from the former religion. Even at the outset, the kingdom of God preached by John and Jesus is recognized to have been distinctively Jewish. It might have been also recognized in this section that even the supernatural surroundings of the baptism are Jewish in form: the voice from heaven corresponded to the "Daughter of the Voice," familiar in Rabbinic writings. On the other hand, in speaking of the method of Jesus, Prof. Sanday grants that the parable was derived from the Rabbis, though he naturally claims a higher value for those of Jesus. When one comes to the contents of Jesus' teaching, Prof. Sanday allows that the God-Father and the Kingdom of God are substantially Jewish conceptions, and while he denies that the latter is identical with the theocracy of the Old Testament, he is equally frank in denying that it is identical with the Christian Church of any age. According to him, its peculiar note is that of victory through suffering; but if so, the founder of Christianity is rather "Isaiah" than Jesus. Prof. Sanday owns, with considerable frankness, that there is little evidence of the doctrine of the Trinity in any utterance of Jesus, but on the other hand, he contends that it is indirectly involved in the references to God as "my Father." He takes up a similar cautious position with regard to the miracles. In his remarks upon the events of the last week of Jesus' life, Prof. Sanday is equally judicial. He does not decide either for or against the ingenious suggestion that the Last Supper was the *Seder* service, even though the first day of Passover was on the succeeding Sabbath (see *J. Q. R.*, V, 680 seq.). He states against any evidence that in the last hours the Pharisees as a party were identified with the accusation of Jesus before the Roman procurator.

With the latter part of Prof. Sanday's article, dealing with Christology rather than with Jesus, Jewish critics have less to do. To use his words:—

"They begin with the assumption that Christ was only man, and will treat all the subsequent development as reflecting the growth of the delusion by which he came to be regarded as God."

This statement by itself is sufficient to indicate the general fairness of Prof. Sanday's treatment, and how he recognizes the existence of different standpoints. His whole article is encouraging for the Jewish position towards Jesus; in many points he approaches nearer than

any previous official writer on the subject, and on the many points where Jews and Christians must necessarily disagree, he is fair enough to allow for the possibility—and one might even say, the justifiability—of such disagreement.

Reverting to the less important articles, I continue my miscellaneous annotations on the same principle as the previous instalment.

Fire.—Reference might perhaps here be made to the folk-lore uses of fire, which are not without their light on the doctrines of sacrifice and taboo generally.

Flood.—I mention this article, merely to notice with somewhat pleased surprise that the folk-lore on this subject has been adequately dealt with, thanks to Andree's work. Mr. Lang has some remarks worth calling attention to in his *Mythologie*.

Food.—This very thorough article by Prof. Macalister only uses the Talmudic information as given in Surenhusius, which is quoted in the "Amsterdam Edition"—there is no other, so far as I am aware. Reference might have been made to the rather unsatisfactory monograph of Spitzer, *Das Mahl bei den alten Hebräern*, still more to the recent work of Krengel, *Das Hausgerdt der Mishnah*.

Fringes.—Reference might be here made to the fact that the knots on the fringes are made so as to represent the tetragrammaton of a *gematria*, and a comparison might perhaps have been instituted with the *quipu* of the Peruvians. The writer of the article does not seem to be aware that *talith* is a very late word, the etymology of which is still doubtful.

Galilee.—Some reference might have been made in this article to the Talmudic passages relating to the contemptuous Jewish opinion about Galileans. These are given in a convenient form in Dr. Neubauer's *Géographie du Talmud*.

Gehenna.—A curt reference to the later Jewish views on this subject might at least have been supplemented by a reference to Hamburger's article, while it is curious to find no use made of Schwally's book.

Genealogy.—This is a most valuable article, bringing together all the genealogies of the Old Testament, with a valuable Index. No discussion, however, is given on the object of the more detailed genealogies in tribal communities, as, for example, in early Wales a man's genealogy represented his title-deeds. The writer does not discuss Robertson Smith's ingenious views as to the possible early existence of exogamy, nor, under "Caleb," the

suggestion that Calebites were the totem Dog tribe. My suggestion that the additional names in 1 Esdras of the Nethinim and sons of Solomon's servants were derived from the second batch of Nethinim, has escaped the writer's notice.

Gestures.—The fact of the existence of a gesture language, common to the Orientals, might have been mentioned (see Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*).

Glass.—Dr. Loewy's paper on this subject in the *T.S.B.A.* might have been referred to.

Good, chief.—If this subject was to be at all dealt with, reference might at least have been made to Mr. Tyler's edition of *Ecclesiastes*, that the Greek conception of a *summum bonum* is to be found in that work.

Hair.—An opportunity has here been lost to refer to the very interesting folk-lore customs about hair, which throw light upon the Biblical passages. Wilken's tract on *Hair Customs* in South-east Asia was especially noteworthy.

Isaac.—Beer's *Leben Abrahams* contains many of the Rabbinic traditions about Isaac, and should have been referred to. The same remark applies to the article *Ishmael*.

From these somewhat scanty annotations it will be seen that it is not part of the plan of the new Dictionary to make any thorough use of any light which either Jewish tradition or modern folk-lore would throw upon Biblical matters. Both omissions are to be regretted. It must be allowed that neither source of information is easily accessible to the modern theologian, and perhaps, after all, neither source is indispensable for such purposes of instruction as the new Dictionary attempts to carry out. The new volume, which includes the important letter J, is fuller than the first of longer articles, and of those devoted to New Testament subjects, so that in any case the sources to which I have referred were less necessary.

Meanwhile, I should not like to leave these scattered notes without again expressing my appreciation of the thoroughness and widely-instructed scholarship with which the contributors to the Dictionary have carried out its plan, even though that plan is, in some respects, open to criticism.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

ROSENAK'S "FORTSCHRITTE DER HEBRÄISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT."

Die Fortschritte der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft von Jehuda Chajjūg' bis David Kimchi. (X. bis XIII. Jahrhundert.) Von Dr. LEOPOLD ROSENAK. I. Teil. Bremen, 1898. viii + 47 pp., 8vo.

THIS first part treats of the period prior to Hajjūg' : Saadiah (and his predecessors, such as the Talmud, the Massora, the Book Jeṣira, and Ben Asher), Jehudah ibn Koreish, Menachem and Dunash (and their disciples), and finally of Hajjūg' and Abulwalid. The continuation to David Kimchi is reserved for a second volume, which is to appear shortly. The author claims to have written his essay as early as 1895, admits that Prof. Bacher's work, *Die Anfänge der hebr. Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1895), anticipated a great part of his own essay and rendered re-casting and abbreviation necessary, yet he thinks that his own work contains sufficient novelty and independence to justify its publication. But the actual state of affairs is as follows: The sections up to Menachem are simply an excerpt from Prof. Bacher's work. From the latter have been taken the whole of the examples and citations, and where translations are given these are verbally transferred from Prof. Bacher, so that Dr. Rosenak has apparently not derived any of his quotations from a direct examination of the sources. Let one e.g. compare p. 13, note 4, with Prof. Bacher's work, p. 47, n. 1; p. 15, n. 4, with p. 56, n. 2; also the citation from Saadiah's Jeṣira Commentary (ed. Lambert, p. 73) in Rosenak, pp. 11-12, with Bacher, p. 40. To convey the appearance of independence, Dr. Rosenak sometimes quotes Prof. Bacher (e.g. p. 13, n. 3), and sometimes contests his views (p. 14, n. 1 and n. 6).—The sections dealing with Menachem and Dunash are, for the most part, taken from another work by Prof. Bacher (*Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Trier, 1892), but the *Anfänge* is also occasionally used (cp. e.g. p. 21, n. 1, with Bacher, pp. 79-80, and p. 24, n. 3, with Bacher, p. 101, notes 2-5, while the reference to Dr. Neubauer's *Notice sur la lexicogr. hébr.* on p. 27, n. 1, is borrowed from Bacher, p. 111, n. 3). Evidently Dr. Rosenak has not made an independent study of the writings of Menachem and Dunash.—Lastly, the sections on Hajjūg' and Abulwalid are compiled from various writings by Prof. Bacher, and other books such as Jastrow's and Drachmann's on Hajjūg' have been utilized. Dr. Rosenak seems here by exception to have looked into the writings of Hajjūg' in the Hebrew translation

(of the Arabic original edited by Prof. Jastrow in 1897 he knows nothing), and to have consulted Abulwalid's *Kutāb al-tuma'* (see the instances from ch. 28 on p. 43); but there are no indications whatever of a thorough investigation of these sources.

I will say nothing of various defects¹, but in conclusion raise a protest against the issue of mere compilations as independent studies.

Warsaw.

SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI.

CLASSICAL WORDS IN TALMUD AND MIDRASH.

Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, von SAMUEL KRAUSS. Teil I. Calvary: Berlin, 1898.

THE work before us deserves in full measure the distinction it received from the Lattes fund, the Zunz Stiftung, and the Vienna and Paris Alliance, both on account of its methodical structure and the profound linguistic knowledge displayed therein. Particularly remarkable is the explanation of קוֹמִים בִּנְרֹן as *comes vigilum*, κόμης βίγλων, קוֹמִים קְלָטוֹר as *comes curator*, namely, *curator annonae*. The author observes quite correctly, in reference to Ber. R. § 12 צָב שֶׁשׁ עֲנִלוֹת צָב, that צָב is taken here in the sense of Lev. xi. 29, in the words מָהוּ צָב דְּמוֹתָ לְקַלְיִין, and that the singular קַלְיִין is to be explained from χέλειον, like a tortoise (χελώνη: my Glossary, p. 119, must be corrected accordingly). Correct explanations are also given of כְּלֵי נִלְלִים as "vessels of tortoiseshell"; of פֶּרֶפְרָאוֹת (לְחֻכְמָה) as πληροφορία, fully reliable; of אֶפֶסְטָרְכָא as τοπαρχης, governor of a district; אֲנֶרְדוֹלִימוֹסִיא as ἀνδρολημψία, kidnapping. The author made a slip when explaining the word רִאצִּיפִי; it is true, he explains it correctly as δασύπους, but he ought not to have overlooked that the passage in Chullin, 62 a, deals exclusively with various species of pigeons, and especially of the *columba dasypus*, the drum-pigeon. The author must have noted down the word δασύπους; and when

¹ Thus e.g. p. 4, last line, for שְׁמִי read שְׁמִי; p. 23, n. 3, Sephat Jether, ed. Nutt, instead of ed. Lipmann; the fourth work of Hajjūg' was called סֵפֶר הַקִּדְדָה (= סֵפֶר הַקִּדְדָה) and not סֵפֶר הַקִּדְדָה; p. 36, l. 20, for Tankid read Tanḳiṭ; for ZDMG. (p. 38, n. 2) read Sitzungsber. der Wiener Academie, &c.; Abul-walid's *Opusculum* (ib., n. 3) appeared in 1880. Of the Dictionary (*Kutāb al-urṣā*), the Hebrew translation by Jehuda ibn Tibbon was also edited by Prof. Baehner (Berlin, 1893-97).

afterwards referring to his notes, he rendered it "the hare," a meaning which the Greek word certainly has, but which does not apply here. It is not clear why the author does not read the word תִּסְבְּרָא as *thesauro*, the ך designating the double ך, and representing the diphthong *au*, and rather prefers to read it as *thisbera*, nor why he reads קַרְסִיּוֹן *karkasion* instead of *kirkesion*. חַוִּית is not θίασις, "swarm," but θύασις, tumult, raging; רִמּוֹ חַוִּית, the storming rage, the tumult of the mind, the destructive fury. בְּרִיּוּיָהּ on page 11 is not *brevium*, but *breve* or *brevia*, an autograph writing; the plural is *breves*, *brevia*, from which the Greeks formed the singular, *βρίβιον*. The word קַרְסִיּוֹן does not mean "worldly," but "spread all over the world"; Ber. R. § 24, "of all tempests, only the one in the time of Elias was spread all over the world" וְאֵין לָךְ קַרְסִיּוֹן אֵלָא שֶׁל אֱלִיהוּ. Incorrect is also the rendering of פֶּנְקִיטוֹן and פֶּנְקִיטוֹן by *πάγκρεστα*, confectionery. On the other hand, we read in Jer. Sota, 17 c: "R. Chanina said, When I arrived here (in the Holy Land), I took my girdle, the girdle of my son, and the girt of my ass, and encompassed it with a carob tree of the land of Israel; but the girdles did not suffice to go quite round the tree, and my hands dripped with honey. R. Jochanan said, thereupon, The belated figs which we ate in our youth were better than the dried figs (מִפֶּנְקִיטוֹן) which we ate in our old age." Confectionery cannot be meant here. But, according to Hesychius *προκίς* or *προκρίς* = *εἶδος σχάδων*.

P. 109. קַצְרִיקִטוֹן is incorrectly rendered by *exercitus*. The sentence in Echa R., Introduction, קִרְיָה שֶׁעָשָׂה אוֹתָהּ דּוֹד לְקִיסְרִיקִטוֹן שֶׁלוֹ, should be translated: "The city which David made to be his imperial residence" (*Καίσαρος κοιτών*), and not, with Krauss, "The city which David selected for his army" (*ἐξέρκίτος*). Equally in Shir. R. s. v. הַיְרִשְׁכָּת בְּנִים, f. 34 b: "An emperor was angry with his servants and put them into prison. Then the emperor took all his court כל קַצְרִיקִטוֹן שֶׁלוֹ, and his servants, and went to hear what they spoke. He heard them saying: The emperor, our master, is our glory, our life: may our imperial master never want anything! The emperor then said to them, Speak louder, my children, that your fellow servants may also hear." It is clear that *exercitus* cannot be meant here.

P. 139. אֲבִטְלִית is incorrectly explained as *πόλις*, city, instead of *αὐτοτέλεια*, a self-governing, or independent city.

P. 129. אֲסִקְרִיטוֹר is incorrectly explained as *scriptores* instead of *ἀσκηγητάριοι*.

P. 141. קוֹבִיטְטוֹס is explained as *κυβευτής*, dice-player. But a dice-player is called in the Talmud בְּקוֹבִיא מִשְׁחָק, and is declared to be unfit to give evidence according to Rabbinical law

only; according to one explanation because he is an idler, and according to another, because gain by gambling is not a legitimate gain. But a קוביטסוס is everywhere declared to be equal to a גנב, a thief (Berachot, 5 a; Chullin, 9 b, &c.), and no Rabbinical ordinance was necessary to declare the evidence of such a person to be invalid. קוביטסוס is rather a κυβιστητής, a juggler, a cutpurse. Thus Chullin, 91 b: וְכִי גִבּוֹ אַי קְבוֹטְסוֹס אַתָּה, "Art thou a thief or a cutpurse, that thou art afraid of the morning?"

P. 145. נחמא is not formed from ἄγχοςμα, which word has the meaning of "respectful deference." נחמא is a Semitic word; נחם means "to cut," Ab. Z. 50 b. סִכַּן שֶׁמֶן לְנִיחּוּם, and נחמא, its derivative, means *Aufschneiderei*, bragging, exaggeration; vide also Kohut, ii. 266 a.

אלטכסייא is correctly explained as αὐλοταξία, imperial bodyguard, and my Glossary, p. 51 a, must be corrected accordingly. But the explanation of ארטל ליפין (Pesikta, f. 91 b) is decidedly wrong. These two words are supposed by the author to be the equivalent *rutilus rufilorum*. Apart from the arbitrary transposition of the letters, the explanation is opposed to the meaning of the passage. "R. Elazar ben R. Simon was appointed *rutilus rufilorum* (military tribune) to execute those who were condemned to death. R. Simon ben Korcha said to him, O, thou vinegar, son of wine (i.e. unworthy son of a noble father), how long wilt thou deliver up to death the children of thy people?" He was, we see, made the informer, the police spy of the Roman government, and informed against people for utterances which could be considered as treasonable. We read, fol. 92 b, that he was appointed ἀγγαρεύτης, i.e. postal courier, in which character he was to look out for any information as to designs against the government. None of these functions accord with the office of a *rutilus rufilorum* or military tribune.

P. 24. The word קליבסים is rendered as κλεισις, with the observation on p. 240, "this, notwithstanding Levy, IV, 305 b, s. v. קליבסים, and Fürst, 203 b, s. v. קלרים." "Notwithstanding" is a bad counsellor, which leads to bold assertions without the trouble of demonstrating. The author is rather given to such arbitrary and unproved assertions.

Let us examine the passages in Echa R., f. 44 a, where the word in question occurs: רב נחמן בשם ר' אחא אמר מהו לא נפל עליה גורל אמר ה'נה בשעה שהפלתי קלסים (קליבסים: Aruch) על אומות העולם להגלותם לא גלו ואחם למה גליתם. "R. Nachman said in the name of R. Acha, What is the meaning of the word (Ezek. xxiv. 6), 'The lot has not fallen about her'? God said, When I cast lots about the nations of the earth, to exile them, they were yet not exiled, and why

were you exiled?" The context plainly shows that קלירסים (αἵρεσις, lot) must be read instead of קלסים or קלובסים, an emendation which was already made by Sachs. The words הפלתי קלירסים are meant to explain the words of the text לא נפל עליה נירל. In view of the words of the text, the sense cannot possibly be, "When I caused to fall commands." To cause commands to fall would mean "not to execute them"; cf. 1 Kings viii. 3: לא נפל דבר אחד מכל דבריו הטוב, "not one of his good promises fell" (remained unfulfilled). קלם, which in neo-Hebrew means "to praise," is said to be derived from καλεῖσαι; but it is quite unintelligible what connexion there may be between "to praise" and "to command."

קאלמן (p. 28) does not mean "noble." We read Ber. R. § 50; "when anybody receives a governorship from the emperor, he goes in private clothes (כפנן, like a pagan) till he reaches the borders of his province; only on reaching the borders of his province היה מזהלך בקלאמן, he goes in the chlamys (the mantle of the general)."¹

P. 153. The words קירי פולי בריכסן are erroneously translated: "O Lord, cause much rain to descend" (Κύριε, πολὺ βρέξον). We read J. Shebuot, f. 34 a: "Any one who sees rain, and says, O Lord God, how much it rains! will be punished for uttering an unnecessary oath" משובע שבעה שוא. If the words meant, as the author says, "cause much rain to descend," we should expect, "he will be punished for uttering an unnecessary prayer" (תפלת שוא). The sentence is equivalent to Κύριε, πολὺ βρέξε; in the Aorist, "it has been raining and is still raining." The whole passage there treats on unnecessary and on false oaths, and not on prayer.

P. 156. פוליטימנן is erroneously rendered "statesman." πολιτευόμενος means "member of the town council," *decurio*.

Pp. 63, 191. סנדרנא is incorrectly translated "assessors," σύνεδροι. The passage in Shir. R. is: "By whom was the war against Midian carried on? by the two breasts," i.e. סנדרנא על ידי סנדרנא by the two who reigned simultaneously, Moses and Phineas. סנדרנא is σύνθρονοι.

Correct is the explanation of קאקוניסין and קאלוניסין as κακή αἵρεσις and καλή αἵρεσις, and my Glossary, p. 188 a, must be corrected accordingly. In Land, *Anecd., leges seculares*, f. 223: או נובן נברא עברא קאלא אריסין.

On page 191 פוטמן is translated σπάδων = סרים. This is wrong. The passage in question, Ber. R. § 86, f. 84, reads נעשה פטנין

¹ I made the same mistake in my Glossary, p. 188 b. Perles refuted it, and gave the correct explanation as above. This ought not to have escaped our author.

(Potiphar . . . when Joseph (the ox, cf. בכור שור Deut. xxxiii. 17) came to him, became *enlightened*, i. e. he forsook idolatry. The Byzantians used the word *φωτισμα*, "enlightenment," to denote "repudiation of paganism, acceptance of Christianity, baptism," hence *φωτίσαι*, to baptize. The Jews in the Byzantine empire then used the word to denote "rejection of idolatry." Thus, in *Jelamdenu*, the name Phutiel, one of Jethro's names, is explained thus: פוטיאל ביינית פוטיאל, במעשים טובים שאתה אושר ביינית פוטיאל, "He *shone* by good actions which in Greek is called *phōta*."

The excellency of the work as a whole induced me to draw attention to some errors it contains.

J. FÜRST.

THE OLD LATIN VERSION OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

De Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici capitibus i-xliii, una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus aethiopica, armeniaca, copticis, latina altera, syro-hexaplari depromptis, scripsit Dr. Theol. Henr. Herkenne (Leipzig, 1899).

THE object of this work, as stated in the introduction, is to investigate the origin and critical character of the Old Latin version of Ecclesiasticus, and to restore or emend the Greek by means of it. It therefore bears only indirectly on questions affecting the Hebrew text, although, as it was begun some two years before Dr. Schechter's discovery of the first leaf of the Hebrew, and was published before the appearance of the latest instalment from Cambridge, there is a considerable interest attaching to Dr. Herkenne's restorations of the underlying Hebrew text or texts. In a very carefully written introduction Dr. Herkenne first gives a bibliography of works on the Hebrew text and various versions of the book, and then discusses the value of the versions severally, after which follows a detailed commentary on the first forty-three chapters of the Old Latin (VL). That VL was translated from the Greek Dr. Herkenne concludes from its general agreement with that version, and also on the following special grounds:—(a) Greek words are often merely transcribed, e. g. cataclysmus (κατακλυσμός), eremus (ἐρημος); and Latin words are formed on a Greek pattern, e. g. inhonoratio (ἀτιμία), ineruditio (ἀπαιδευσία); (b) in some passages the VL has misunderstood the Greek; (c) differences can sometimes be explained either by an emendation or by a corruption of the Greek, for which in many

cases MS. authority can be found; (d) mistakes in the Greek are sometimes retained in VL. In the majority of cases, however, the differences cannot be explained either by *b* or *c*, and on this ground it has sometimes been held that VL was made from the Hebrew, or that divergences are due to the translator's having consulted a Hebrew text in certain passages. The latter view is in itself improbable, and moreover Dr. Herkenne shows that part of the variants of VL is supported by one or other MS. of the Greek, while part is to be found in a Greek form in patristic literature. It must nevertheless be admitted that VL is not altogether independent of a Hebrew source, since (a) some of the variants have a Hebrew colouring; (b) the differences between VL and the Greek can sometimes be explained only by a difference in the Hebrew text; (c) in some cases VL agrees (against the Greek) with the Syriac, which was made from Hebrew. [This argument is therefore ultimately the same as *b*.] The final conclusion is that VL rests on a Greek text revised according to a Hebrew text differing from that which is the basis of the received Greek. The underlying Hebrew he denotes by *g*, and considers that it is possible, in some cases at least, to re-establish its readings. The whole question is very clearly argued, and supported by numerous instances, but it is difficult to agree with the proposal to reconstruct *g*. There must generally be an uncertainty in restoring an original from a version, much more therefore in getting down to a second stratum, restoring an original from the version of a version. No doubt the agreement of VL with one or other of the versions often seems to point to a particular Hebrew reading in *g*, but the possibilities of error are so many that even after a very thorough investigation it is seldom certain that the coincidence is not due to some such cause as corruption or misunderstanding within the particular versions. For this reason it is important that the versions should be critically studied. The present work and the monograph of Dr. N. Peters on the Coptic versions (*Biblische Studien*, III, 3) show what there is to be done. As to the existence of *g* there can be little doubt, for many reasons tend to the conviction that from comparatively early times various recensions of the Hebrew text were current. Nor is this surprising. In the case of a book which was neither sacred, nor had received the *imprimatur* of the schools, a scribe was under no necessity of abiding by his copy. In fact, he considered himself to be doing the author service by correcting, amplifying, or improving his work, and it is important to bear this in mind with regard to Ecclesiasticus. Granting Dr. Herkenne's contention, it must be agreed that since VL is a careful, literal version, it is of great value for the criticism of the text, following, as

it does, a corrected recension of the Greek. He places it next in importance after the Greek and Syriac, and holds that sometimes it alone has preserved the true reading of the Hebrew. It is also possible, in his opinion, to gather some details as to the *form* of the Hebrew MS. from which the grandson made his translation. Thus (a) it was written continuously, not *συναγῶς*, and perhaps without division of words; (b) it had contractions, and possibly omissions; (c) words were sometimes transposed or out of place in it. As regards the Greek MS. underlying VL, (a) it was free from the disarrangement of chapters occurring in various extant Greek MSS. and in some versions; (b) it was probably written in columns, with notes between them; (c) it was written continuously, without division of words; (d) it had marginal notes, which have sometimes crept into the text; (e) the margin was injured in some places; (f) it had about twenty uncial letters to the line. If we sometimes hesitate to adopt Dr. Herkenne's conclusions on these points, we are none the less ready to admit the ingenuity and minute care displayed in his work.

The other versions may be more summarily dismissed. Among the less known of them perhaps the most interesting are the Coptic, of which small fragments exist in the Bohairic dialect, and nearly the whole in the Sahidic. That these two versions should agree to a large extent is only natural. The same is the case throughout the translations of the Bible in these two dialects, and probably, although the versions are distinct, the later was influenced by the earlier. It is noticeable that they agree largely with VL, the reason no doubt being that both go back to an earlier form of the Greek. The peculiarity of the Coptic (Sahidic) is its "erklärende Tendenz" (as pointed out by Dr. Peters), i.e. the endeavour to show (often erroneously) the logical connexion of the matter by the insertion of (Greek) particles even where they are lacking in its Greek original, a tendency which may often be observed in early versions of other books. The Armenian versions are, according to Dr. Herkenne, of inferior value for the text. The earlier of the two follows closely the ordinary Greek text, and is dependent on a single MS., from which it was first published in 1833 at Venice. Like the Syriac, it abounds in lacunae, and breaks off altogether at chap. xlii. 25. The most interesting variant it presents is in xl. 6 b, where it reads *καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐνυπνίου ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κοπιᾷ*. The Ethiopic version is of least value, owing to its paraphrastic character and to its author's defective knowledge of the Greek from which he translated.

Such are the main results of Dr. Herkenne's work. Without going into a detailed discussion of the commentary, enough has been said to

show that it is a real contribution to the study of the subject. It is to be hoped that the fruit of his accurate and patient investigation may stimulate other scholars to a similar study of the other versions of Ecclesiasticus.

A. COWLEY.

THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRA.

The Wisdom of Ben Sira. Portions of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Geniza Collection, presented to the University of Cambridge by the Editors. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by S. SCHECHTER, M.A., Litt.D., Reader in Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge, and Professor of Hebrew in University College, London, and C. TAYLOR, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1899. [Pp. lxxxvii, 68 and (24).]

[PRELIMINARY NOTICE.]

THIS well-edited volume, taken together with the pages printed by the Rev. George Margoliouth in the present number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, exhausts the Fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus which have been recovered from the Cairo Geniza. To Professor Schechter belongs the honour of identifying the very first Fragment found. But he has earned more than the praise of mere discovery. He has studied the texts with penetration, has illustrated them with fullness of learning, and has discussed them with critical insight. His Notes and Introduction to the Hebrew text before us are the first ripe fruit of his labours. He will no doubt have more to say when the batteries of scholars hostile to the pretensions of the Hebrew have been unmasked. In the Master of St. John's he has found a capable coadjutor, whose contribution to the Cambridge volume is worthy of his reputation. The English Translation with the Notes and Appendix to it are by Dr. Taylor; the Hebrew Text, the Introduction to it, and the Notes fall to the share of Professor Schechter.

The Fragments contained in this volume come from two MSS. MS. A consists of four leaves of paper very full of writing, and includes ch. iii. 6 to vii. 29, xi. 34 to xvi. 26. MS. B consists of seven leaves of paper. It comes from the same Codex as the Lewis-Gibson and the Bodleian Fragments, and contains ch. xxx. 11 to xxxiii. 3, xxxv. 9 to xxxvi. 21, xxxvii. 27 to xxxviii. 27, and xlix. 12 to the end

of the book. The passages supplied by the British Museum Fragments, published above, will be seen to supply some of the gaps in MS. B.

So much space has been allotted in the present number of the *JEWISH QUARTERLY* to Ben Sira, that I am forced to crowd out much that I had written on the subject. It would, however, be unjust to the Cambridge editors, and disloyal to the cause of truth, were I to deny myself sufficient space to express in the briefest words some general conclusions, and to pronounce a very necessary protest.

First, it would be unjust to the Cambridge editors, and particularly to Professor Schechter, were one to allow an ephemeral controversy as to the originality of the Hebrew to obscure the lasting merits of their editorial work. Every one who has made a close study of the Cambridge volume will agree with what Professor Smend has said in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for September 2: "Schechter hat sich durch seine Entdeckungen um die gesammte biblische Wissenschaft ein bleibendes Verdienst erworben. Ihm gebührt um so grösserer Dank, als er mit dem Glück des Finders Thatkraft, Gelehrsamkeit und Umsicht vereinigte." The thorough familiarity with the Bible which Mr. Schechter displays, his unrivalled knowledge of the Rabbinical literature, his intimate acquaintance with the versions of Ben Sira, his felicitous treatment of the problems presented, e.g. by the praise of the Sons of Zadok in ch. li, his frankness in presenting all the facts without regard to their effect for or against his own view as to the authenticity of the Hebrew, his provision of the materials on which a final judgment can be based as to this authenticity, his acute suggestions as to emendations—in all these directions he proves himself a true and honest scholar, keen of perception, equipped with rare and rich gifts. Even if the authenticity of the Hebrew be hereafter discredited—a fate which I do not in the least expect—still Professor Schechter's work would remain a masterpiece, creditable alike to his University and to English letters.

Secondly, a protest must be entered against the tone in which one prominent controversialist is conducting the discussion. It is to be hoped that he will find no imitators. A purely literary question of considerable intricacy must be approached without passion and without abuse. Accusations of blind ignorance and bad faith are not arguments. Further, I trust that there will be no repetition of the attempt to saddle particular scholars with the responsibility for the general acceptance of the Fragments as authentic. Most of the writers with whose work I am acquainted have expressed themselves as convinced of the authenticity, not by this or that authority, but by an independent study of the texts. Professor Margoliouth himself

wrote in April, 1897, that "Every page offers examples of cases where the difference between the Greek and the Syriac can be explained only by recurrence to the Hebrew." With this statement I fully agree, but my point is that if any scholar feels impelled to recant his opinion, he must not seek to transfer his own mistake to the shoulders of others. Worse still is it when such a recanter, with the zeal of a new convert, makes fierce and undignified attacks upon the scholarship of those who still believe in a text which he himself not so long ago honoured as original.

Reserving remarks on many passages for a later occasion, I will call attention to one or two salient points in the Cambridge volume. It must be freely conceded that the Cairene Fragments are extremely corrupt. Misreadings and misspellings, some of which are noted by the editors, abound. The corruption goes deeper than single words, for whole clauses are mangled and jumbled, and reproduced in varying recensions. It is this combined injury of time and the copyist which gives to the Hebrew in places that rough and ragged appearance, which has not unnaturally aroused unfavourable comment. Before judging the text, the text must be critically restored. But even as it stands, often enough the Hebrew is simple, vivid, cadenced. Many admirable lines might be cited from every page. Nothing, for instance, could be more balanced than Ben Sira's imitation of Prov. xxix. 26 as revealed in the Cairene Hebrew of xiii. 20 תועבת נאמא ענא ותועבת עשר אבין. (Note, incidentally, that this verse is missing from the Syriac. Hence if re-translated it must have been rendered from the Greek. But in that case we should expect כן (= Greek οὕτως) in the second clause; the Vulgate indeed has *sic et*. Besides, a re-translator would not have rendered the personal *ἡμετέραν* of the Greek by the abstract Hebrew נאמא.) To turn to some longer passages, a reader must be hard to satisfy if he fails to find pleasure in the first seventeen verses of chap. xxxvi. There is unmistakable beauty, too, in the first twelve verses of chap. li; the author uses Scripture with ease and freshness, and the style resembles nothing so much as the canonical Psalter. A close comparison of this passage with the versions utterly precludes the possibility of holding that the Hebrew is derived. But I have called special attention to this chapter because it also indicates that when composing a *set hymn* a writer of the second century B.C. naturally fell into a classical style. On referring to Professor Schechter's notes, one finds that he can here show absolutely none of the neologisms which are common in other parts of the Hebrew Ben Sira. The same passage is interesting from another point of view. In the Cambridge text it is followed by fifteen new verses, which are absent from all the versions. Yet

they are certainly authentic, with the possible exception of the final line in which the quotation from Ps. cxlvii. 14, may be a doxological addition. These fifteen verses are an imitation of Psalm cxxxvi. What mediaeval re-translator would have ventured on such a direct imitation of a Psalm with its canonical refrain *כִּי לַעֲלֹם הַסֶּדֶר*? Ben Sira's imitation has left its mark on the liturgy, as Professor Schechter points out; rarely indeed does he miss a good point! But it is curious that the part of the liturgy which it resembles, the eighteen benedictions, is generally held to be very old, in fact pre-Maccabean in part. But the best evidence of the authenticity of the passage is given by Professor Schechter himself.

The reason for its omission by the Greek translator, who in this respect, as in so many others, was followed by his Syrian successor, is not hard to conjecture. Living at a time when the house of Zadok was already superseded by the Maccabean line, the grandson of Ben Sira recoiled from giving publicity to a hymn which claimed that the *בְּנֵי צַדִּיק* were specially selected for the priesthood. But it is just the prominence given to the house of Zadok which establishes its authenticity. For after the unworthy part played by the high priests of the house of Zadok during the Hellenistic troubles, it is highly improbable that any pious Jew—such as the author of this hymn evidently was—would feel so enthusiastic about this family, that their continuance in the sacred office would form the special theme of his thanksgiving to God. Such an enthusiasm could only have been displayed by one who knew the best of the Zadokides, namely Simon the Just, and who prayed so fervently for the perpetuation of God's grace upon the high priest and his children (ch. i. 24), that is by Ben Sira himself.

On turning to the Hebrew of the illustrative passage cited by Professor Schechter, one sees another strong proof of the authenticity of the Hebrew. The latter and none of the versions cites the "Covenant of Phineas" from Num. xxv. 12. (See however the Versions on ch. xlv. 23.) Yet the context here requires a reference to the "Covenant of Phineas," for otherwise the phrase of the Greek *καὶ γενέσθαι εἰρηνηστὴν ἐν ἡμέραις ἡμῶν* is meaningless. The reference is obviously to Num. xxv. 11—*לִבְנֵי אֶמֶר חַנְּנִי נָתַן לִי אֵת בְּרִיתִי שְׁלוֹם*.

It was imperative, even in a most cursory review of the Cambridge volume, to devote some space to this passage, for Professor Schechter has here restored fifteen verses to the ancient Hebrew literature. I am forced to pass over the facts that Saadyah Gaon and earlier liturgical poets clearly knew the Cairene text, and that the final acrostic, ably annotated by Dr. Taylor, reveals phenomena that, despite the corrupt state of the Hebrew and certain resemblances to the Syriac, argue against the supposition of the Hebrew fragments being a re-translation. It is an unproved assumption that the acrostic, as it left Ben Sira's hand, represented a complete alphabet. It will

be a matter of considerable moment to analyse Professor Schechter's list of parallels between Ben Sira and the Hebrew Bible. This list has been drawn up evidently by virtue of an extraordinary familiarity with Scripture, not by means of a concordance. But even if these parallels make it hard to feel confident that extant Psalms are of Maccabean date, the list proves nothing against the post-exilic origin of the Psalter. On the other hand, the state of the text and the curiosities of the versions derived from it will strengthen the hands of those, who, like Professor Cheyne, are convinced that textual emendation of the Massoretic text should take a bolder flight than has hitherto seemed safe. On one point, however, I feel strongly inclined to agree with Professor Schechter—namely on his conception of the state of religious thought in Judea in the second century B. C. There only remains one feature of the Cairene text on which I can now permit myself a few words. There are in the Cairene Fragments a number of "doublets" which have disturbed some students, and of which we are likely to hear a good deal from the opponents of the authenticity of the Hebrew. Of these "doublets" some are merely scribal errors (e.g. xxxi. 10, xxxii. 21). Some seem to be glosses to explain rare words, such as חֲלָק for חֲלָק (xxx. 14), or סִימָס for סִימָס (xxx. 20). Some of them, however, are distinct variants, represented in the Greek and Syriac respectively, as Professor Schechter and Dr. Taylor themselves show. (But there are phrases in the doublets which are represented neither in the Greek nor in the Syriac.) It is highly improbable that a mediaeval re-translator would have had the critical insight to use the different versions, or that if he had used them he would have introduced the variants into one and the same translation. It is far more likely that there were distinct ancient recensions of the Hebrew, the readings of which were faithfully reproduced. It is evident, not only from these doublets and from the marginalia, but from the very differences between the Greek and the Syriac, that there must have been more than one recension of the Hebrew. It would not be uncritical to concede that some variants have in course of time arisen from the versions, especially from the Syriac. Something of this kind has undoubtedly occurred in more than one of the Talmudical citations. At all events the copyist of the Cairene Fragments who, whatever his faults, was scrupulously honest, introduced all the readings in his MSS., sometimes without regard to sense or spelling. But I venture to throw out the suggestion that there were some doublets in the work as it left Ben Sira's own hands. Several traces of these are discernible. Thus in xiii. 15-16 (Hebrew) we have the same thought repeated in very similar words, and the versions confirm the Hebrew in retaining

both. Again in the same chapter, towards the end, there are some passages about the rich and poor (passages occurring in the versions as well as in the Hebrew) which have all the appearance of doublets. Again the Hebrew and the versions show (e. g. xvi. 8-9) that Ben Sira fancied the idea of beginning consecutive verses with the same phrase. The origin of this idea is to be found in the same source as that from which Ben Sira consciously drew his main inspiration—the canonical Book of Proverbs. In this book the doublets are strikingly numerous. I quote only two instances.

(Prov. x. 2.)	וצדקה תציל ממות	לא יתעילו אצרות רשע
(Prov. xi. 4.)	וצדקה תציל ממות	לא יעיל הק ביום עברה
(Prov. xvi. 2.)	ותכן רוחות יהוה	כל דרכי איש זך בעיניו
(Prov. xxi. 2.)	ותכן לבות יהוה	כל דרך איש ישר בעיניו

Compare also Prov. x. 15 a with xvii. 11 a, xv. 8 a with xxi. 27 a, xv. 16 a with xvi. 8 a, x. 27 with xiv. 27, xv. 14 with xviii. 15, xvi. 18 a with xvii. 12 a, and the triplet xii. 14 a with xiii. 2 a and xviii. 20 a. Also, of course, there is a whole verse verbally repeated in xiv. 12 and xvi. 25. There are many similar phenomena in the canonical Proverbs, and though I do not suppose that Ben Sira had exactly our present text (my citations are restricted to section x-xxii) yet the close student of Scripture in general, and of Proverbs in particular, as Ben Sira was, he must have perceived these doublets, and as I venture to think may have proceeded to imitate them. He placed his doublets consecutively, for he always introduced something of originality into his imitations.

To Dr. Taylor students will be grateful for a fine English translation, for his Notes and Appendices. It will be long before a definitive edition of the original Hebrew of Ben Sira is possible. But Professor Schechter and Dr. Taylor have brought such an edition appreciably nearer. It is to be hoped that Professors Cheyne and Driver will apply their splendid knowledge of Hebrew to the elucidation of some of the many difficulties that remain. The controversy about the authenticity will be useful in bringing these difficulties into prominent light. Opponents will make useful suggestions and be the cause of more. I feel confident that the final verdict will be favourable to the pretensions of the Cairene text, which, corrupt and puzzling as it is, yet has preserved for us precious chapters from the original work of Ben Sira.

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THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY, 1900

NATION OR RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY?¹

I HOPE there is some satisfactory reason, not clearly explained or apparent to myself, why the honour was offered me of becoming President of the Jewish Historical Society for the coming year. I trust it is not because there is any lack of earnest students of history in your ranks; I also trust it was not to see what a man who knows no history would make of the Introductory Address. At any rate, whatever the reason, the offer was made; authorities and forces, whose power there was no gainsaying, ordered acceptance, and so the question immediately arose, what was I to say at this Inaugural function?

I recalled a casual remark once made to me by the late Prof. Graetz, who said that Jewish history was the most exacting of all histories, because it demanded a good working knowledge of most other histories and of most languages, whether living or dead. It might be added that the philosophic study of Jewish history needs for its setting and its commentary a study of the philosophy of history. The relations, for instance, of race, religion, and country to each other; the growth and change of

¹ An address given before the Jewish Historical Society of England on December 3, 1899.

such ideas as patriotism and citizenship—these important subjects should first of all be studied generally, and then illustrated by Jewish history, while finally, reversing the order, the conclusions obtained from the vicissitudes of a single people should be tested by the lessons and deductions of universal history.

The curious anomaly that the student of a small and isolated race must, as it were, blossom out into a student of universal history is after all only in right keeping with the anomalies of the Jewish position as a whole. Of what strange and various reflections the Jews can be the subject! How many curious contradictions they seem to include! Take the primary point of all. Here we have a race with its own religion—just as in the ancient world. Yet here we have a race whose members live as citizens of many countries, with whose populations they have ethnographically nothing to do, and who maintain the distinctively modern dogma that creed and citizenship need not and should not coincide. Thus on the one hand the Jews seem to be the anachronistic survivals of pre-Roman civilization; on the other hand, if they are to live in Europe at all, it must be as the adherents, and on the strength of ideas which did not become familiar or even suitable to the nations of the West until after the upheaval of the French Revolution. When we pass from the Jews to Judaism, from the race to its creed, what contradictions and combinations do we not here too find! For here also we have the old and the new, the ancient and the modern. Here are laws or customs which reflect and maintain the religious curiosities of a pre-historic age, and yet here are a monotheism and a rationalism in harmony even from their beginnings with the tone and temper of the modern world.

It is not inconsistent with the opposing forces within Judaism and the Jewish race, that we have recently seen a fresh cleavage and a new party. For Judaism has so many facets, and the Jewish race has so many anomalies,

that a variety of interpretations is only natural and probable. Thus we now have the Zionist interpretation and the Zionist party, who find recruits from all previous parties, and equally from all previous parties find opponents.

Hard, said the old Greek proverb, hard is the good. It is in no disloyalty to Judaism, but on the contrary as an adherent, that I venture to say that if any honest and clear-sighted person finds any one of the interpretations or positions—the orthodox position, the reform position, the Zionist position, the wholesale assimilation position—quite easy and adequate, whether theoretically or practically, he has either thought very little about the whole subject, or (I give him the benefit, you see, of a fair alternative) he has thought an enormous deal.

Not only is the century passing away amid practical troubles and sorrows for the Jewish race of a pressing and grievous kind, not only is the actual outlook full of anxiety and gloom, but, from what I may call the theoretical point of view, the situation and the environment are darkened with perplexity and doubt. Doctrines which seemed settled once for all are again being raised or attacked. Conclusions which seemed assured are being questioned anew. There have been strange recrudescences of a narrower nationalism, and in the largest empire of Europe the effort is still being persistently made to obtain a complete coincidence among its citizens of religion, language, and race.

The whole problem of the relations of race, religion, and country to one another has become more difficult and conspicuous in recent years. For the Jews themselves the matter is specially urgent and intricate. We are seemingly separated from other Europeans by a double bar: we are of another race and also of another creed. The creed and the race coincide. None are of our creed who are not of our race. The isolation therefore seems complete; the barrier too great to be entirely broken

down. Again, while all Europe is nominally Christian and its religious differences are differences within the Christian limit, the Jews stand outside that limit and profess what is called a non-Christian religion. Further, Christianity, though of oriental origin, has become occidentalized, but Judaism, so we are told by both friends and foes, was, and is, and always must be, an essentially oriental creed. Thus, either there must be a dissonance and contradiction in our own lives, inasmuch as our Western work days will clash with our oriental faith, whereas human life should be a harmonious unity, in which creed and citizenship act and react in perfect accord upon each other; or the faith and the race will be too strong for the citizenship, and our skin-deep occidentalism will in the long run become impossible for ourselves and a trouble to our neighbours. Here, indeed, are many serious difficulties, and the easiest way out of them may not necessarily be the truest or the best.

This I say in my own defence or by way of anticipation, for certainly at first sight the easiest interpretation of the facts, including as it does a practical goal for present and future labour, is that of our latter-day nationalists, and more especially of those among them for whom religion takes a secondary place, or is no longer a subject of pressing and personal interest.

It may be argued that the strong nationalist movements and sentiments which are an obvious characteristic of the present age are in the main healthy and desirable. As with the family, so with the nation. It must be saved, and not destroyed. From the love of the family man can pass to the love of the nation, and from the love of the nation to the love of humanity, but the single larger love must not annihilate the smaller two, it must only temper their abuses, and shape them to higher ends. Patriotism will still remain a great moving and civilizing force. A new nation added to the existing number, or an old nation reborn and readmitted into the band, is so

much fresh wealth to the world's spiritual treasury. The Jews are a nation in all respects but one; they lack a home, a state, a country, a fatherland; give them these, and all the good which comes of patriotism and national life will come to them, and through them unto the world, while all the evils and sorrows which spring from a homeless nation being scattered as wandering guests upon reluctant hosts will gradually diminish and disappear.

Within quite modern times we have seen several fresh states added to the world's map, and these new additions have been in the nature of revivals and resurrections. Who shall venture to set a limit to such possibilities? Even though the Greeks and Bulgarians were for the most part on the spot, and though they all still spöke their national language as a living tongue, and though they were not scattered over the world's surface and did not differ from each other in a hundred separating ways, and even though they had not, wherever the breath of freedom and of toleration blew, rapidly and readily assimilated in thought and habits with the neighbours among whom they dwelt, still, even though all this was not the case, the idea of a reborn Greece and of a reborn Bulgaria would doubtless have been scouted as absurd, only a century before the absurdity became reality.

Now, if the saying be accurate that "the roots of the present lie deep in the past," it may well be that the past can throw some light upon the problems of the present. My own small leisure for study has been devoted to the earlier history of the Jewish religion. But this does not put me so utterly out of court in the discussion of the wider and more general problem as might be supposed. For, as I venture to believe, it is the religious factor which must either be the rock against which Jewish nationalism will suffer shipwreck or which must itself be ruined in the fray.

We look back across the ages to the Davidic and pre-Davidic periods, and we find Israel in its own land and

not, as it would seem, greatly different, whether in thought or religion, from its neighbours around. The land, the people, and the God are, as it were, mixed up together. The God—in the opinion of his people—lives in the land or near it; he gives to his clients their food and drink; he fights their battles; he shares in their victories; he is their legislator and their judge; their glory is his.

The glow of religion and the glow of patriotism are one and the same. All this is just what we find in a dozen other ancient peoples. Religion is national. Politics are religious. Each is nourished by its complement or counterpart. But this common and comfortable coincidence is broken in upon by other tendencies of opposing kinds and by special characteristics. On the one hand there was early displayed the Jewish capacity to imitate and to assimilate; on the other hand there was the fact that the national divinity was single, and that he did not brook beside himself either rival or partner. By certain persons in the nation, all imitation of neighbouring rites and all additions to the one national God were regarded as treason and apostasy. And why was Yahveh thus exclusive? Why was he so jealous? Because to these men he seemed other than the gods of the neighbouring nations, and "other" because better, purer, more righteous. Now in this "other and better" there lay the germs of universalism. The local god of the nation is transforming himself into the universal God of the world. And note the immediate inconsistency. Yahveh is much more exclusive than any other god; in one sense therefore he is much more national, just as he certainly in one sense fosters and strengthens an intense national consciousness; but from another point of view, though or even because he is more exclusive, he is also more universal than any other god, more like the one nameless God of the whole modern and Western world. It is this exclusive universalism—if an illustrative contradiction in terms may be employed—which on the one hand preserved the people amid peculiar trials, and on the other

hand made it so unlike any other people as almost to denationalize it altogether.

Assyria, and then Babylon, made the Jews for the first time familiar with an empire, a union of many peoples in the compass of a single state. But, novel and stimulating as this phenomenon was, it did not tend to any clear solution of the difficulties which the expanding Jewish religion was bringing about. The provinces of Babylon were won and were held by the sword. There was no larger and common patriotism overshadowing provincial or national patriotisms as in the case of imperial Rome. Apart from the Jews the religious result of Assyrian or Babylonian dominion tended, I fancy, not to universalism, or to the common worship of any supreme God, but to a syncretistic confusion which made for degradation rather than for progress. So far as the Jews were concerned, a national as well as a religious exclusiveness still went hand in hand; each was needed to preserve the other. The famous letter of Jeremiah may serve as the text for many a modern sermon on patriotism, but exegetically and historically it does not imply any interest in Babylonian prosperity, except in so far as, in the prophet's judgment, the welfare of his people temporarily depended upon the welfare of Babylon.

Were things different after the return, when the Jews, once more in their own land, formed a province of the Persian empire? Hardly. No Jew felt himself to be a Persian citizen of the Jewish faith. Such an idea would have seemed absurd or unintelligible. During the Persian period the Jews were often keenly sensitive of their dependent position; it was a grief and irritation to them that the glowing predictions of their prophets had been so glaringly unfulfilled. They yearned for national independence and Messianic dominion. Nevertheless the Persian period probably witnessed the beginnings of tendencies which were sapping an ordinary secular nationalism at its roots. The priestly code and its ideals now became

prominent. Its promoters and disciples aimed at the production of a holy nation, whose main business should be the law and the glory of God. It was to differ essentially from all other kingdoms and peoples. To a very considerable extent the aim succeeded. In the current phrase of modern critics, it was sought to transform the nation into a church. For a church it did not so greatly matter whether it was politically independent or not. So long as its members were allowed to practise their laws and to fulfil their religious obligations undisturbed, the question of suzerainty was of very secondary importance. Thus here was a tendency running counter to mere nationalist cravings. It tended to change a nation into a religious brotherhood or community. There was another tendency operating in the same direction. The two hundred years of the Persian period saw the beginnings of Jewish proselytism. It is quite true that he who joined the Jewish religion joined the Jewish people, for the two were still identified with each other. But he joined the people for the sake of the people's religion. For the sake of religion he, as it were, divested himself of his old nationality and assumed a new one. Thus here too, and in this way also, the religion is beginning to dominate over the nation; the religion does not exist for the sake of the nation, nor even are nation and religion equal and co-ordinate, but the nation exists for the sake of the religion: it is its shell, its embodiment.

Pass now from the Persian to the Greek period. We all know how in politics, as well as in art, morality, and philosophy, new conceptions entered with Greece into the world's history. A double patriotism was known in Hellas from a comparatively early period. There was first of all patriotism towards one's own state, and secondly, though seldom existing in adequate force and purity to break down the wall of particularistic selfishness, there was the larger patriotism towards Hellas as a whole. On the one side were the Hellenes, on the other the Barbarians.

The interesting thing for our purpose to note is that this larger patriotism, this higher national consciousness, was neither purely local nor purely racial. It tended to rest not merely on a common ancestry and a common past, but on a peculiar culture, on a conception of life which might even be shared in and adopted by those who were not of Hellenic blood. Even before Alexander, Isocrates, "loyal and genuine Hellene as he was," can yet conceive of a Hellenized barbarian.

Then Greece under the leadership of Alexander destroys the Persian empire, and a new era in the world's history begins. For Judaism also and for the Jewish race Alexander's conquests are of determining importance. The real expansion of Judaism (of which the small beginnings date back to the Persian period) follows upon or runs parallel with the expansion of Hellenism. To the *Hellenistic* period in Greek history, there corresponds what we might call the *Judaistic* period in Jewish history. The idea begins to suggest itself that the Jewish religion may cover a wider area than the members of the Jewish race. "And Zion each one calls Mother; yea, each one was born therein."

Into any description of Hellenistic Judaism, which continued with momentous results into the Roman period, I can of course not enter. I admit fully and freely that it did not produce any quite satisfactory settlement or solution of the relations between religion and race. Even outside Palestine, in the huge *Diaspora*, this is still the case. Ritual religion entered too largely into public and everyday life for the exclusive and by this time sternly monotheistic Jew to feel himself one with his fellow subjects of other races and creeds, or for them to feel easy and at home with him. The greatest conception to which any Jew attained in the age of the *Diadochoi* can hardly be other than that soaring flight of prophetic imagination, in which, through the uniting and healing bond of true religion, the two great kingdoms of the age are con-

ceived of as reconciled to each other, to Israel and to God. "In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria (i. e. to Syria, the kingdom of the Seleucids), and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the earth, which the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."

But speaking generally, and in spite of the very developed and widely extended propaganda, the religion was still too confined in a nationalist strait waistcoat, and the existing state in Judaea, with all its memories and hopes, was still too potent for an effective transformation of the nation into the religious community. Yet the religion in its deeper essentials was too universal to be satisfied with or happy in its nationalist integuments. It kicked against the pricks. Philo, who represented the *moderate* Hellenistic party, in spite of all his allegorizing and philosophy, shows us that the Jew, in Hellenistic lands at all events, was coming gradually to be regarded and to regard himself less as a member of a particular tribe or race than as a man who held certain peculiar tenets about the Godhead, and practised certain peculiar religious rites. It is interesting to find Philo writing as follows about the relation of the Jews outside Palestine to their adopted country on the one hand and to Jerusalem on the other:—"One country cannot contain all the Jews because of their large number; for which reason they are spread over most parts of Asia and Europe, both on the mainland and in islands. They regard Jerusalem, in which lies the holy temple of the Most High God, as their mother city; but the various countries in which their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors have dwelt, they regard as their fatherlands, for in them they were born and bred." The passage may be a little

coloured for the occasion, but it shows a tendency. And secondly it is interesting to find that Philo too is fain to recognize that the word Jew should have a religious rather than a racial connotation. "Kinship is not merely measured by blood, but by agreement in deeds and by the common pursuit of the same ends." Right down at the end of the second century after Christ we find Dion Cassius saying that the name Jew is applied to all who have adopted the institutions of Judaism, whatever their race. As the test of the newer Hellenism was to be a certain culture, so the test of the Jew was becoming less a matter of genealogy than of religion.

By quotations from Philo and Dion Cassius I have passed into the Roman period. One cannot help occasionally indulging in the foolish wish that the course of history had run differently. If the temple could have been quietly destroyed without any embittered struggle with Rome, or if the Jews from the time of Pompey had only consisted of the *Diaspora*, Hellenistic Judaism might have had a tremendous chance. The problem of religion and race might have been solved. For with Rome we do at last get the idea of a universal or imperial citizenship in which all local and national differences are included or swallowed up. Men of many races and many creeds can yet say: *Civis romanus sum*. But the Jew had suffered too much from Rome to be easily reconciled to her. The virulence of national hate had been too intemperately aroused. And in Rome, as in the Hellenistic kingdoms, the difficulties of religion in public and everyday life still continued. Yet, in spite of mutual hate and mutual contempt, there was, as we all know, a considerable amount of proselytizing effort on the one hand, and a constant attractedness on the other. The despised Jew possessed a secret shared by no pagan creed.

But Judaism was dispossessed of its charm in the eyes of the Roman world by its own offshoot. Christianity could make a hundred converts where Judaism could make but one.

Students of Jewish history should carefully study, by way of illustration or of contrast, the position and attitude of early Christianity to Rome and her empire.

Whatever our views may be as to the truth of Christian dogma, there can be little doubt that one cardinal fact which determined and ensured the success of Christianity was its frankly international, or, if you will, its non-national character. Paul had spoken the decisive word: he had freed the new creed from national bonds. It was no longer to be a sect of Judaism, but a universal religion. "There is neither Jew nor Greek." "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek." These sentences were fraught with mighty issues. For though the infant Church was, like the Synagogue, anti-Roman and averse to political life, inasmuch as there could be no recognition of the emperors' divinity and no participation in rites which yet formed the inevitable basis and accompaniment of all municipal and national affairs, still Christianity, as it advanced and increased, was bound in one way or another to come to terms with Rome. Or, from another point of view, the State was bound to come to terms with the Church. Too many Romans had become Christian; Christianity had absorbed too much of Rome.

When the Empire and Christianity had joined hands, and the one adopted the other, it is curious to see how soon old ideas reappear in new habiliments. Once more, only in a more subtle and inviolable form, public life becomes entwined and impregnated with religion. The State adopts a religion far more exclusive, intolerant, and inquisitorial than the pagan syncretisms which it supplanted. The modern conception of one citizenship and many creeds was as far off as ever. The Jew was even more out of place, and certainly more disliked and persecuted, in the Christian than in the heathen empire. Religion and race were likely to combine again in a closer coincidence than before.

The philosophic student of Jewish history, who as we

know must be a student of universal history as well, should trace the origin and growth of the modern nations of Europe. He should especially investigate the changing ideas as to what constitutes a nation, the race element, the place element, and so on. He must also consider the changing function and position of religion in the history of the mediaeval empire and of the European States. He should trace the development and the decay of the imposing conception of the Catholic Church, encompassing all Europe in its wide embrace. He should observe the currents of thought set moving by the earlier heresies, by the Hussite struggles, by the thought of the Renaissance, and, above all, by the Protestant Reformation. He should observe how the idea of the one religion—because the true religion—for all Europe was finally destroyed as a practical force, and how the curious notion of *cujus regio ejus religio* was a sort of temporary halting-place in the course of political and religious development. He should observe how, from the conception that religion was the first and foremost concern of the State, human thought has passed to the contrary conception, that it is no concern of the State whatever. He will discover how this thesis came to be, and how it was and still is, championed not only by enemies of religion but by many of its dearest friends, in the interests, as they believe, of religion itself. But in the course of his investigations he will perceive how with this particular development of thought there runs parallel the growth of the idea that the adherents of different creeds can be good citizens of one and the same State. He will notice how some would limit the truth of this conception to the varieties of Christianity, believing that only Christians (of one sort or another) can be fully absorbed by and possessed with the best ethical and spiritual ideas of European civilization, while others would admit the members of non-Christian religions as well. He would, however, observe that these possible citizens of the West who are non-Christian by religion can hardly be other than Jews. For the line

of cleavage is in a larger sense not religious but local, or ethnographic. The occidental, the European, on the one side; everybody else upon the other. Now it seems valid to assume that Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and all the other religious "isms" of the world will never appeal to the "occidental's" mind and heart. Therefore the citizens of Europe, America, and Australia must either belong to some form of Christianity, or they must be Jews.

But is that second alternative possible? Here we come right back to the centre of our own special problem.

Our student of Jewish history must proceed to inquire how far the Jews have been affected, and how far Judaism has been modified, by the ideas of which we have just been speaking. He will investigate the origin, the growth, and the justification of the phrase: "An Englishman of the Jewish persuasion." He will ask how far the words correspond to a reality, and whether the reality, if it exists, is a passing phenomenon, an evanescent contradiction in terms, or whether it has come to stay.

The subject is fascinating and difficult. It is clear that there are no obvious and *a priori* tests by which you can fix the limits of common citizenship or the necessary *differentia* for a united nation. There is no *a priori* reason why in any one State men of different races and creeds should not be ardent citizens living in peace and harmony with each other. The trend of modern thought, in spite of backwaters and counter-currents, is surely in that direction. A Russia which must be purely Slav and of the orthodox Greek Church strikes us as an anachronistic effort which in the long run will inevitably break down. I admit that in the case of the Jews religion and race are practically coextensive. A Roman Catholic Czech of Bohemia may perhaps be united, so far as the Czech part of him goes, with his fellow Bohemian Protestant, and *quod* Catholic he will marry a German of the same religious denomination. Among the Jews, religion and race play

into each other's hands, and the common refusal of inter-marriage, however justified as the only means of maintaining the life of a tiny minority, preserves and strengthens the alleged isolation and difference.

That Jews, so far as their mere ethnographical origin is concerned (even granting that they are still a purely Eastern race, which Renan and many other scholars have conclusively shown to be false), cannot ever be true Europeans, in all the best and most distinctive elements of European civilization, is an hypothesis conclusively contradicted by fact. The marvel is rather how rapidly in a few decades of liberty the majority of emancipated Jews have become so closely identified in thought and feeling with the countries in which they live.

Still the philosophic student of history must inquire whether there still are—and for long must be—Jewish characteristics which run counter to European civilization. Above all he must inquire whether, if any such characteristics be held to exist, they are fostered or checked by the Jewish religion in any of its forms. What sort of person is the non-religious Jew likely to be? A gain or a harm to Europe? Current terms must be closely examined. What is meant by "oriental" and "occidental"? Are we going simply to make them synonyms for "good" and "bad"? That would not only be narrow and absurd, but would show that the terms themselves have no actual signification. Yet that again would be going too far. By the terms "occidental civilization" or "occidental thought" we desire to express the fact that there is a real difference between West and East, although we by no means assume or believe that all the good is on the one side and all the evil on the other. Is then the Jewish religion in any important or living sense oriental? Is it oriental in its ideas, its aspirations, or its practices? Do its orientalisms, assuming that they exist, have any working influence upon the lives and thoughts of its adherents? If they do, should they not be eliminated,

if we desire and claim to be European citizens? If they do not, will they drop off one by one as dead branches off a living tree? If all the orientalisms are eliminated, does the religion remain, or has it evaporated in the process? Does Judaism equal Theism plus orientalisms? These questions are clearly all important. Nor are they out of place in this assembly. For in the case of the Jews, the student of their history must be also the student of their religion.

If we believe in the gradual triumph of the truth, a great deal depends upon the correct answers to all these numerous questions. Assuming that truth is to triumph, the present movement against the Jews, which has shown itself in different forms in different countries, will only succeed and prosper if some at any rate of its cardinal propositions are accurate—if, for instance, the Jews cannot be, in the right and real sense of the words, Europeans good and true. In that case too the nationalist counter-movement among the Jews themselves, which really depends for its justification upon the propriety of the anti-Jewish agitation, could reasonably claim increased support.

Meanwhile, coming back to the vexed question whether the Jews are still a nation professing a particular religion which is professed by no other nation, or whether they are only a religious community, the majority of whose members belong to one particular race, and whose rites are still in many respects of a distinctively national kind, two or three observations suggest themselves in conclusion.

It can be shown that in bygone ages the religion was helped by its nationalism, and that the people was preserved by its religion. But it can also be shown that the religion was harmed by its nationalist trappings and prepossessions, and that the nation was, as it were, diluted and weakened by its religion. I mentioned before that it is often said that the Priestly Code and the Pharisees trans-

formed a nation into a church. Religion was so important a business that it left no room and no time for political and national considerations. "A kingdom of priests," except in a higher spiritual sense, is a contradiction in terms. Moreover the essential universalism of the Jewish religion unfitted it to be a purely national creed. The religion was too good and true to be the property of a single race; it was too big a thing to leave the race which carried it unaffected. It compelled the nation to be other than a nation. By its own inner power it transformed the nation into the religious community.

Again, when God was conceived of as the one and impartial Deity of the entire world of things and souls, a purely national religion was no longer possible. In Europe and its colonies such a religion would be an anachronism. The complete transition may take long; before rite follows dogma generation after generation may pass away, but the ultimate result is inevitable. One or the other must happen: transformation or disappearance.

And if this be so, if the stools of religion and nationality are getting further and further apart, the question arises, on which stool shall we elect to sit?

If the Jews are a nation, and we elect to sit on the national stool, then it becomes important for us to realize that such a choice must inevitably affect the development of the Jewish religion. If the Jews were again to form a State in Palestine, it could only be on the most modern lines. The State would have to leave religion severely alone. But, while the pressure of modernity would prevent any strong revival of the religion in strictly nationalist dress, the very existence of the State would be extremely unfavourable to the effective denationalization of the religion as a living and spiritual force. It is not without significance that the chief continental leaders of the nationalist movement should be men who have little or no interest in the Jewish religion. That is perfectly logical.

If, on the other hand, the Jews are not a nation but only

a religious brotherhood, then the question arises whether we must not endeavour to be true occidentals all along the line. Is there not still something to be done, in order that the required transformation may forestall and anticipate sterility and disappearance? Is it too much to hope that Judaism may at last take its place among the universal religions of the world?

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC
LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.I (*continued*).

SUPPLEMENT TO § 20.

A (*continued*).

ل

(P. 130, n. 297. לב), comp. Ali b. Musa ibn L., ap. abu Bequer, p. 560.

298^b. לביד *Labid* b. abi Rabbi (?) about 1290 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 253).

(299. לברס), Dr. Poznański reminds me of J. Derenbourg's remark (*Opuscules d'Abou 'l-Walid*, pt. ii), that every family name ending with ט is probably of Spanish origin (see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XXI, 21). He explains our name by *librado*, which he considers as almost a translation of חטים. The last comparison is, in my opinion, far-fetched; *librado* is preferable to my suggestion *laurat*, proposed indeed as a makeshift

(300. ליס), Salomo b. Samuel "Lâghes" (?), A. 1363 (MS. Casanat. 43, *Catal.*, p. 507).

(P. 131, n. 302^b. לורקי), al-*Lurki*, or al-Lorki (of Lorca, in Spain); Suj., p. 270, spells لَوْرَكَة *Lawarka*; Josef, elder and younger, and Josua, probably also two of the name, the baptized Hieronymus a Sancta fide, and the translator (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 1059; see Neub. 2218⁴¹, and Index, Josef, pp. 947, 950, 1165).

ב

(P. 132, n. 306^b, **מאדיר**), *Mādjid* (beautiful, excellent, glorious), abu (or ibn abi 'l-) Bischr Madjid b. Mufadhdhal (al-Katib) al-Isra'ili, composed (1308) an *Ardjuza* (a kind of poem) on medicine, existing in the library of the Khedive (short *Catal.*, p. 263, large *Catal.*, VI, 46). *Hagi Khalfa*, VI, 380, n. 13974, gives the title and the beginning, but he calls the author Mufadhdhal b. Madjid.

308^b. **מאלה** (אל) Jakob b. Josef al-*Mālih* (so ap. Kaufmann, *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 121); the same as **מליח**, n. 344?

308^c. **מאלקי** *Malequi*, see under **מלכי**.

310^b. **מאשיען** (אל), see **מהרב**.*

310^c. **מאשעירי** (אל), see **אמין**.*

(311. **מבאר**), Meborach b. Zair (**זעיר**), ap. al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 433, 441, where Mubarrak is incorrect); see also Landshuth, *Onomasticon*, p. 114, ibn Esra, *Comm. on Jona*, 3, 5. In a Fragm. of Mr. Adler I found **מוברך**, where the *waw* designates the vowel.

(P. 133, n. 312^b, **מבשר**), this name, if at all Hebrew, is probably the translation of the Arabic **מבשר** *Mubaschschir* (he who announces something good; comp. Harkavy, in *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XX, 160), hence **מבשר טוב**, in the Persian ritual, whom Mr. E. N. Adler ("The Persian Jews," *J. Q. R.*, X, 605, separate edition, p. 26) would identify with the Gaon (ob. 926). On the reference of the name to the Messias, see Bacher in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 290.

(313. **מנרב**, **מנרים**), see also Harkavy, in *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XX, 160.

(315. **מדור**), a town named *Almudevar*, see *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492.

(316^b. **מהרב**), **מ' (אל)דולה** M. al-*Daula* (corrector of the state) ibn **אלמשיען** b. Mordechai (Div. Adl. 8, 25, 168).

(316^c. **מהדרי**) = **مهدي**? 'Habib (Neub., *Catal.*, p. 644, n. 44).

(316^d), *read* see **מכתאר**.

(P. 134) 320^b. **מוליל** *Muleil* (corvus)? Jehuda ibn "*Molel*," at Oran (Schwab, in *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXXIV, p. 179).

(324. **מוסא**), Abraham ibn **מוסי** (Neub. 2376).

(324^b. מוסן), read see עלי.

(P. 136, n. 326. מוריל), Morel d'Amboise, 1308 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XVII, 309, 327).

(327. מושניט), Samuel אלמשניט (*Resp. Isak b. Scheschet*, n. 457, 470).

(P. 137, n. 328^b. מזמור), *Mazmur*? Moses Kohen bar M. (Neub. 1201).

(331^b. מחבה), *Mu'habba*? (love; al-M., name of a town), Josef b. Jehuda ibn M. (Neub. omitt. 68).

(332^b. מחלי), Moses M., a Karaite, about 1522 (*Catal. MSS. Ludg. Bat.*, p. 241 B; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XX, 98), Sacharja (Simcha Lucki, f. 21 b, l. 8 from bottom).

(332^c. מחסן), *Mu'hsin* (benefactor), Elasar (Neub. 1533), and see אלס.

(333^b. מטמר), see under מנצור, מטמר?

(P. 138, n. 335. מיסון), Jehuda ha-Levi composed some poems on Hebrew names, and only on this Arabic one (*Catal. Neub.*, p. 648, n. 217), which he might have considered as Hebrew, because it was very frequent. In Algiers it is pronounced *Mimun* (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXI, 149). — מיסון (Neub. 859), M. b. Mas'ud (Neub. *ibid.* 1592), Elasar M. (*ibid.* 535). Is it "Abr. *Mammon*," ap. E. N. Adler? (*J. Q. R.*, X, 602, separate edition, p. 23).

(338. מישו), Harkavy, in his notes to the *Responsa*, p. 376, makes מישו the father of the mother of Scherira, but see *ibid.*, p. 409.

(339. מטארס), M. b. Salomo b. Jeschua ha-chaber (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 117).

(339^b. מכי), Kaisarani, p. 153.

(P. 139, n. 343. מלי and מולי), "Asieh (= Isak?) Almuli" (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492).

(P. 140, n. 346. מלכו), Josef b. Salomo (Neub. 2410, in the Index, p. 1082, "Molkho"). On the pronunciation of the name of the renowned Salomo, see Kaufmann, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXIV, 125.

(*Ibid.* מלכי), Isak (Neub. 1111); Abraham Malequi, 1327 (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, IV, 52, 53), and Josef b. Salomo Malequi

(ibid., XXIV, 291), seems rather to be מאלקי *Maliki* (of Malaga).

(348^b. מנבוטי, *Manbuti*? Noach (Neub. 1291).

348^c. מננס *Manadjdjim* (astrologer or astronomer), b. Fawwal, see under מואל.

(P. 141, n. 354. מניר), Salomo "Abenmimir," 1320 (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492) read Abenminir? but Jakob מניר (Neub. 317 H, in the Index, p. 986, "Minir?") is to be corrected to מני; see Landshuth, *Onomasticon*, p. 110, n. 6; Zunz, *Lit.*, p. 268, n. 7.

(355. מננור, M. b. (?) בן מיה (?) מננור (perhaps מננור? Neub. 1225); Suleiman ibn M. (ibid. 2537), Samuel b. Moses b. M., called ibn Tajjib al-Djabali (al-Hiti, l. c., p. 442); abu M., see under מנחם, and under מאמן* and מריר*.

(P. 142, n. 359. מסנות), comp. Zunz, *Lit.*, 597; Mr. E. N. Adler (*J. Q. R.*, X, 604, separate edition, p. 25) is to be corrected accordingly.

(360. מסעור, M. b. Jakob Esra wrote an encomium to Gavison's *Omer ha-Schikcha*. Abraham b. Obadja נסר (? Neub. 1273). Jehuda M. wrote (1586) MS. Kaufmann 199. M. תרוממן "Tourgeman," at Oran, 1832 (Schwab, *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXXIV, 129-130); Isak Miecili b. M. (MS. Zürich, C 204, Schwab, *ibid.*, XXV, 156).

(P. 144). 362^b. מעאלי *Ma'ali* (nobility, see § 2, p. 229), abu 'l-M., son of Maimonides' sister (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 766, also in a Fragn. of Mr. Adler); see also אלרולה*.

(366. מעוצה, &c.), b. Josef (Neub. 2328).

(P. 145). 366^b. מעיר *Mu'ir*, see מיר*.

(370. מעמאר, معمار "architect" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, II, 172); معمر (Jacut, Index, p. 207, IV, 578); Ibrahim al-Haïk, or المعمار, or al-Hâdjir (Kutubi, *Wafaja*, p. 39), M. b. Raschid (ob. 153 H., Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, II, 38); Abraham M. (Neub. 2924¹⁴).

(P. 146). 372^b. מעחמר אלרולה *Mu'atamid al-Daula* (firm in the state), b. Karam (Div. Adl. 207, see כרם*).

(373. מפצל), see under מאנר*.

(375. מקאמל) Abraham M. (*Resp.* Isak b. Scheschet, n. 511).

(377^b. מראר ?) (I neglected to notice the source).

(P. 147, n. 378^b. מרמ), *Muradjdjiz*? (who composes or recites poems of the metre *radjaz*?), Benaja b. Saadia (Neub. 2328).

(379. מרדך), Abraham Mordechai מרדך (Neub. 1694, 1695, 1696; מרדך חיים is wanted in the Index, p. 922).—Probably Mordechai is also the origin of the family-name *Mordo* in Greece; for instance, Mordechai Mordo Maurocordato at Corfu, 1716 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXIII, 68). Another transformation of M. seems to be مردويہ, Jakob b. *Mordaweih*, or *Mardoje*, mentioned by Mas'udi (*Kitab al-Tanbih*, &c., apud de Sacy, in *Notices et Extr.*, VIII, 187 = *Bibliotheca geographor. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, VIII, 114, comp. Harkavy in *Luach Achiasaf*, 5655, p. 279.—I owe this quotation to Dr. Poznański).

(380. מרואן), Abu Marwan b. Walid (not a Jew), *Kullijjat*, MS. at Florence, n. 213 (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IX, 93).

(380^b. מרלי), Isak b. Elia, Jehuda מרלי and his son Elia, Josef b. Moses (Simcha Lučki, f. 21^b).

(P. 148, n. 382^b, read מרחבה), Ahron ibn *Mar'haba*? (Neub. 383; Suj., p. 241, has only *Mar'habi*, of *Mar'hab*).

(P. 149, n. 391. משבראן), ap. Zunz, l. c., p. 650, the letter *ṣ* is omitted in print; Moses was also in Alcaniz (Isak b. Scheschet, n. 404).

ג

(P. 306, n. 408^b. נאקר), Kaisarani, p. 157, gives two significations of this word, both referring to the Mahometan science of tradition, scarcely applicable to a Jewish scholar.

411^b. נגם אלדולה *Nadjm al-Daula* (star of the state), ibn abi 'l-Sa'ud (Div. Adl. 7).

(P. 307, n. 414^b. נהראני), Kaisarani, p. 222, spells *Nahrawani*. Mr. E. N. Adler ("The Persian Jews," *J. Q. R.*, X, 604, separate edition, p. 25¹) found a confession (יירי) by

¹ This edition, of 46 pp., for which I am indebted to the kindness of the author, has a title-page, not dated, and not mentioning the *JEWSH QUARTERLY REVIEW*; it is a simple reprint up to p. 26, where a third note is inserted.

R. "*Nissin Nahoraini*" (*sic*)¹, who, according to his opinion, is probably Saadia's contemporary, whose adventures are described in the סדר עולם זוטא, ap. Neubauer, *Anecd. Oxon.*, II, 79. This quotation is partly a mistake; the piece which mentions Nissim, head of the academy, נהוראני, does not belong to the ס' ע' ז' at all, and this column-title continued from pp. 83-88 is probably an error of the printer, since the editor, Dr. Neubauer himself (in the preface, p. x), distinctly discerns the source of B and C, viz. the book Juchasin of Abraham Sacut (ed. Cracovia, f. 119^b); but the words זה סדר עולם זוטא, p. 77 at the end of B, probably noted in one of the MSS., ought to have been cancelled! The source in Juchasin is Natan ha-Babli, but not directly, as it seems by the remark in ed. London, p. 85, according to which the next source is Samuel ha-Nagid's Introduction.

We do not know more of this Nissim, and I almost doubt whether al-Nahrawani is correct. He was blind (מאור עינים), and might have been called by the same euphemism נהוראני (comp. בציר, n. 82). Nissim, however, the author of the confession, is probably Nissim b. Jakob of *Kairuwan* (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2067), and "Nahoraini," which is certainly incorrect, should perhaps be read Kairuwani. Nissim's confession being often printed, Mr. Adler will easily decide whether this suggestion is well founded.

(415. נואם), Mr. Poznański is of opinion that this name is of the same derivation as that of the old Jewish king *Deu N.*, which is given differently; I am not persuaded of the identity.

(P. 309. 425. נצר), abu N. Josef al-Barkuli, see כרכולי*. *Nasr Allah* (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

ס

(P. 311, n. 433. סאלם), see also שבוי, n. 715.

(435. סמקיה), see also Poznański, *J. Q. R.*, X, 251.

¹ Almost the same name is added by Firkowitz to a MS. (*Harkavy, Studien*, V, 117); perhaps he saw it in another MS., like that of Mr. Adler.

(P. 312, n. 442. סבתן), Daniel b. Salomo "Sabtun" (MS. Casanat. 157, *Catal.*, p. 570).

(P. 313) 446^b. סדן? Jesaia b. S., MS. Par. Suppl. 1334 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 129); = סעדין.

(447. סדיר), ס' אלדולה S. *al-Daula* abu Man'sur, Hebrew Elasar (Div. Adl. 194, see שסס*).

(P. 315, n. 449. סהלא), as a proper name in another Fragn.

(P. 317, n. 457. סוסו), Kaisaruni, too, has only السوسى, p. 87.

(P. 321, n. 470. סלימאן), סולמן and סולמן in a Fragn. of Mr. Adler.

(P. 324), 477^b. סנדיא? (Fragn. of Mr. Adler).

479^b. סעאדאט Sa'addt (plural of n. 480), abu 'l-S. Jakob, lamented son of the author of Div. Adl. 224.

(P. 325, n. 481. סער), S. al-סערי.

(P. 326, before 482, misplaced p. 327), סערה, see סעירה.

(P. 327) 481^b. סעאדאן Sa'adan (*J. Q. R.*, XI, 673, 674).

(482. סעדין), Abraham ben (so) S. of Tetuan, about 1790 (Romanelli, *Massa*, pp. 73, 78, comp. Kaufmann, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 120). In MS. Casanat. 38 (*Catal.* 503) is Sa'adun a family name? Josua רסעדין? (*ibid.* 104, *Catal.*, p. 545); Samuel "Sahadun" שעדין (*ibid.* 216, p. 648).

(P. 327, n. 482^a. סעל), perhaps סעוד Su'ud (felicity); see נגם אלדולה.

(P. 330, n. 492. סח; comp. Domina bat Jekutiel, ob. 1604, *Letterbode*, III, 100).

ע

(P. 332, n. 495. עאקיל), Josia b. Rabbi Meborach al-'Akuli, inventor (?) of a calendar-cycle (E. N. Adler, "The Persian Jews," *J. Q. R.*, X, 587, 623, separate edition, pp. 6, 44¹).

(496. עבארי), Kaisarani, pp. 206, 207, has *Ubbadī* and *Ibadi*.

(P. 337, n. 499. עבר אלעזר), see כראתה*, also in a Fragn. of Mr. Adler.

¹ In the first place סחור רח seems to designate cycle 247 (beginning with 4675 = 915); the MS. B begins with 1183. The ignorance of Albiruni is no proof for the time of Joschia! A cycle of Joschia, or a calendar of his, is nowhere else mentioned.—The Bodl. MS. 31999 is said to be written 1485, and to contain cycle 281 (A. 1561 ff.)?

(P. 338, n. 506. ענסי), Natan al-A. (Div. Adl. 215).

(P. 339, n. 511. עדני), Kaisarani, p. 187.

512*. עמסי 'Umeisi, Ja'hja (*Iben Safir*, I, 66, private notice of Mr. Poznański). Hamdani, Index, p. 82, has Umeischi.

(P. 340, n. 512. ען), אלדולה 'al-Rais Izz al-Daula (dignity of the state), abu 'l-Ma'ali b. abi Ja'akub; his Hebrew name is Samuel (Div. Adl. 119), his daughter (ibid. 221), and see פני*.

(P. 341, n. 520. עמאל), Jakob (Romanelli, l. c., pp. 40, 86).

(522. עמאר), Jehuda עמר (MS. Casanat. 98, *Catal.*, p. 544), and see כרים* and עלא*.

(P. 480, n. 524. עמיה), proper name (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(P. 481, n. 529. עסי), abu Isa had the proper name *Muhammed* (b. Isa), according to a notice got by (بلغنى) ibn 'Hazm (MS. Warner 480, I, f. 39^b, private communication of Dr. Schreiner, December, 1897). If that be true, he must have become a Muslim. See also Poznański in the *J. Q. R.*, X, 159. Isa, son of Musardji, was perhaps no Jew?

(P. 482, n. 531. עלא), abu 'l-'A. b. al-'Attar (Div. Adl. 43), abu 'A. (Fragm. of Mr. Adler); and see עקאר.

(P. 483, n. 536. עלי), Ahron b. 'e' ha-Kohen, owner of MS. Bodl., Neub. 628, where this name is to be supplied according to *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, VI, 114.—The head of an academy [probably at Bagdad], עלי, at his recovery is addressed by the anonymous author of Div. Adl. 55; in n. 112 we read הכי נקרא שמך עלי למען לך מעלה לכל מעלה ומעלה, which allusion seems to fit better to the Arabic Ali than to Eli, but might also be applied to the latter. N. 179 (printed in *he-Chaluz*, III, 151) is correctly headed פי סימחה, as in line 19 כשו ראה במונולות, the son, called 'Safi al-Din Josua, had finished the Tora—perhaps in the Synagogue on *Simchat Tora*, and hence the allusion to "ascending the towers"? Eli is a descendant of the Gaonim (vv. 7 and 9). To the same Eli seems to be addressed at the death of a son n. 219 of the Divan, where we read at the end ואח לב נאמן מלכות סעדיה בחיר רחנים.

Abu Ali (Fragm. of Mr. Adler); b. שטר (Div. Adl. 41).

(P. 486, n. 540. עמאר, "Amar," ap. Mortara, *Indice*, p. 3; Asarja b. Abraham b. 'A., in an old Persian document (*J. Q. R.*, XI, 673).

(545. עמר, abu O. (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(P. 487, n. 547. עמרון, A. b. זלאלה (tenth cent., Geiger, *Zeitschr.*, X, 172; Harkavy, *Studien*, V. 237, l. 9).

(P. 488, n. 548. עמשי. Dr. Simonsen (in a private communication, May 1899) corrects the passage בר יוסף ר' אמולי בר יוסף עמשי (comp. Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, p. 452, *Kobez al Jad*, II, 37; *Zeitschr. f. Hebr. Bibliogr.*, II, 152), then אמרים וחלמידיו.

(P. 489, n. 552. עמף, also Fragg. of Mr. Adler.

553^b. עקבאר, abu 'l-'Ala b. 'e (Div. Adl. 205); he was a physician, נביר ספרי רפואות על לבבו, and his Hebrew name Salomo נציב אהב בחכמות ולשלמה שנים עשר נציבים; on the death of "the same" Salomo, *ibid.*, n. 206.

556^b. עקרב *Akrab*? see under כרם*.

(P. 585, n. 557. עקריש, אקריש (proper name, ap. Romanelli, *Massa*, pp. 73, 83) a wrong spelling?

(558. עראמה), Moses and Gadella, read Guedalla = Gedalja? "Avenarama" (?), A. 1329 (ap. Kayserling, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 116).

ד

(P. 588, n. 582. פירח), alphabetical list of persons belonging to this family:

Abraham, at Damascus, about 1500 (? Neubauer, *Aus der Petersb. Bibl.*, p. 28, 118, XXI, b).

— b. Salomo ha-Rofe (1573, quoted by Elia Maruli, ap. Neubauer, l. c., p. 144, comp. upon Maruli, Pinsker, notes, p. 187).

— son, or grandson, of Moses b. Daniel, student of medicine (המטרפא = المتطبب), nephew of Natanel b. Daniel; his son Moses lived 1757 (Pinsker, App., pp. 131, 143, Abr. b. Moses in the Index, and pp. 125, 168, Abraham Rofe; apud Fürst, *Kar.*, III, 76 bis [only one as physician], and again p. 77).

One of these three Abr. was possessor of MS. Berlin 246 (*Catal.*, Abth. 2, p. 96).

Chajjim b. Jeschua occurs in a MS. which Shapira possessed in the year 1881.

Chisdael, or *Chesed-El*, b. Daniel b. Moses, physician (Pinsker, l. c., p. 168, wanted in the Index, p. 204), about 1700?

— b. Moses, father of Elia (see this below). The name *חסדאל* occurs as that of the grandfather of Samuel b. Moses ibn al-סני¹.

Daniel b. Moses Jeruschalmi b. Jesaia (1660–81), although a physician, is perhaps different from Daniel *המחרפה*, see *Catal. of the Berlin MSS.*, Abth. 2, p. 99, note 1; in the Index, p. 166, n. 350, is wanting). The physician Daniel, who composed a hymn (Neubauer, l. c., p. 149, comp. Pinsker, notes, p. 124), is perhaps the same?

Elia b. Chisdael b. Mose (1654, MS. Firkowitsch 805).

— (b. Gedalja, 1641–5, at Damascus, Pinsker, l. c., p. 168; Gurland, *Ginse*, St. Petersburg, I, 21, 41).

— b. Salomo, author of hymns (Pinsker, l. c., pp. 115, 125, 167²). [*Elia* *בבצה* Firuz, author of a hymn, ap. Pinsker, l. c., pp. 115, 125, 167, is perhaps an abbreviation, 'בן ברנך' or no acrostic of the name at all?]

Esra b. David b. Moses, about 1700 (Pinsker, p. 175, lin. ult., App., p. 168).

Gedalja, about 1500? (see under n. 582, p. 588).

— b. Moses (about 1620, father of Elia, see above).

Jesaia b. Moses, brother of Gedalja and father of Moses.

Josef b. Moses, physician, about 1620? (Pinsker, p. 168). A son of *Josef* b. *Isak* copied a medical work in the Arabic language, a leaf of which was in possession of the bookseller Fischl-Hirsch, A. 1595.

Moses the חן at Damascus (1641, Gurland, l. c., I, 21, comp.

¹ Comp. חסדאל, son of Zerubabel (1 Chron. iii. 20), whence Jesaia b. חן in *Seder Olam Sutta*, and in the forged pedigree of Anan the Karaites (Zunz, *Gott. Fortr.*, pp. 144, 147, ed. 1892). Comp. סדאל סדאל.

² Page 167 is wanting in the Index, p. 202, as well as other pages in various places, which I shall not enumerate.

Pinsker, p. 127), perhaps the same as M. **המלמד** b. Jesaia b. Mose (Pinsker, l. c., p. 168; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 946, note 305, where 1654 is a misprint).

— b. Abraham ha-Rofe (1751, see Abraham).

— b. Daniel b. Moses, about 1700 (Pinsker, l. c., p. 168).

— b. Jesaia, see above, M. **חזן**.

— b. Salomo b. Moses b. Jesaia b. Salomo, possessor of MS. Berlin, n. 250 (*Catal.*, Abth. 2, p. 102).

Natanel b. Daniel b. Moses (1744, Pinsker, p. 168).

Obadja b. Chisdael b. Daniel (Pinsker, l. c., *ibid.*).

Samuel, about 1500? (see under n. 582, p. 588).

(P. 590.) 584^b. **פכר אלדין** *Fakhr al-Din*, a relation of Sa'ad al-Daula; about 1290 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVI, 253; see under n. 218*).

(P. 593, n. 596. **פזלאן**), see under **טיב**.

(600. **פרג**), proper name (Fragm. of Mr. Adler); the copyist of MS. Casanat. 202, I, 111 and x, is Nissim, not his son Samuel, as the *Catal.*, pp. 632, 633, supposes.

Abu 'l-F. ha-Levi, see under **אויני**; a lamentation (**מרתיה**) on the death of abu 'l-F. b. **ברכאל**, father-in-law of Izz al-Daula b. abi Ja'akub (Div. Adler 183, to him is addressed n. 181), comp. **עבר אלעז***; the author mentions Daniel, Jecheskiel **נביר עמ ושר** (comp. under **רביע***), Josef, Jefet, Pinchas, Samuel and Jehosef.

צ

(P. 597, n. 613. **צאני**), Jomtob **חזן** b. Salomo ibn al-'S., A. 1378 (MS. Casanat. 24, *Catal.*, p. 489).

(P. 598, n. 615). **צבאג** *'Sabbag* (dyer), see **טאור**.*

(P. 599, n. 620^b. **צניר**), proper name (Fragm. of Mr. Adler).

(P. 601, 635^c. **צפי אלדולה** *'Safi al-Daula* (pure, or select of the state), by-name of Josua, son of Eli (Div. Adl. 179, see **עלי***).

ק

(P. 603, n. 654. **קונסטנטיני**), comp. *Il Vessillo*, 1880, p. 371. List of the persons known to me:

Abraham, at Jerusalem, about 1160-1170 (Benjamin of Tudela, f. 39^b, ed. Asher, English, p. 74); *Asulai*, see under *נבואת הילר* (II, 45, ed. Benjacob), at first confounded him with Abraham ha-Levi of the sixteenth century. Abraham b. *Jehuda* אלקיסמאנטי, at Ancona, 1711 (Lampronti, art. קרשי, f. 199^b).

Bechai (see § 10) or *Bachiel* (MS. Carmoly 99) or *Bafiel* (De los Rios, *Hist. dos Judios*, I, 403), physicians, probably sons of the physician Moses, at Saragossa, 1232, משהמח (of a learned family, and after these words we have probably to supply בני, in *Letters of Maimonides*, f. 31^b, ed. Amsterdam; Kayserling, *Geschichte*, II, 278; Grätz, VII, 34; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 65; Add. to *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 777).

Bechai, a physician, mentioned in a medical MS. (written in the year 1482), f. 260 (now MS. Berlin 232, *Catal.*, Abth. 2, p. 84, col. 2, end); קשטנטי (*sic*) perhaps the same as the before-named. [Bechai b. Salomo, perhaps of the same family, is mentioned by a nephew of Pinchas, perhaps Isak b. Benvenisti, see Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 474; against Neubauer, *Monatsschr.*, XX, 512, in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, X, 120, comp. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXVII, 524.]

Bonafoux "Alcocantin" (I forgot where I found this transcription) בננאפוס אלקרנטן, at Avignon, was the brother of the mother of Josef Kohen. He was, 1495-1510, at Nicopolis (MS. Leon 30, apud Neubauer, *Rapport*, 1873, p. 368; unknown to Loeb, *Joseph Haccohen*, p. 16, and to Kaufmann, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXI, 294).

Chanoch b. Bechai (1161?), author of a work about the calendar, MS. Munich 142, and a fragment in n. 109 (comp. *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1896, p. 81). The name Bechai is frequent at Saragossa, where we have met with Bechai al-Constantini at 1232.

Chanoch b. Salomo b. Chanoch, of the family חנוכי, probably about 1370, and the family of Salomo b. Chanoch (see below), author of the book מראה אלהים about מראה, philosophically treated, existent in several MSS.; see the *Catal. of the Hebr. MSS. in Berlin*, Abth. 2, p. 56, comp. p. 63.

Jehuda, of the family יהונתני, for whom the MS. 312² of De Rossi has been written in נקסיה (*Nicosia*). De Rossi and Perreau (*Bollettino Ital. di studi orient.*, I, 451) refer him to Constantinople, to which I have put a sign of interrogation (*Catal. Codd. hebr. Lugd. Bat.*, p. 258). I think now that he belongs to the family derived from Constantine.

Jehuda is also, beyond doubt, the Hebrew name of *Leon Constantini* of Candia at Ferrara, 1618 (Soave, *Corriere Israel.*, 1866, p. 255).

Josef Constantini, about 1200, at Calatayud (Kala'at Ajub), named by *Jehuda al-Charisi* (*Tachkemoni*, f. 63; Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins*, p. 71).

Moses Constandini (*sic*), at Aleppo, about 1160-70, mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (f. 50^b, ed. Asher, Eng. transl., p. 88).

Moses "Algostantini" (*sic*, for *Alqostantini*?), in Spain, under Jayme (1232?), see Amador de los Rios, *Storia*, I, 403, and another *Moses* at Valencia (*ibid.*, p. 404).

Obadja b. Bonafoux, of Nicopolis, 1511-1515 (Loeb, *Josef Haccohen*, p. 16; *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XVI, 35 ff.; Kaufmann, *ibid.*, XXI, 295).

Obadja b. Salomo ben (ibn) al-Constantini (*Letters of Maimonides*, f. 32^b, not 35^b and 36, as ap. Carmoly, *Hist. des médecins*, p. 72, who makes him the father of Salomo and grandfather of Chanoch without giving any argument).

Salomo (Don) b. Bechai, 1406, contemporary of the poet Salomo da Piera (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XV, 110, and MS. Halberstam, n. 340, f. 29).

Salomo b. Muse, see above, Bechai, 1232.

Salomo (Don) b. Don Chanoch, 1352, at Burgos, author of the book סגולה ומקור, see *Catal. of the Hebrew MSS. of Berlin*, Abth. 2, p. 62.

Todros b. Moses wrote (1380) the MS. of Paris, 1110; his grandson (anonymous?) completed it 1475 (see *Hamaggid*, 1862, p. 175); notwithstanding the character of the writing it is said to be the same! The disputant mentioned there

is of Huesca (see *Bollettino Ital. di studi orient.*, N.S., p. 335; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XV, 110).

I conclude this enumeration with some instances of the last two centuries:—

Isak b. Abraham אִסַּח בֶּן אַבְרָהָם, at Ancona, eighteenth cent. (Mortara, *Indice*, p. 2, quotes Lampronti, 'ד' *passim*, see, for instance, under נִקָּה, f. 40^b).

Raffaele "Cosstantini," 1881 (Vogelstein und Rieger, *Gesch. d. Juden in Rom*, II, 410, in the Index, p. 443, "Costantino").

Sabaton (= Sabbatai?), of Canea, at Marseilles, 1775 (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XIII, 109).

Samson Samuel Const., at the occasion of whose wedding with Ricca Consola Fano (before 1776) Rafael Levi composed a Hebrew sonetto, published, with an Italian translation, in the collection of this poet, printed at Livorno, 1776, with the title יִלְקִיט הָלֵרִי (M. Lattes in *Il Vessillo*, 1880, p. 370; this book is mentioned in Benjacob's *Thesaurus*, p. 222, n. 229, after Zedner, p. 434).

(P. 604) 654^b. קִרְיָאֵת? so this name of a family in the north of Africa is spelt by Romanelli (*Massa*, p. 82, "Abraham son of the late Jehuda of Tetuan," residing at Mogador, to whom his son writes), but Jehuda b. Abraham b. Jehuda spells it קִרְיָאֵת (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 698, 1336; M. Lattes, *Notizie*, pp. 42, 43; comp. *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XX, 58), perhaps *Spanish Coriat*?

(656. קִזָּנִי) Samuel *Cazani*, at Venice, A. 1607 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXIII, 142, not mentioned by Mortara, *Indice*, p. 18).

(657^b. קִימָא) ? Josef b. 'ק, mentioned by Mas'udi, l. c. (*Bibl. geogr. arab.*, VIII, 114); a Syriac name?

7

(P. 609, n. 692. רִבְעִי), ibn abu 'l-R. Daniel ha-Kohen אֱלִמְעָט, lamentation on his death (*Div. Adl.* 167), from which we learn that Daniel corrected some quotations of poets:—

והקים עם בשקריהם מפתים בני סכלות ושיריהם נזבים
אשר לא ידעו איה מקום (sic) והמה דברו עליו כזבים
והשיאים זרן לבם לערב בראמות שיר נביאים שור רגבים
ולא דים • עדי התפארו על אנש הישיר בים חכמות נחמיס

The poet invokes God to console *Samuel* אל נגיד עם, learned in the Hebrew and Arabic languages, והמשיל ברה אמן וחכמה, *Jecheskiel* השר המפסר, then R. Jehuda, (comp. under *נרם, *עז, *פרג, *Jehosef, Jefet, Salomo, Saadia, Jeschua, Pinchas, Isak, Josef, Daniel. (N. 189 is addressed to one Daniel אלמעאחבה; עלי סביל; there is mentioned Saadia who has two sons, then זקן עדה Jehoschua, Esra and Elia; is Daniel ראש גלות, addressed in n. 33, a different person?) I suggest, but had not the opportunity to verify, the identity of the Samuel mentioned with Samuel ha-Kohen ben abi 'l-R. קבל מא יל חכם אלמחיכתא בחרוד תלחן סנה ואכתר. n. 170 is addressed. See also אלדין *שסם.

(P. 613, n. 705. רצא), abu 'l-R., see גנאירי *.

ש

(P. 615, n. 719. שיד), at the death of Isak b. al-Sch., head of the academy *Geon Ja'akob* [at Babylon], is composed Div. Adl. 214; his descendants are Elasar and (the grandsons?) Jehosef and Saadia.

720°. שעה (Fragm. of Mr. Adler) is abbreviated from ישעה?

(721. שתיב), a physician, whose daughter is mentioned in Div. Adl. 195.

(P. 616, n. 728. שיד), comp. ר' זקן, ap. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 54, ed. Asher, Engl. transl., p. 95.

729°. שכלה *Schakila*? E. Fagnan (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 296) remarks that the family name *Bou Chekila* is a diminutive of "chekla," a kind of dress. Freytag, II, 244, has only شَكْلَة.

(P. 617, n. 734. שסם), ש' אלדולה *Sch. al-Daula* (sun of the state), abu 'l-Husein ibn abi 'l-Rabi', brother of Daniel? (see under *רביע), a poem at the birth of a son in Div. Adl.

194; there are mentioned Isak and Saadia, but I have only glanced at the poem. His son Elasar, see under סריר *. נח אבן שמש (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVII, 129, MS. Par. Suppl. 1337), is perhaps an anonymous author, who alludes to Psalm lxxii. 13: ולפני שמש יתן שמו?

שמש אלדולה (Sun of the state), by-name of a relation of Sa'ad al-Daula, about 1290 (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXXVI, 253, see under 218°*).

(P. 619) 741°. שפר? see עלי *.

(P. 620) 749°. שרף אלדולה (Khuadja) *Scharaf al-Daula* (altitude, noblesse of the state), Jechiskijja, רם כעלי משרא, which I read راس, *head of the Karaites*, at Bagdad (also *Chiskijja*, see *Catal. MSS. hebr. Lugd.*, p. 235, Pinsker, p. 233, Append., pp. 53, 178, *ha-Lebanon*, V, 280, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 136; Cazés, in *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XX, 82; Gottlober, *Toledot ha-Kar.*, p. 210), to whom is addressed n. 118 of Div. Adl. This testimonial of such a by-name in the thirteenth century is of some importance; the name *Buzurkh Mihr*, in an old MS. (l.c.), remains the more problematic.

ח

(P. 624) 771°. חקה *Thika*? (trust, man of confidence), Esra ben (ibn) al-Th., to whom n. 47 of Div. Adl. is addressed.

B.

Mr. D. Cazés, in his *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, Paris, 1889, compiles the names of Tunisian Jews in different groups, from which I make some extracts, with very few explanatory notes.

P. 175 names "*dont le sens est perdu*"; I shall try to transcribe some in Arabic letters. He mentions even "Cohen," whose signification cannot be lost to the Jews! I give the names literally: *Douib* دوب, *Fillouz* فلوس? *Ghanem* غنم, *Halimi* حليمي, *Jami* جامع or جمع, *Jarmon*

جرمون, *Jouari* جواری, *Koschkasch*, vulgo *Coscas*, کشکاش or خشکاش? *Mazouz* مزوز, *Nataf* نطف, *Sagron* صغرون, *Schelli* شعلی, *Schemmama*, vulgo *Scemama* or *Samama*, شماما, *Serour* سرور or سرور? *Sfez* [Sfedj?] صفيج, *Setbon* ستبون or سدبون [Smaja is Hebrew שמעיה?], *Sowid* سويد [read Suweid], *Toubiana* طوبيانا, *Younis* يونس (= Jonas), *Zerafu* زرافه, *Zerouk* سروق?

P. 176 = "*Noms de métiers*": B. En arabe.—Ammar, Attal, Bahamni (so), Baramès, Ben (!) Attar, Berdâ, Bitan, Cah-lul (?) Casbi (or Cassabi), Cohen, Dahan (or Ben Dahan), Dahbi, Doukhan (!), Flah (!), Ganouna, Haddad, Hadida, Haouani, Hattab, Jaoui (Ben Jaoui, or Bijaoui), Kabla, Khallaf, Lahmi, Nakasch [read Nakkasch], Nijar (or Najar), Ouakil (وکیل), Ráccah, Sebag, Sefar, Taieb, Tebika, Touma, Troujeman, Zafrani, Zarka, Zeitoun.

P. 177. "*Noms provenant d'une particularité quelconque.*" B. En arabe.—Abou-Derham, Allouch, Arki, Beida, Belaïsch [see עיץ], Belladina [this name and the following seem to be composed of *Bu*=abu], Bellaham, Bellahsen, Benaïouch, Boubli, Bounan (vulg. Bonan) [this name seems rather a Romanic than an Arabic one], Boudjenah, Bouhohza [אבו חוזה and אבו חנא], Bourgel, Cohen (!), Dekiar, Demri [read Damiri?], Dreï [אדרעי], Elladaani, Farjon [פרון], Ghozlan, Hababo, Haccon, Haddouk, Hadria, Haïck [חאיק], Halfon, Halifi, Hamami, Hassan, Khrif (?), Maarek [מאארק 364], Marzouk, Moatti [מועטי?], Mouli, Saada, Saadon, Sahal, Sahala, Sellam, Slama (*sic*, see n. 467), Tahar, Touïl (*sic*, טויל), Yaïsch (or Benyaïsch), Zerdi.

P. 178. "5. *Noms étrangers.*" D. Arabes, Grecs, &c.—Abbou, Benmoussa, Calô (abbreviation of Kalonymos), Fouad, Gheni, Rechid, Vais (for Weiss) [or rather ואיש?], Zana.

C.

M. Franco, *Essai sur l'hist. des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1897, p. 285, gives the following names of Arabic origin: Al-Fazza (*sic*) and Fiz (of Fez), al-Cabés

(*sic*, of Gabés), Ab Talion [not אבטליון?], Al-Tabib (the physician), Al-Colombre (!), Al-Bordji, Al-Fandari (or Alfoundari), Al-Hâlel (*sic*), Abou Ishak, Abu Daram (*sic*), Aboul Afia, Sidi, Sid (Seigneur). Hagege (ou Haggés) [הגגה and הגני?], Annabi (or Oun-Nabi) [see above, n. 408^e].

D.

I collect here some *dubious* names which I do not venture to transcribe in Hebrew letters, arranged without exactitude according to the alphabet.

Abdus, Nissim (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XVI, 178).

Avenacaza, Asach (= Isak), 1308 (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492).

Abenbontriu, Azer (perhaps ibn Botarel? *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492).

Abenfulo, Abraham (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XVI, 182, 198).

Aventilea, Bonafos, at Calatayud (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492).

Abentueli or *Abentrevi*, Jusuf (Jacobs, *Sources*, p. 400, *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 496).

Alatzar, Samuel (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 116).

Arrabi, Asach (Isak al-Rabi? *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 492).

Atabus (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XV, 126).

Bou [abu] *Schekila*, see n. 729^b.

Gozlan, Jakob (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XIV, 302) is perhaps the German *Joslan* = Joslein, diminutive of Josef? but see Ghozlan, ap. Cazés, *Essai*, p. 177.

סולמאן or סולמאן, Suleiman b. Abraham (Neub. 405, corrected in the Index, p. 1094). There is a place *Mugheira*, from which is derived al-Mugheiri, Suj., p. 250.

END OF PART I.

M. STEINSCHNEIDER.

(To be continued.)

ODE TO ZION.

(Words of Love and Honour to the Holy Land, and of strong Longing to see her and to abide in her.)

JEHUDAH HALEVI (1086).

ZION, wilt thou not ask if peace's wing
Shadows the captives that ensue thy peace,
Left lonely from thine ancient shepherding?
From west and east and north and south—world-wide—
From all those far and near, without surcease,
Take Peace—and Peace to thee from every side.
And Peace from him that in captivity
Longeth, and giveth tears like Hermon's dew,
Yearning to shed them on the hills of thee.
To weep thy woe my cry is waxen strong:—
But dreaming of thine own restored anew
I am a harp to sound for thee thy song.
My heart to Bethel sorely yearneth yet,
Peniel and Mahanaim; yea, where'er
In holy concourse all thy pure ones met.
There the Shechinah dwelt in thee; and He,
God thy Creator, lo, He opened there
Toward the gates of Heaven the gates of thee.
And only glory from the Lord was thine
For light; and moon and stars and sunshine waned
Nor gave more light unto thy light divine.
O I would choose but for my soul to pour
Itself where then the Spirit of God remained,
Outpoured upon thy chosen ones of yore.

Thou art the royal house; thou art the throne
Of God; and how come slaves to sit at last
Upon the thrones which were thy lords' alone?

Would I were wandering in the places where
God's glory was revealed in that time past,
Revealed in thee to messenger and seer!

And who will make me wings that I may fly,
That I may hasten thither far away
Where mine heart's ruins 'mid thy ruins lie?

Prostrate upon thine earth, I fain would thrust
Myself, delighting in thy stones, and lay
Exceeding tender hold upon thy dust.

Yea, standing by the burial-places there
Of mine own fathers, I would wondering gaze,
In Hebron, at each chosen sepulchre;

And pass into thy forest, and incline
To Carmel, and would stand in Gilead's ways
And marvel at the Mount Abarim thine;

Thy Mount Abarim and thy Mountain Hor,
There where the two great luminaries sleep,
Which were thy teacher and thy light before.

The life of souls thine air is; yea, and thou
Hast purest myrrh for grains of dust; and deep
With honey from the comb thy rivers flow.

Sweet to my soul 'twould be to wander bare
And go unshod in places waxen waste—
Desolate since thine oracles were there;

Where thine Ark rested, hidden in thine heart,
And where, within, thy Cherubim were placed,
Which in thine innermost chambers dwelt apart.

I will cut off and cast away my crown
Of locks, and curse the season which profaned
In unclean land the Nazarites, thine own.

How shall it any more be sweet to me

To eat or drink, beholding, unrestrained,
Dogs rend thy tender whelps unsparingly?

Or how shall light of day at all be sweet

Unto mine eyes, while still I see them killed—
Thine eagles—caught in ravens' mouths for meat?

O cup of sorrow! gently! let thy stress

Desist a little! for my reins are filled
Already, and my soul, with bitterness.

I, calling back Aholah's memory,

Drink thine hot poison; and, remembering
Aholibah, I drain the dregs of thee.

Zion! O perfect in thy beauty! found

With love bound up, with grace encompassing,
With thy soul thy companions' souls are bound:

They that rejoice at thy tranquillity,

And mourn the wasteness of thine overthrow,
And weep at thy destruction bitterly;

They from the captive's pit, each one that waits

Panting towards thee; all they bending low
Each one from his own place, towards thy gates;

The flocks of all thy multitudes of old

That, sent from mount to hill in scattered flight,
Have yet forgotten nevermore thy fold;

That take fast clinging hold upon thy skirt,

Striving to grasp the palm-boughs on thine height,
To come to thee at last with strength begirt.

Shinar and Pathros—nay, can these compare

With thee in state? And can thy purity,
And can thy light¹ be like the vain things there?

And thine anointed—who among their throng

Compareth? Likened unto whom shall be
Levites and seers and singers of thy song?

¹ Thummim and Urim.

Lo! it shall pass, shall change, the heritage
Of vain-crowned kingdoms; not all time subdues
Thy strength; thy crown endures from age to age.
Thy God desired thee for a dwelling-place;
And happy is the man whom He shall choose
And draw him nigh to rest within thy space.
Happy is he that waiteth;—he shall go
To thee, and thine arising radiance see
When over him shall break thy morning glow;
And see rest for thy chosen; and sublime
Rejoicing find amid the joy of thee
Returned unto thine olden youthful time.

NINA DAVIS.

DR. GINSBURG'S EDITION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

DR. CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG has, for the last thirty years, devoted all his indefatigable energies to the study of the Massora and the Hebrew text of the Bible. After a critical study of Rabbi Jacob ben Chajim's Introduction to his Rabbinical Bible, and Elias Levita's Massora¹, he proceeded to the collection and explanation of all the available Massoretic material². Dr. Ginsburg has now produced as the ripe fruit of all his labours a critical Massoretic edition of Holy Writ³, the scope and plan of

¹ Jacob ben Chajim Ibn Adonijah's *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, Hebrew and English; with Explanatory Notes, second edition, 1867. *The Massoreth Ha-Massoreth* of Elias Levita, being an exposition of the Massoretic Notes on the Hebrew Bible, or the Ancient Critical Apparatus of the Old Testament. In Hebrew, with an English Translation and Critical and Explanatory Notes, 1867.

² *The Massora*. Compiled from MSS., alphabetically and lexically arranged. 4 vols., imperial folio, 1880-1897 (vol. IV in the press). In the "Massoretic Studies" which I contributed to this REVIEW, 1896 and 1897, I discussed, as occasion served, several points of this work. I reserve a full discussion till after the appearance of the fourth volume. The criticism is still called for, notwithstanding Baer's Notice (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XL, pp. 743-758). Baer does not even mention the main defect:—the omission of the sources of these Massoretic Notes. He furthermore censures Ginsburg's scrupulous fidelity to his text, the mistakes and contradictions of which are left uncorrected. This, in my opinion, is rather a merit, for the Massora can only be studied with success if the sources are edited in their original form. Critical science has no hankering for a Massoretic code, from which textual criticism would derive little profit, as the material for study would not be the original Massora, but its revision.

³ עשרים וארבעה ספר הקדש מדויקים היטב על פי הסמורה ועל פי פוסקים ראשונים עם הלוחים והנזחא מן כתבי יד עתיקים והרעומים ישנים מאת דוד גינצבורג. דאלק ראשון London, 1894. The non-Massoretic

which he has described in a voluminous work of 1028 pages, which appeared in London in 1897, under the title of *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*. As all questions relating to the new edition are exhaustively discussed in this Introduction, and even more material is submitted than is necessary in a preface, an analysis of this Introduction is naturally at the same time an appreciation of the entire edition. I do not wish this study to be regarded as a notice of the new edition of the Hebrew Bible. I confess that I have not yet specially studied this work, which on its first appearance did not, whether justly or otherwise, attract particular attention, and for the adequate examination of which there has indeed not yet been enough time. A satisfactory appreciation of the work, whose importance, from whichever side we regard it, is undeniable, can only be possible after close and protracted study; and the final verdict of Biblical science on the new notes to the old Text should not be hurried. Dr. Ginsburg tells us that he has followed Jacob ben Chajim's Text. In his Introduction he expresses with commendable clearness and brevity the differences between his and other editions as follows:—

“*The Text.*”

1. The Text itself is based upon that of the *first* edition of Jacob ben Chajim's *Massoretic Recension*, printed by Bomberg, at Venice, in the year 1524–1525. Existing Hebrew Bibles, which profess to follow Jacob ben Chajim's Text, have admitted in the course of years many unwarranted variations from it and many errors.

2. No variations, however strongly supported by Hebrew MSS. and Ancient Versions, are introduced in the Text itself, which has been compiled strictly in accordance with the Massora collected from the MSS.

title of the edition I will discuss in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*.

3. All variations are relegated entirely to the margin.

4. While the modern divisions of chapters and verses are noted for the sake of convenience, the Text is arranged according to the ancient chapters and sectional divisions of the Massora and the MSS., which are thus restored.

5. It uniformly reproduces the *Dageshèd* and *Raphèd* letters, which are found in all the best Massoretic MSS., but which have been omitted in all the current printed editions of the Hebrew Bible.

6. The ancient Massoretic chapters, called *Sedarim*, are also indicated throughout in the margin against their respective places.

The Margin.

7. *Kethiv* remains unpointed in the Text, but in the margin the words are punctuated twice according to the Kethib and according to the Keri, so that the differences cannot escape notice. (I have shortened this paragraph.)

8. The margin contains the various readings of the different standard codices which are *quoted in the Massora itself*, but which have long since perished.

9. It gives the various readings found in the MSS. and Ancient Versions.

10. It gives the readings of the Eastern and Western Schools against those words which are affected by them, lists of which are preserved, and given in the Model Codices and in certain special MSS.

11. It also gives against the affected words the variations between Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali, hitherto not indicated in the margin. These had been consigned to the end of the large editions of the Bible which contain the Massora of Jacob ben Chajim.

12. It gives, in some instances, readings of the Ancient Versions which are *not* supported by MS. authority.

13. It gives, for the first time, the class of various readings called *Sevirin* against every word affected by them. These *Sevirin* in many MSS. are given as the substantive textual

reading, or as of equal importance with the official Keri. These readings have been collected from numerous MSS."

Dr. Ginsburg followed the text of Jacob ben Chajim in his notes, which in reality form the kernel of his work. He works independently of other editors of the sacred text, relying upon a considerable number of early MSS. and editions which were printed when the Press was in its infancy. Using only those sixty Bible codices and twenty-four editions described by him, he was equipped with a better critical apparatus than his predecessors, Jacob ben Chajim, Elias Levita in his *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, Menachem di Lonzano in *Or Tórah*, Salomo of Norzi in *Minchath Shai*. The last two seem, by the way, to have been quite neglected by Dr. Ginsburg. Only with the views of Baer, his old and now deceased rival, does he in the notes to his Bible and in his Introduction tacitly and explicitly endeavour to harmonize his conclusions. This is, however, only the case with the notes to the last two parts of the edition, but not in the Pentateuch; and hence a revision of the notes on the five Books of Moses is promised, in order to give the entire work uniformity and consistency. One must, perforce, be content with this procedure, as well as with the whole plan of the work sketched by the editor down to the *Variae Lectiones* of the Ancient Versions.

Many will disagree with our author in the points to be mentioned. Not even those who in principle are agreed with Dr. Ginsburg on his use, for purposes of textual criticisms, of the ancient translation, but would feel some scruples about such thoroughgoing recourse to them, bearing in mind the present state of the Septuagint, Peschitta, and Targums.

The absence of a critical edition of these versions, and the obscurity in which the method followed by translators is still wrapped, can hardly justify the deduction of variations in the original text from variations in the translation. Isolated instances do not justify the assumption of a different text, till the character of the translation of a Biblical text

has been determined by careful induction, according to the methods adopted by Wellhausen and Driver in their study of the LXX on the Book of Samuel, and by Baumgärtner in his *Études critiques sur l'état du texte du Livre des Proverbes*, which comprise a study of the LXX and Targum on that book. Besides, Dr. Ginsburg does not proceed systematically. He himself states (p. 180) that he had not yet finished the re-translation of the Greek Bible into Hebrew.

The editor also adopts conjectural variations suggested by the textual critics; and on the strength of these two methods this edition of the Hebrew Bible is characterized as a critical as well as a Massoretic text.

I am, however, of the opinion that Dr. Ginsburg has here attempted the solution of two problems, each of which, by itself, is justified, while both are mutually exclusive and cannot therefore be solved simultaneously.

A Massoretic edition of the Bible can only give the Massoretic, i. e. the traditional, text, while a critical edition aims at the restoration of the original and its substitution for the traditional text. The Massora is the lower criticism, conjectural emendation belongs to the higher criticism. Even, however, if we discarded the points of opposition between these two tendencies we cannot approve of Dr. Ginsburg's procedure, because his "conjectural" criticism is extremely defective, one might even say accidental and arbitrary. Besides, the interpolation of these suggested "emendations" disturbs the survey of an integral tradition.

It would therefore have enhanced the value of this new edition if its editor had confined himself to the presentation of the Massoretic text, leaving other criticisms to *Haupt's Rainbow Bible* and similar works, like Grätz's *Emendationes in plerosque Sacrae Scripturae V. T. Libros*, &c.

Before going into details I will add one more remark of a general nature. Neither the Hebrew Bible nor the Introduction is intended for the beginner.

One might fairly expect that all the scientific work

already accomplished in this field should have been utilized. This has not been done, though the Introduction runs to 1028 pages. Dr. Ginsburg's Introduction, which deals only with a fragment of Biblical Isagogics, viz. the History of the Text, omitting the Ancient Versions, surpasses in compass all modern introductions, but is behind them in its scanty incorporation of Modern Literature. The whole work is characterized by an amplitude which occasionally becomes wearisome.

2.

The Introduction falls into two parts. The first part discusses in eight chapters the external form of the Biblical Text (pp. 1-113), the second, in thirteen chapters (pp. 114-976), deals with the text itself.

The last two chapters, which contain a history of MSS. till the year 1513, and of ancient printed editions till the year 1528, may be regarded as an independent third part. This is followed by interesting appendices, detailed indices, and tables (pp. 977-1028). The history of the external division of the text is rightly treated in line of descent and not in chronological order, which would have rendered review more difficult and could not have been fixed with certainty.

In the first chapter (pp. 1-8) the order of the several books is discussed. The oldest account is contained in the famous Boraitha *T. B. Baba Bathra*, 14 b, which, however, omits the Pentateuch. The second citation from the Boraitha, which names the authors of the Biblical books, beginning with Moses the writer of the Thora, shows, however, that the Boraithas must have originally also contained the order of the five Books of Moses, though this is omitted in extant editions. This has already been noticed by Krochmal, *Kerem Chemed*, V, 57.

Dr. Ginsburg is therefore incorrect when he says (p. 1) of this Boraitha: "Passing over the *Pentateuch*, about which there never has been any doubt." The five Megilloth which,

like the Pentateuch, are used in the Liturgy are on this account in MSS., as they are also in the most ancient printed editions (and even in *Norzi*), often incorporated with the Pentateuch. The order in these MSS. and editions is the same as that in which they are read at the festivals. Dr. Ginsburg, without even mentioning this notorious fact, arranges in tabular form four different orders of the five scrolls. It is obvious that I and V, which are identical, are arranged according to the ritual; III is chronological; II follows the ritual but begins with Purim; IV is chronological, but Koheleth is placed after instead of before Lamentations.

In reality, therefore, there are only two classifications, the ancient, according to chronology, and the modern, which follows the liturgy and is given in the appendix to the Pentateuch. The order of the early prophets exhibits no deviations. The later prophets, however, are found in three different classifications (p. 6).

The largest number of variations are found in the order of the Hagiographa. A table on page 7 gives no less than eight different arrangements. Careful examination, however, will reduce these to three. The differences between I, II, III, VII, VIII, are very slight: these can, therefore, be considered as practically identical; IV and V are also similar; VI is unique. Dr. Ginsburg is therefore right in accepting the traditional order, which is supported by most of the MSS.

In chapters ii-v Dr. Ginsburg treats of the open and closed Parshioth, the division into chapters which we owe to the Vulgate, the Sedras of the Palestinian triennial cycles, and the Parshioth of the Babylonian annual cycle (pp. 9-67).

As I intend shortly to publish an essay on this subject, to which I have devoted some considerable time, I will not on this occasion enter into detailed criticisms. The wealth of material which Dr. Ginsburg gathered from MSS. is most clearly set forth, and Bæer, who had occupied himself with

this branch of the Massora for several decades¹, is corrected in several particulars.

I do not understand why Dr. Ginsburg treats of the division into chapters before the much earlier divisions into Sedras.

Limited space prevents discussion of the three following chapters on the verse-division, number of words and letters (pp. 68-113).

My "Massoretic Studies," which appeared in this REVIEW (1896-1897), deal with these topics; and an essay which will appear in this REVIEW will discuss Dr. Ginsburg's method.

We now proceed to the second part of the work under notice.

3.

In the chapter "Dagesh and Raphè" (pp. 114-136) the rule about the placing of the Raphè line over כ נ ד ר כ פ ת and other quiescent letters (פְּרָה־צִיר, וְאֵמֶר) is first clearly and decisively established. Dr. Ginsburg convincingly disproves Baer-Delitzsch's dictum that a Dagesh should be used:—

1. In every word beginning with the same consonant as that with which the previous word terminated, לֹאכַל לֶחֶם (Gen. xxxi. 54), בָּכַל לְבִי (Ps. ix. 2), &c.

2. In every consonant after a guttural with quiescent sheva, e. g. וְרָצָה (Gen. x. 7), מְחַפֵּה (Ps. xli. 2).

"Hence Delitzsch's statement that the Dagesh in a consonant after a guttural with Sheva is to be found in all the best MSS. is based upon wrong data, for which, as the article in question shows, Dr. Baer is responsible.

"To introduce, therefore, this eccentric Dagesh throughout the Hebrew Bible, as has been done by Dr. Baer, is a most unjustifiable innovation. The only thing which can legitimately be done with the evidence of the MSS. and early

¹ Baer wrote already in the year 1851: Our first aim in our work on the Massora was to arrange, elucidate and, where necessary, annotate the scattered statements concerning the number of Letters, Words, Verses, Chapters, &c. (*Orient*, XII, 201).

editions before us, is to mention the fact that some mediaeval purists have inserted it in several places" (p. 135).

3. In ׀ at the beginning of a word when it has Sheva and is followed by ׀, even though the previous word ends in one of the quiescent letters (אָה״י), e.g. כִּי בָּסָקְלִי (Gen. xxxii. 11). To this rule too Dr. Ginsburg offers objections. A very interesting and important chapter is the next, on the old Hebrew Orthography (pp. 137-157). It is universally recognized that the Semitic languages generally, and therefore also Hebrew, were devoid of Matres Lectionis.

These are supposed to have gradually found their way into the Biblical text (Chwolson, *Die Quiescentes* אָה״י in *der althebräischen Orthographie*, 2nd volume of the Third International Congress, pp. 459, 474, 478). According to Lagarde (*Notes on the Greek Version of the Proverbs*, p. 7; *Mittheilungen*, I, 21) the Alexandrian Version is supposed to have been rendered from a text without Matres Lectionis.

Chajjuḡ, the father of Hebrew grammar, is already supposed to have shared this view, as has been inferred from his remark that the copyist was in his time (about 1000 C. E.) permitted to write any word of the Bible plenē or defectivē (p. 137) according to his fancy; this monstrous assertion, which Bardowicz circulated, will be discussed elsewhere. We will here only mention the illustrations cited to show the development of Hebrew orthography in ancient times. For the omission of the ׀ thirteen examples are quoted: קָצְרִי (Num. xi. 11); וַיִּהְיוּ (2 Sam. xx. 9), &c. On account of the absent Mater Lectionis, the Massoretes have sometimes made a mistake in the vocalization, which can be restored from the LXX or Peschitta. (1) 2 Kings vii. 17, הַמֶּלֶךְ, according to the Massora וְהַמֶּלֶךְ = וְהַמֶּלֶךְ; conversely 2 Sam. xi. 1, where Massora הַמֶּלֶךְ should be corrected into הַמֶּלֶכִּים. (2) Ps. xxxiii. 7 כִּנֹּר = כִּנֹּר erroneously according to Exod. xv. 8) = כִּנֹּר = כִּנֹּר, cf. Ps. cxix. 83. (3) Prov. iii. 8 לֶשֶׁךְ = לֶשֶׁךְ = לֶשֶׁךְ "to thy flesh." These emendations are reasonable and attractive, but not that of Gen. iv. 15 לֶכֶן = לֶכֶן (לֶכֶן), according to LXX; this,

however, is not Biblical Hebrew, for on this supposition there ought to be יהיה. In postbiblical Hebrew לא כן כי very frequently occurs, and the Greek translator may have been misled by his taste for new Hebrew, which also undoubtedly often influenced Palestinian teachers. Then, by way of contrast, two examples are given in which, according to the Massora, א should be eliminated, Exod. v. 7 ואֶסְפֹּן and 2 Sam. xi. 24 וְיָרָא הַפִּזְרָאִים. But the Massora did not recognize that Ps. lxxv. 6 בָּצֹר עֵתָּק = בָּצֹר עֵתָּק, though "neck" does not make sense.

Like א, y was also sometimes eliminated, e.g. בָּעַל = בָּל, בִּי = בִּי (according to the Aramaic?); Amos vii. 8 should read וְנִשְׁקָה (instead of וְנִשְׁקָה); Ps. xxviii. 8 לָעֵבֹ (instead of לָעֵבֹ, cp. Ps. xxix. 11 and the Versions); Mic. i. 10 בָּעֵבֹ (instead of בָּעֵבֹ); Hos. vii. 6 יָעֵשׂ and אָפָהּ (instead of אָפָהּ, יָעֵשׂ).

Seven examples are given where א and y have been interchanged. An attempt is finally made to prove by the Massora that ה was not originally a Mater Lectionis. Examples are Gen. xxix. 34 קָרָא (Massoretic text קָרָא = קָרָא; ib., xli. 22 יֵלֶד (יֵלֶד) = יֵלֶד, &c.

Dr. Ginsburg could on this point have referred to a small work of Mayer Lambert¹, who proves that those words ending in ה where the Massora reads u show traces of an obsolete form of the 3rd pers. plural feminine preterite, e.g. Deut. xxi. 7 שָׁפְכָה is really שָׁפְכָה, as in the Aramaic קִטְלָה; ו also was not originally used as Mater Lectionis, and the Massora gives a list of those words where in our Text a waw, which might have been expected, is missing. The absence of a ו explains the difference in the two forms of the same text:

Ps. xiv. 7 יִשְׁעֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל and liii. 7 יִשְׁעֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל.

2 Sam. xxii. 26 גִּבּוֹר חֲמִים and Ps. xviii. 26 גִּבּוֹר חֲמִים; in Samuel read גִּבּוֹר with ו inserted, whilst in Ps. גִּבּוֹר was read. Typical examples are given of the omission of the waw at the end of the word, e.g. Gen. xxxv. 26 יֵלֶד; Ex. xviii. 16 בָּא;

¹ Une Série de Quatre Ketib, étude grammaticale, Paris, 1891.

Num. xxxiii. 7 וַיִּשָּׁב; Deut. xxxii. 38 יָהִי; in all of which passages the forms should be plural with a waw at the end. Further it is emphasized that originally the suffix denoting the 3rd pers. sing. was ה and not ו. Seven pages discuss the ו as Mater Lectionis (pp. 150-157). It is pointed out that the plural originally ended in ם, and not in ים, and the Hiphil was written without the ו. The Massora has not always recognized this and so made difficulties. The plural form of nouns was also originally written without a ו; hence the differences between 2 Sam. v. 6 וַיִּשָּׁב הָאִיִּץ and 1 Chron. xi. 4 יִשָּׁבִי (p. 154); 2 Kings xxv. 24 מַעֲבְרֵי and Jer. xl. 9 מַעֲבֹרֵי. These instances seem to have been wrongly chosen, because they simply exemplify the transposition of letters and the mutation of ו and י. Cf. Ex. xi. 6 בָּמָוֶה, Sevirin בָּמֹוֶה; xxxvii. 8, Kethib קָצוֹתִי, Keri קָצוֹתִי, where the ו has been placed in Kethib before ה and changed into ו. Examples of this kind are formed in the Keris. Also יִשְׁעָה already mentioned (Ps. xiv. 7) and יִשְׁעוֹת (Ps. liii. 7) can be explained in the same way. On page 156, n. 2, in reference to the burial of worn-out copies of the Torah in a scholar's grave, the author should have quoted not Maimonides but the original source, *T. B. Megilla*, 26 b.

There is no doubt whatever that the Biblical text in its most ancient form had the *scriptio continua*. In the division of words, mistakes may, here and there, have been made, of which there are traces in the Massoretic text, cp. 1 Kings xx. 33, &c. And, in this regard, there are some differences between the Alexandrian, Syriac, and Aramaic versions and the Massoretic text. Fifteen striking examples unfavourable to the Massoretic text are exhibited on p. 159 in a tabular form.

Criticism may justifiably avail itself of this expedient for clearing up difficult passages, even when the new division of words is unsupported by the ancient Versions. Very plausible are the following: Gen. xlix. 19, 20, Massoretic text מַאֲשֵׁר : עֶקֶב; divided thus אֲשֵׁר : עֶקֶב; 1 Kings xix. 20, M.T. בָּשָׁל מִהֶבֶשֶׁר, divide בָּשָׁל מִהֶבֶשֶׁר (p. 160). I add one

originating from S. D. Luzzato : Isaiah ix. 26, where **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** makes no sense, **תְּבִלָּתָם** is *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*; he divides **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם**, which removes the difficulties.

The variations in word-divisions which are supported by ancient authorities are denoted in the Hebrew Bible with **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** = **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** (better Hebrew **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם**), the others **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** = **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** (pp. 158-162).

The question as to the age of the final letters is dismissed in two pages (pp. 163-164). Two tables are given which show that the Massoretic text had final letters in the middle of words, and, conversely, ordinary letters at the end of words; further that LXX divides words against the authority of the final letters in the Massoretic text. I refer the reader to pp. 100-106 of my work *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, 1894, where I have shown that, till the end of the first century, the double letters were often used promiscuously, and that the Talmud calls them **מַסָּפֵף** and not **מַסָּפֵף** in order to emphasize their value as finals.

Originally **מַסָּפֵף** did not mean **מִן לָפָךְ** = "from thy prophets," but **מִן סָפֵף** = "the final letters," **פ** being pronounced like **ס**.

Pages 165-170 deal with abbreviations. Valuable is the statement concerning MSS. "The vacant space is generally filled out with dots or in unfinished letters."

Some MSS. place at the end of the line several letters of the following word, which is then rewritten in full on the next line. Others place the letters for which there is no room on the line, above the line or at right angles to it instead of on the line in the margin (e.g. Lev. xv. 31 **מִן מַסָּפֵף**).

Ten typical examples are next given which are either supported by the ancient Versions or are purely conjectural. These are also marked **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** and **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** respectively. The emendation of Exod. viii. 3 **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** into **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** is not an improvement, for the context demands a different sequence of words: **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** and not **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם**. Whether there were **וַאֲפִי עַל תְּבִלָּתָם** in the Bible has been

discussed by F. Perles in his *Analekten zur Textkritik des alten Testaments*, Munich, 1895, an essay rich in brilliant ideas, to which I have made some additions in the *Revue des Études Juives* (pp. 154-157). An old source of copyists' mistakes is the *homoioteleuton*, from which the Bible text has also suffered considerably (pp. 171-182). After giving eight examples from the Codices, the author continues: "These examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely. If the omissions in the Hebrew Text due to this cause occur not only in the very first or oldest MS., but continue in the succeeding MSS. produced in different centuries and various countries, and also appear in the very latest Codex copied by the human hand, it is perfectly certain that the same source of error was in operation by the production of MSS. prior to those which we now possess. In the absence of these MSS., however, the only course left to us is carefully to examine the ancient Versions, which were made from a Hebrew recension older by more than a millennium than the oldest MSS. of the present Massoretic text" (p. 173). This position is proved by twelve examples taken from the LXX (Joshua six, Judges two, Samuel three, Kings one). 1 Kings viii. 16 is to be completed according to LXX and 2 Chron. vi. 6. The parallels from Chronicles often diminish, however (p. 174), the value of the LXX as a guide; for, like the Peschitta, the LXX often directly borrows its supplements from the parallel passages. Five examples (Joshua two, Judges one, Samuel two) are given of the converse, where the *homoioteleuton* has caused omissions in the LXX¹.

Dr. Ginsburg believes (p. 178) in the genuineness of two verses, Josh. xxi. 36, 37, notwithstanding the statement in those codices which accept these verses, that the Book of

¹ Correct p. 176: כִּשְׁמֵחַ in כִּשְׁמֵחַ (ו with dagesh); יִקְרָא (כ dagesh); מִתְחַנֵּחַ (ח dagesh); וְהָיָה in וְהָיָה (ק dagesh); הַמִּסְכָּח (ס dagesh); p. 177: עֲבָד (ב dagesh); וְהָיָה (ז without dagesh); וְהָיָה read וְהָיָה (ל without dagesh); top of p. 172, instead of Jeremiah xxxi. 30 read 29 or 28; p. 176, instead of Joshua xxiv. 6 read xxiv. 4.

Joshua consists of 656 verses, and the middle of the Book is chapter xiii. 26 (and not 25 as p. 88 says), contradicts this assumption, as has already been pointed out by Nozzi. Dr. Ginsburg thinks that the computation of the number of the verses as 656 is to be attributed to another Massoretic School. Where, however, is the number 658 given? Dropped-out words which Dr. Ginsburg restores from the LXX are marked in his Notes to the Hebrew Bible with the abbreviation ב"ח.

The chapter on Keri and Kethib (pp. 183-186) is rather meagre. It is mentioned that these have come down to us in three forms—written on the border of the MSS., in separate lists, and in various collections compiled from various standpoints in the Massoretic works. The editor also states that the Codices vary materially, so that all the Kethib Keris could only be ascertained by examining all MSS. Dr. Ginsburg has noted all those he has used, which is more than most editions have done.

Concerning the origin of the division into separate books, &c., which Elias Levita already discussed in the third preface to the *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, there is hardly any information. There is some plausibility in the theory that in the doubtful cases the consonants of the Text were left unpunctuated, and in the notes the punctuation was first given according to the Kethib and then according to the Keri (more correctly קרי like קלה part. pass. Peal, just like קתיב). Dr. Ginsburg only adopts this course wherever the Keri and the Kethib differ; otherwise the word is punctuated in the text, e.g. וְלֵא 1 Sam. ii. 3, to which the note is added קרי וְלוֹ; ii. 14 בְּשֵׁלֶה, note קרי בְּשֵׁלוֹ; Gen. xlix. 11 עִירָה, note קרי עִיר. Where therefore Keri only corrects the orthography, the vowels are given in the text—so I think Dr. Ginsburg's procedure is to be interpreted. The following instances are, however, incomprehensible to me. 1 Sam. i. 17, the text reads שִׁלְחָה, note קרי שִׁלְחָה. If the difference here between Kethib and Keri is not merely in the orthography but also in the reading, why does Dr. Ginsburg, against his

own principles, punctuate the word in the text? In 1 Chron. xii. 39 the text gives שרית and a note שרית כתיב קראית קרי.

What is the distinction between שלתך and שרית that led the editor to punctuate the former word in the text, while he left the latter without vowels? Why does he supply Job vi. 2 וְהָיִיתִי with vowels in the text, and add the note וְהָיִיתִי קרי, while Isa. iii. 16 נָמוּת has no vowels in the text, and, in the note, it is stated נָמוּת כתיב נְמוּת קרי, the difference in both cases being between ו and י? Job xxxi. 11 וְהָיָא lacks the *circulus masoreticus* and ib. xxxviii. 41 יִלְרֹ כתיב is a printer's error. On Job xxxix. 26 there is a note בָּנָפוּ אוֹ בָּנָפוּ בתיב. Where does the author find the justification for the form בָּנָפוּ since Chaggai ii. 12 reads בְּכָנָפוּ; Ezek. xvi. 8 בָּנָפָה, and Ruth iii. 9 בָּנָפָה? Not surely from Baer's note of interrogation on בָּנָפוּ ibid., in his edition, p. 70.

Connected with the Keris are the Sevirin (pp. 187-196) which "in many instances preserve the primitive textual readings" (p. 193). We accept this view which Geiger strongly championed.

The Sevirin (= סבירין), one might think, would have preserved the original reading, Gen. xlix. 13 ער instead of על. This is supported by MSS., the Samaritan Text, Onkelos, LXX, the Syriac, and the Vulgate; Exod. vi. 27 מִצֵּרִים (instead of מִצְרִים); ib. xxv. 39 and xxvi. 31 תִּשְׁלַח (instead of תִּשְׁלַח); Num. xxxiii. 8 כָּפִי הַחֲרִירֹת (instead of כַּפֵּי הַחֲרִירֹת), &c. The Sevirin, which represent a luminous textual criticism, were gradually suppressed and quite ignored. Jacob ben Chajim only knew 200 סבירין, which Frensdorff in *Masora Magna*, I, 369-373, collected without increasing their number. Dr. Ginsburg, on the other hand, has noted about 350—quite a respectable increase. These may be further supplemented from the מסעין, as they were hostilely styled, and also from the Codices.

Several סבירין are given in Biblical MSS. as קרי and vice versa. Dr. Ginsburg therefore says, "It will thus be seen that the identical variant which is called Keri by one

School of Massorettes is called Sevir by another School" (p. 188). Perhaps after all we have only before us the same notices under various names.

In any case Dr. Ginsburg deserves thanks for securing a just appreciation of the Sevirin and noting them *in locis*. Baer only added them at the end. Hahn's Bible (reprinted Leipzig, 1893) has only two Sevirin on its margin which have also been copied in Letteris' edition, published by the English Bible Society.

Very instructive is the collection and discussion of the differences between the Maarbai (Western Palestinian) and Madincha (Eastern Babylonian) readings. Dr. Ginsburg has here (pp. 197-240) not only placed at our disposal an increased mass of material gathered from the original MSS., but has also, as far as I can judge, most critically sifted this material and improved several notes in his editions of the text.

Our editions follow, as is known, the Palestine Recension. Judaism recognized the Palestinian authority for Scripture and the Babylonian Talmud for that of Oral law.

There follows an account of the differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali (pp. 241-286). Dr. Ginsburg opposes the view which has prevailed since Levitas, that the extant Biblical text represents Ben Asher's Recension and that of the "Westerns," for it also contains readings of Ben-Naphtali. Thus, too, MSS. should not be classified on their accidentally exhibiting readings of Ben Asher or Ben Naphtali¹ (p. 247).

Dr. Ginsburg gives a most minutely detailed account of the variations between these two schools. (1) יִשְׁכָּר (pp. 250-254). (2) Certain forms of the root אָבַל (pp. 255-263). The discussion of all passages and reference to MSS. and ancient printed editions proves that in the large majority of cases Ben Naphtali's reading is accepted (p. 263). (3) Forms of נָשָׂא (pp. 264-266); (4) the Dagesh in בָּחִים (pp.

¹ Maimonides already made the remark: וְכֵן אֵינֶנּוּ סוֹמְכִין עַל קִרְיָתוֹ [של בן נפתלי]. בכל הארצות האלה ואנשי סודו סומכין על קריאת בן נפתלי.

264-265); (5) about words with ב and ל followed by a ם (pp. 265-268), e. g. בִּי שְׂרָאֵל or בִּי שְׂרָאֵל, &c.; (6) the use or omission of the Dagesh in בְּנִרְכָּח in different cases.

Next are given carefully prepared tables of the differences between the two schools and a synoptical list of the paragraphs of the *Dikduke Hateamim*. Nine items sum up the results of Dr. Ginsburg's comparison of the MSS. (pp. 285, 286). He condemns Baer-Strack's edition as not corresponding with the traditions embodied in the MSS. Dr. Ginsburg gives here, as in other passages of his Introduction, the sources of several traditions which he has copied in his Massora. I will now devote a separate section to "The Massora, its rise and development," which takes up five chapters, the fifth chapter consisting of thirteen sub-chapters.

4.

Through a printer's error, the section dealing with the Massora discusses matter which had already been dealt with. Compare sub-chapter 2, "The division of consonants into words," with chapter iii, "The division of words"; sub-chapter 3, "The introduction of the final letters," with chapter iv, "The double and final letters"; sub-chapter 7, "The introduction of the *Matres Lectionis*," with chapter ii, "The orthography." I also cannot understand why chapter vii, "The Keri and Kethib"; chapter viii, "The readings called Sevirin"; chapter ix, "The Western and Eastern Recensions"; chapter x, "The differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali," do not belong to the Massora, as their discussion antecedently to the treatment of the Massora would lead us to infer that the consolidated treatment of these heads would have saved space and been more convenient to the reader.

First of all the introduction of the square characters is discussed (pp. 277-296). As I have treated these points most minutely in my *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift* (pp. 48-80), a work which appeared in 1894, but has not

been noticed by Dr. Ginsburg, nor even mentioned in his Index of Literature, p. 295, n. 1, I refer the reader to that essay and confine myself to several corrections.

Inaccurate is the statement (p. 28) that R. Jehuda I, the Patriarch, flourished 140–163 C.E., and that a Halachic Collection by R. Nathan is known under the title: *Mishna* or *Tosephta di R. Nathan*. Dr. Ginsburg probably thinks of *Aboth d. R. Nathan*. The Patriarch Jehuda I died certainly not earlier than 189 C.E. and in the year 140 had not yet become patriarch. Mar Ukba was a Babylonian and not a Palestinian as the reader is led to believe (p. 288, l. 4). The Ancient Hebrew Text was probably called רַעַן and not רַעַן. The uncertainty of the latter reading רַעַן should at least have been noted.

Dr. Ginsburg does not quote all the data of the Jewish tradition bearing on the subject, nor does he exhibit any systematic demonstration of his statement that the ancient Hebrew text was still extant in the second century. Nevertheless he comes (p. 290) to the same conclusion at which I arrived.

As the Ancient Hebrew characters had been so long in use, it was natural that, in its gradual transformation into the square writing, several mistakes should have crept in. Dr. Ginsburg points out (pp. 291–96) several instances where, in our text, מ and נ, ר and צ, ב and ע are interchanged, these letters having a marked similarity of form in the Phoenician writing. Generally known is Luzzato's conjecture that Isa. ii. 15 should read בַּעֲצֵם רַחֲמֵי and not בַּעֲמֵי ר'. After discussing the introduction of the separation of words and the differences in this regard (pp. 296, 297), the question of the introduction of final letters is again discussed (pp. 297–299). Here, too, I may refer the reader to my *Zur Einleitung*, pp. 100–105, with the results of which Dr. Ginsburg partly agrees. The citation p. 289, n. 1 בִּשְׁם ר' שְׁמוּאֵל ר' יִרְמְיָהּ should be corrected בִּשְׁם ר' שְׁמוּאֵל בֶּר יִרְמְיָהּ. The translation: "R. Jeremiah said in the name of R. Samuel who said it in the name of R. Isaac," should therefore be altered into: "the son of

Isaac," for רַב רַחֵם in *T. P. Megilla* 71 d 35 is a printer's error for רַחֵם רַחֵם . The introduction of the Matres Lectionis is again briefly discussed, and the more than courageous view is propounded that this formed one of the points of disputation between the Sadducees and Pharisees. Then follows a fifth sub-chapter: "The Consonant of the Hebrew Text and the Septuagint" (pp. 300-468). This collects and discusses in thirteen sections the Massoretic data in the Talmud and Midrash.

The LXX is dealt with less fully. Only one passage is translated from Aristeas' letter and one from the Talmud.

The varying attitude of the Jews to the Greek Version and the Greek language has been treated by Joel in his *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, I, 1-42, to which the reader may be referred. An appendix on the deviations of the LXX from the Hebrew texts noted in the Talmud, promised on p. 302, n. 1, is not given. The word בַּל is missing on page 303, line 9.

Dr. Ginsburg shows that the development of the schools had, as its chief result, the fixing of the Hebrew text of the Bible, and that this was originally directed against the Samaritan and Greek versions. Although several essays have been written on the History of the Jewish school system, Dr. Ginsburg's short account contains several mistakes. He says (p. 304, towards the end), "Simon b. Shetach (80 B. C.) introduced upper schools or academies in every large provincial town, and ordained that all young men from the age of sixteen were to visit them" (cp. *T. Jer. Kethuboth*, VIII, 11). The reference given says nothing of the kind, but only that Simon b. Shetach introduced three institutions, of which one was בית הספר "that the children should attend elementary schools." There is no mention of upper schools or "academy." And how could an order that every one over sixteen should attend an Academy be practically enforced? This would be equivalent to compelling every young man in modern times to attend a University.

The *locus classicus* is *T. B. Baba Bathra*, 21 a, where the introduction of Elementary Schools, but not of Higher Schools, is credited to Josephus' contemporary Josuah b. Gamala, who, at the same time, adopted a regulation that children should be taken to school at the early age of six and seven and not when sixteen years old as had hitherto been the case, because these grown-up youths proved often intractable. Simon b. Shetach is mentioned in *T. B. Kiddushin*, 66 a, as having restored learning to the country after the massacre of the Sages by Jannai. I must also correct the quotation on p. 305, n. 2, where instead of *Pesachim*, 12 a, it should read 112 a. Further, the citations on p. 305, note 4, are not relevant to the text. After the discussion of *מקרא סופרים* and *עטור סופרים*, which I submit is not full enough to satisfy the standard set up by Geiger, Dr. Ginsburg discusses, on pp. 309-316, the *Lecta sed non scripta*, and on pp. 317-319 the *Scripta sed non lecta*.

In reference to 2 Sam. viii. 3 Dr. Ginsburg copies without acknowledgment the view first enunciated by me in my *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 52. The original text of 2 Sam. xviii. 20 was, I suggested, the Kethib. The word כן crept in and was corrected by a note בן כתיב ולא כן. This note was misunderstood and was taken to mean that the כן which was not written was to be the reading.

Acceptable is the suggestion (p. 310) that Jer. xxxi. 37 (not 38) should be נאם (= נאִים), a dittography of נאם. On the *puncta extraordinaria* (pp. 318-334) Dr. Ginsburg has fully accepted the views which I have expressed in my *Masoretische Untersuchungen*. A lengthy notice of these pages is therefore unnecessary.

The age of these "extraordinary points" I have discussed in my *Zur Einleitung* (pp. 113-120), which also contains several supplements that have apparently escaped Dr. Ginsburg's attention. I must refer the reader to my work and leave to him the task of comparison between Dr. Ginsburg's and my treatment of this topic. I will only note that Dr. Ginsburg quotes from the MSS. a Massoretic

note on Ps. xxvii. 13 where מלמעלה ומלמטה is missing. Of my view that the punctuation of this verse shows a dislocation of the Biblical text Dr. Ginsburg has not even thought it worth while to make mention. The origin of the four suspended letters discussed on pp. 334-341 I have tried to explain in my *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 46 sqq. In my *Zur Einleitung*, p. 106 sq., I have pointed out that the Talmud does not know the suspended γ in Job xxxviii. 13 and that it is probably due to a misunderstood note, as ע' ב' מרשעים חלילה, which was taken to mean: "Both Ain in מרשעים to be suspended," whilst what was really meant was "the Ain in the second מרשעים, i.e. in xxxviii. 15, is to be suspended." The suspended γ in Ps. lxxx. 14 is a big Ain¹, which, according to *Kiddushin*, 30 a, originally marked the division of the letters of the Psalter. But, as the Psalms possessed an uneven number of letters, it was said חלילה והעץ, which was wrongly taken to mean that the "Ain" was suspended.

So too Judges xviii. 30 may owe the suspended Nun to a note נ במנשה חליל². We need only assume (Job xxxviii. 15) that a scribe in a copy which became a model for future copyists wrote the enlarged γ above the line, and that thus the suspended γ became perpetuated.

Closer examination of the passages shows that Dr. Ginsburg has copied a mistake in translating the words: בימי בנה חיאל (1 Kings xvi. 34); he translates: "In his days (i.e. Ahab's) did Hiel of the house of Eli build Jericho (p. 330)." It should, however, be rendered "Chiel of Beth El."

Contrary to his custom, from which he only occasionally deviates, Dr. Ginsburg gives here the sources of the Hebrew

¹ It is noteworthy that the Rabbinic Bible of Felix Pratensis (1517) contains indeed in נב an Ain majuscule, as Dr. Ginsburg mentions, p. 340.

² Koenigsberger, in his *Aus Massorah- und Talmud-Kritik*, asks, in objection to my opinion, whether I really think that Jonathan was a grandson of Moses. His objection should be addressed to the compiler of the Book of Judges, who was certainly of that opinion.

quotations (p. 342, n. 2, p. 343, n. 1 and 2, p. 344, n. 1, and p. 346, n. 1) in the Hebrew language; he usually translates. He does not count on readers who could verify such quotations in the original. For the explanation of the Talmudic citations see my *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 56, particularly on the one quoted by Dr. Ginsburg, p. 341, n. 1. Dr. Ginsburg also repeats the old views concerning the *Nun inversae* (pp. 342-345). He does not think it worth while to mention my opinion that these reversed Nuns were first introduced in the eighth century, whilst originally Num. x. 35 and 36 and Ps. cvii. 23-28, 40, had only points, and that נ is an abbreviation of נקוד, although a scholar like Neubauer approves the suggestion and supports it with proofs (see the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III, 1891, p. 540).

In R. Simon ben Jochai's remark on וישקרו (Gen. xxxiii. 4): הלכה בידע שעשו שנה לעקב אלא נהפכו רחמי וכו the word הלכה is not clear. In my *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 23, I have suggested הלכה, but I do not maintain this suggestion.

Professor Bacher communicated to me some time ago his view that the reading might have been הלכה בידע. It seems to me that originally it only said הלכה, which is also synonymous with מסרה traditions, as one sees from *T. B. Nazir*, 30 a, and בידע is an explanatory comment.

Dr. Ginsburg's statement (p. 343) that the Patriarch Jehuda I said that the Thora consists of seven books is wrong. The two quotations, referred to in the note, only state that an Amora enumerated this view, basing it on the opinion of the Patriarch (*Sabbath*, 115 b), (not שבת מ' as is wrongly given on p. 343, n. 1, where besides כמאן רבי is to be added).

Dr. Ginsburg (p. 342, n. 1) appeals to *Sifre* on Numbers, p. 22 a, edit. Friedmann, and does not notice the difficulty presented by this passage. It is as follows:—

וידי בנסע הארץ נקוד עליו מלמעלה ומלמטה מפני שלא היה זה מקומו
רבי אומר וכו' ר"ש אומר נקוד עליו מלמעלה ומלמטה מפני שלא היה
זה מקומו:

The same explanation is given twice in one and the same passage! Once anonymously, and again in the name of Simon ben Jochai. Possibly the text is defective and should be corrected according to *T. B. Sabbath*, 116 a, where the same Boraitha is quoted as follows:—

רשב"ג (ר"ש) אומר עחירה פרשה זו שתיעקר מכאן
וחכתב במקומה :

I shall be grateful if a more satisfactory explanation is offered.

After the euphemistic readings, e. g. ישכבנה : ישלנה, have been mentioned in sub-chapter viii (pp. 346, 347) the author proceeds to treat of "Corrections of the Sopherim." He gives three lists: *Mechilta*, 39 a (11); *Sifre*, 22 b (7); *Tanchuma on Exodus*, xv. 7 (17). *Jalkut*, I, § 247¹ is derived from the *Mechilta*, but one Tikkun Soferim has dropped out, hence Dr. Ginsburg regards this list as an independent one. It must be emphasized that the original reading was כָּנָה הכתוב, as *Mechilta* and *Sifre* show. The *Midrash Tanchuma* also consistently has שכנה הכתוב and only in the introduction do we find : וכנהו הכתוב שהוא : חיקן סופרים אנשי כנסת הגדולה.

Ben Asher also says (*Dikduke Hateamim*, p. 44): וראויים (cp. the emendations of the whole quotation in *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49). and employs the technical expression שריבה הכתוב. When therefore the Massora only speaks of יח תיקן סופרים it is doubtful whether these are "emendations," i. e. definite corrections, as Dr. Ginsburg insists they are. There is much probability in S. Pinsker's supposition that, in ancient times, only eleven paraphrases were known, viz. those given in the *Mechilta*, where, however, by a confusion יא = יח 18 (*Kerem Chemed*, IX, 52). Dr. Ginsburg does not mention this view, which does not fit in with his system. He deals with this question minutely in order to show that changes of text have here been made designedly (pp. 347–363, not p. 349 as in the index).

¹ Dr. Ginsburg gives in the text (p. 349) p. "151" and in the note עק"ש (?).

On this part we will only make a few remarks. To avoid repeating what has already been said elsewhere, I will refer the reader to *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, pp. 50 et seqq., where the "corrections" on Num. xi. 15; Mal. i. 12; Zech. ii. 12; and 2 Sam. xvi. 12 are discussed. That all Tikkune Soferim are not improvements is clearly evident from the Massoretic note on Num. xii. 12, where our text is undoubtedly original; *אשר בצאתו מרחם אמו וט'* fits much better with the context than *אשר בצאתו מרחם אמו ואכל*, which is senseless. So, too, Jer. ii. 11 *קבדו* fits better with the context than *כבדו*, as the first half of the verse shows. The same is true of Ps. cvi. 20, where *נבדום* is also not a supplementary emendation.

After Dr. Ginsburg has quoted some examples of the removal of "Impious expressions towards the Almighty" (pp. 363-367) he discusses in detail the textual alterations that originated in a sense of the holiness of the Tetragrammaton (pp. 367-399).

A comparison between 2 Sam. v. 19-25 and 1 Chron. xiv. 10-16 and of 2 Sam. vi. 9, 11, 17, and 1 Chron. xiii. 12, 14; xvi. 1, &c., shows that *יהוה* has been replaced by *אלהים*. Interesting is the demonstration that names beginning with *יהו*, like *יהואחז*, &c., have, out of reverence for God's name, often been converted into names beginning with *י*, like *יהואחז*, &c. In this demonstration the author is very thorough, and not less so in his treatment of the word *הללויה* and of proper names ending in *יה* and *יהו*, of which 141 have been found. The transformation of idolatrous into inoffensive names is also made clear (*יִרְבֵּעַל* = *יִרְבֵּעַלִית*, &c.) (pp. 400-404). The desire to emphasize the Unity of the Temple Service in Jerusalem is also responsible for many a change in the text (pp. 404-407). At this point Dr. Ginsburg enunciates his conclusion that our text is essentially identical with the text fixed 100 years before the Christian era. In this connexion the Talmudic account of the three codices found in the temple-court is discussed, and the interesting statement is made that in the Pentateuch *יהוה*

occurs 656 times, of which 457 are masculine and 199 feminine (p. 409). The thirty-two variants of the "Severus Codex" (Epstein, *Monatsschrift*, XXXIV, 337-351, and Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, III, 19) are severally quoted and discussed. The Soferim were the editors and revisers of the text; the Massoretes¹ are the conservators of the tradition, but not revisers.

The Massora Parva, Massora Magna, and Massora Finalis are now shortly described, and their contents illustrated by several specimens. Dr. Ginsburg shows, at the same time, that the Massora Parva and Magna were already fully developed in the ninth century. The differences between the Massoretes are pointed out, and it is demonstrated that they have taken their accounts from different codices. Variations exist not only between the Occidentals and the Orientals, but even among the representatives of the Occidental School, from which our textus receptus is derived. This is shown by the *Variae Lectiones* of the authoritative codices quoted by the Massora. Such are: (1) ספר מצה; (2) ספר הללי; (3) ונבוי; (4) ירושלמי; (5) יריחו (also חומש יריחו); (6) סיני (also ספר סיני, according to Levitas' view only the Pentateuch); (7) מחזורא רבא; (8) ספר עזרא; (9) ספר בבלי. As the Massoretes often dispute concerning vowels and accents, Dr. Ginsburg takes the opportunity of giving his opinion on the age of these written signs. He does not tell us anything new. That the signs in question were not yet in existence in the fifth century is proved from the *Midrash Rabba* on Canticles i. 11-11 b, Wilna, as Rappoport has already pointed out, though Dr. Ginsburg does not mention it. According to Levitas this can be

¹ Dr. Ginsburg, p. 421, n. 1, writes still *מסורה* and remarks: "The older form of it used in the Mishna is *מסורה* *Massoreth* (*Aboth*, III, 20)," although Bacher (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, III, 785-790) has shown that the only correct vocalization is *מסרה*, and that *מסורה* represents a comparatively later formation of *מסרה*. I notice that S. Baer, also, in his later work (*Orient*, vol. XII, and elsewhere), almost always writes "Messoreth" and not "Massorah," conscious of the correct and original form of the word.

demonstrated from *Baba Bathra*, 21 a b, and *Soferim*, IV, 8, 9. Levitas is of the opinion that accents and vowels came into existence about 650-680. The section on the Massora, consisting of 182 pages, closes with a short discussion of the supra-linear system of punctuation and a list of the punctators.

5.

One of the most important and learned chapters is the *History and description of the MSS.*, which occupies 210 pages and discusses sixty MSS.

It would have been desirable to have had a decisive statement of the mutual relations of the codices, or, to use the technical phrase, *their affiliation*. Only thus could correct conclusions be arrived at; for, however numerous the copies of a standard MS. are, they can only be regarded as one witness.

Dr. Ginsburg unfortunately has not done this. He writes in the introductory remark to this paragraph (p. 469): "In describing the MSS. which I have collected for my Massoretico-critical text, I find it more convenient to classify them according to the countries and libraries in which they are found; and according to the order in which they are given in the catalogue of the respective collections wherever that is possible." That a description according to these principles cannot be called history no one will question. It is a mere accident whither the MSS. of the Bible drifted. In spite of this fundamental error, we are grateful to the author for the information which he offers us, because he affords us an insight into the character of the existing codices, and lays the foundation for an investigation of Scriptural tradition.

We do not doubt but that a careful study of this material which Dr. Ginsburg has collected will yield rich results. Our author only makes an exception in the case of the ancient MS., 2445 Brit. Mus., which contains the Pentateuch, and is said to have been written 820-850 C. E., and

of the famous St. Petersburg codex of the Prophets, which is dated the year 916.

Dr. Ginsburg also prints, in his Introduction, a facsimile of the former; he does not, however, strange to say, append the paleographic description to this facsimile, but to another facsimile which is omitted.

Dr. Ginsburg says (p. 474) "an autotype facsimile page of this important MS. is given at the end of this Introduction." He can only refer to the page before his description of the MSS. because no other is given. Why does Dr. Ginsburg not start with this facsimile?

The assertion (p. 473) that this codex originally had no סוף פסוק is well worth mentioning. I find here a confirmation of my assertion that, in ancient times, the ראש פסוק was of importance, and the סוף פסוק only became current later on (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IX, 129, n. 7). The author has put together in tabular form the sixty MSS. he describes. Whilst referring the reader to this table I shall limit my remarks to the material furnished by Dr. Ginsburg. I have endeavoured to show (*Zur Einleitung*, p. 44 ff.) that the Greek names of the separate books of the Pentateuch are translated from Hebrew names: Deuteronomion = משנה תורה; Arithmoi (Numeri) = חומש הפקודים; Levitikon = תורת כהנים (cp. l. c. 45, n. 3); Exodus = ספר יציאת מצרים (*Dikduke Hateamim*, p. 57); Genesis = ספר מעשה בראשית.

Dr. Ginsburg (n. 481) quotes from a Biblical codex of the thirteenth century for Genesis: ספר ראשון הוא ספר בריאת עולם, which corresponds still closer with Γένεσις κόσμου (*Alex.*) and with the Syriac name בריתא. The same codex has for every one of the five books of Moses a double name expressive of the contents. Exodus = ספר שני הוא ספר יציאת מצרים; Leviticus, ס' תורת כהנים הקרבנות; Numeri, ס' משנה תורה ופסח; Deut., ס' הפקודים והמסעות.

The words "Departure of our teacher Moses" imply that the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, where Moses' death is related, belong to the Law of Moses, a point on which there already existed a difference of opinion amongst

the Tannaites (*Baba Bathra*, 14 b); this is alluded to by Ben Asher (*Dikduke Hateamim*, p. 1): סיום התורה כחורה, i. e. the eight concluding verses belong to the rest of Thora, and are ascribed to Moses. As the names of the books of the Pentateuch correspond with those of the LXX they are certainly very ancient and not invented by the Massoretes or the copyists. Dr. Ginsburg's assertion that follows, concerning the MS. in question, is correct. "The Massorah in the MS. is most accurate and important. I have therefore made it the basis of my edition of this Corpus. It was only in those cases where it failed in certain lists that I reproduced the rubrics from other MSS. which I duly indicate in this chapter" (p. 484).

The author, at the beginning of the second part of his work (pp. 114-136), shows most minutely that the Dagesh exceptions like בְּכִי לְבִי (Ps. ix. 2), וְעָפָה (Gen. x. 7), &c. are not justified. He is so bitterly opposed to Baer that, though he does not name him, he never misses an opportunity, when he cites a MS. or an edition, of pointing out that it tells against certain punctuations. These constant reiterations become at last wearisome and take up valuable space, which might have been filled to better purpose. It would have been sufficient if Dr. Ginsburg had said once for all: "Of the Bible codices examined by me only a few support Baer's emendations, while the majority are opposed to them." Further, he ought not to have ignored the fact that Baer relies on Ben Asher's authority (cp. *Liber Genesis*, ed. S. Baer, Lipsiae, 1869, Praefatio, p. vii f.). The author's descriptions become very monotonous, as the intrinsic value of the MSS. is only discussed from this and a few other stand-points. At least, this is so in the majority of cases.

We will now cite one passage where the author is brief, and which at the same time gives a fair idea of the points most discussed:—

"The MS. exhibits no hiatus or break in the middle of the verse in Gen. iv. 8, nor has it any marginal remark that some codices have it. It reads בְּשָׁמַיִם with *Pathach* under

the *Gimel* in Gen. vi. 3. Though the scribe omitted the two verses in Josh. xxi., viz. 36, 37, the Massoretic annotator deliberately supplied them in the margin with the proper vowel-points and accents. It has not Neh. vii. 68, nor is there any notice in the margin that this verse occurs in any other codices. **בֵּית־אֵל** *Bethel* is invariably written in two words. The innovation of (1) inserting *Dagesh* into the consonant after the guttural with *Sheva*, or (2) into the first letter of a word when the preceding word happens to end with the same letter, or of (3) changing the *Sheva* into *Chateph Pathach* when a consonant with a simple *Sheva* is followed by the same consonant, has no support in this MS." (p. 592).

Whether **חֹבֶל קִין** and **כִּרְלֶעֱמֶר** are written in one or two words is generally noted.

Each description begins with a statement whether the writer was a Spaniard, German, Frenchman, Italian or Oriental,—a practice which is very commendable. Then we are told that Exodus xv, Deuteronomy xxxii, Judges v, and 2 Samuel xxii are, according to rule, written in verse form. Upon this follows a comparison of the divisions of the Lections (*Parshioth*) with those in the *textus receptus*. When *Gaya* and *Metheg* are inserted, we are told where and how much of the Massora is given in the codex, &c. Naturally special peculiarities of the different codices and editions are occasionally discussed, but the plan of the description is to deal with the points just noted; and I cannot refrain from the remark that clearness of review and succinctness would have been served by a tabular statement.

Dr. Ginsburg has dealt in separate chapters with the external division of the Text, Part I, chapters ii, iv, v. It would have been of advantage to the reader if all the material had been put together. Any one who wishes to study the problem of the external division of the Bible has first to collect and arrange the material from the various parts of this work, a task which Dr. Ginsburg with his remarkable skill in this direction could have accom-

Very interesting is the remark that several scribes often ornament the word which coincides with their names, e.g. **רַרְרָא** Gen. xiv. 19, Deut. vii. 14 (p. 631). This circumstance enables Dr. Ginsburg to discover the name of many a copyist.

Here it should be mentioned that Baer, in order to support his punctuation of the word **הָלָלִי**, &c., cites a quotation from the codex, but omits the appended remark: "*But I have not found it so in correct codices*" (p. 662).

I will now make a few less important remarks. Page 544, n. 1, **הַנִּקְרָם** is translated "Creator." It seems far more correct to say: "He who existed from the very beginning."—p. 547 n., **כִּןּוּ מִזְמוֹרִים**, סֵךְ הַבַּל (cf. also p. 777). It should be noticed that tradition also counts 147 Psalms (*T. J. Sabbath*, 15 c, cp. Müller, *Massecheth Soferim*, p. 222).—On p. 564 **אֵלֶּם** is to be placed after **חֲמִשָּׁת**. **בַּח בְּנִיסָן** is not to be translated "in the month of Nissan" but "on the eighth day of Nissan"; for **בַּח בְּנִיסָן** is not an abbreviation of **בַּח(רְשִׁי) בְּנִיסָן**.—P. 573, n. 2, **שָׁבַח לְבָרָא הָעוֹלָם בִּיה**. Dr. Ginsburg has not translated the word **בִּיה**, as is frequently his practice when a word does not appear clear. The meaning is "He who created the world with the name **יְהוָה**." The idea is traceable to the Talmud.

Astounding is the mistranslation of **וְכֵן יִהְיֶה רָצוֹן וְיֵאָמֵר אִמֵּן** (p. 582, n. 1): "May He thus find favour"; as if **בְּרָצוֹן** had been written. The sense is: "And may it be God's Will."

P. 586, n. 2: **שְׁלֹמֹה כְּתִיבְתוּ בִּשְׁנַת אֲנָשִׁים חֲמִשָּׁת אֵלֶּם וּמֵאֵתִים**. This, according to Dr. Ginsburg, means that the writer completed the codex in the year 5208 for R. Solomon. Whence did Dr. Ginsburg get the R. Solomon? Surely not out of **שְׁלֹמֹה**? The meaning of **אֲנָשִׁים** left untranslated by Dr. Ginsburg I do not at the present moment know. Perhaps some one can explain.

Dr. Ginsburg also leaves untranslated the words **בִּשְׁנַת ה' מְשֻׁמָּה**, which correctly give the character of the year as Dr. Brann has informed me.

A MS. remarks on Job xii. 21:—נריבים מ אחיות מנחרות. Dr. Ginsburg (p. 631) says: "From the Massorah on Job xii. 21 we learn the interesting fact that the school of Massoretes from which this MS. emanates included the verse in the number of passages with *Separated* or *Inverted Nun*." By no means. For, in that case, it should have said: "there are inverted Nuns." Here we have only an instance of misunderstanding of the annotator, who had lurking in his memory the fact that an inverted נ not only occurs in the phrase שָׁכַח בֹּהַ עַל-נְרִיבִים in Ps. cvii. 40 but also in Job xii. 21. He has mistakenly appended here this Massoretic note.—P. 741 we read in the epigraph: חָשַׁם רַכְנֵי לַהֲנוּחַ בֹּהַ וּבְרוּמִים לֶהּ אֲנִי חֲרָעִי חֲרָעִי זָרַעִי עַד סוֹף כָּל הַדּוֹרוֹת. Dr. Ginsburg has not translated the two underlined words. They do not seem to be a misprint. Still they ought to be corrected so as to read וּבְרוּמִים לֶהּ, "and in similar works."

A very beautiful MS. in the possession of the author is described pp. 734-743, which contains "The mnemonic name of each of the 54 pericopes into which the Pentateuch is divided, with a detailed list of the Sedarim therein, as well as the number of verses, words, and letters, which I have printed at the end of the respective Parashas in my edition of the Hebrew Bible" (p. 742). This is of great importance and deserves more notice than Dr. Ginsburg gives it.

This MS. contains: "A Massoretic treatise by Jacob ben-Naphtali which is new and will be found in the Appendix to this Introduction" (p. 743). The promised Appendix has unfortunately not been given, like so many other things which the author has promised in this work.

In the epigraph, p. 748, n. 1, one also finds the quotation בְּמֵאֲרֵשׁ סֵתָא, which Dr. Ginsburg in his literal translation passes over in silence. This name, apparently of a French place, is not noted in Gross' *Gallia Judaica*, and I cannot identify it.

P. 773, n. 1. "The number of the letters" is surely a mistake for "the number of words," for the former

Dr. Ginsburg has given us in four lines. The Vienna Codex (Imperial and Royal Library, no. 4) gives the *Hagiography* in the following order:—1. Song of Songs, 2. Ruth, 3. Lamentations, 4. Ecclesiastes, 5. Esther, 6. Psalms, 7. Proverbs, 8. Job, 9. Daniel, 10. Ezra, Nehemiah, and 11. Chronicles (p. 377). Dr. Ginsburg says that this order is not found in his collection on p. 7. And yet this order is identical with that of the five oldest editions, and with that which Dr. Ginsburg himself accepts in his Hebrew Bible, except that the five scrolls are placed at the beginning and are arranged according to their Liturgical order.—On the same page נהרסו קהילות הקדש is inaccurately rendered: “The sacred synagogues were destroyed” instead of “communities.”

6.

Almost 200 pages are taken up with the history of the printed Hebrew Text. Under twenty-four numbered headings, the author critically describes and discusses all printed editions from the year 1477, when the Psalms appeared, till the year 1525, when Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinic Bible and the Massora saw the light.

In this part the author gives not a mere description but a real history, in which the mutual relation of the different editions is determined and the critical value of each is closely defined. Although the material which is derived from the MSS. is the more valuable, still we contend that in this chapter, in which Dr. Ginsburg is able to rely on previous workers, he is most successful.

The editions discussed are tabulated; those to which reference is made are noted. We refer the reader to the table.

Our Biblical text represents the German recension, because Germans were the first to institute printing-presses, and printing was generally known as a “German Art.” Cp. Chwolson, ראשית מעשה הדפוס בישראל, translated from the Russian by M. Eisenstadt, Warsaw, 1897, n. 6, where

there also is discussed the difficult passage *אני נסתר לכל מור* which forms the second half of the verse in the epigraph of the first printed Hebrew work, the *ארבעה טורים* of Jacob ben Asher (1475, Pieve di Sacco). Chwolson cites from De Rossi *ניסתר*, from *לקט הקמח* of Moses Chagis on Eben Haezer *מסותר* and emends *מסותר*; Dr. Ginsburg prints, p. 780, n. 1, *ניסתר*, which cannot by any possibility be grammatically correct.

A few remarks of minor significance. On p. 866 the abbreviation *יִצֹ* is translated, "May his God and Redeemer protect him," whilst on p. 604 the same abbreviation is more correctly rendered, "May his Creator preserve and protect him." The full sentence is *ישמרו צור ויחידו* and not *עו לעשות לה' ולדברו אורו עני*. The words of an epigraph are, on p. 879, incorrectly translated as follows: "That it is time to work for the Lord *and for His word* which is the light of mine eyes." It would be more correct to say "And His words light up his eyes." *ולדברו* is not dependent on *לעשות* and *אורו* is a verb and not a noun.

The third edition of the whole Bible was finished, according to the epigraph: *וחשלם נלה מלאכה פ' וימלא כבוד ה' את כל הארץ*. Dr. Ginsburg translated this, p. 879, "Thus the whole work was completed, and let the glory of the Lord fill the whole universe, in the year 254 (= A.D. 1494) here at Brescia." He has failed to see that *פ' וימלא* refers to the week's portion *שלח לך* where the verse quoted, Num. xiv. 21, occurs.

In the edition of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Daniel, dated 1515, it is stated that the last book has seventy Sedarim *ע' סדרים*.

It is correctly remarked (p. 891) that this is a mistake, for this book only has seven divisions. Undoubtedly the printer read *שבע' as שבעים* instead of *שבעה* and then printed an *ע*. In the epigraph of the same edition it is stated that it was finished on the 4th of Ellul *ליצירה העד'ה*, which Dr. Ginsburg, p. 894, translates: In the year 280 of creation. This should be corrected into 275, for *ה* means 5,000.

On p. 896, n. 4, it is said in the epigraph יהוה ברחמי יסעני להחיל וכו', which is translated "and, &c., he helped me to begin, &c.," whilst correctly it should be: "He will help me." The reference is not to past but to future action.

On p. 934, l. 14, *Amsterdam* is a misprint for *Antwerp* (= אנטוורפן).

Incorrect is the translation of the words הנמצא החי המדבר, p. 934, l. 22.

In the October number, 1897, of this REVIEW (X, 175 f.) I expressed the view that the Pope was the father of Jewish literary approbations, which derive their character from his authorization of the edition of the Vulgate published in 1592.

In T. B. de Rossi's *Annales Hebraeo-typographici* I found no reference to an approbation. I rejoice now to read in the work under notice, p. 936, that already in 1515 the Pope issued an authorization of the first edition of the Rabbinical Bible (Venice, 1515) on which Felix Pratensis worked, and in which the Christian world was highly interested. It already contains the characteristic features of most rabbinical approbations and reads as follows: "Ne quis hosce libros cum targum; vel absque targum; Bibliaeque expositores hebreos; ad decennium A. M. D. XV imprimat; vel imprimendos curet; Leo X Pont. Max. sub excommunicationis; et in terris Sanctae Roma Ecclesiae librorum quoque amissionis poena; cavit."

In reference to the history of the rabbinical approbation I find in B. Zuckermann's *Katalog der Seminar-Bibliothek*, First Part, Preface, MSS., Printed Works, Bible (Breslau, 1870, in the annual report of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau), the following statements: "Rabbinical Approbations of literary works הסכמות, which have come into fashion since the seventeenth century, are a fruitful source for the study of Jewish History. I therefore add to the description of every work which contains approbations, the names of their writers, as well as the places and dates where they were issued" (n. IX).

Zuckermann has also drawn up for his own use an alphabetical list of the names of all those who have issued approbations. Its publication would supply the want of an Index Approbationum. The epigraphs published by Dr. Ginsburg confirm Zunz's assertion, which was based on the MSS., "that the rhyming formula accompanying signatures *חזק ונתחזק, הסופר לא פר*, as well as the figure of a donkey climbing the ladder, belong to the third part of the thirteenth century" (*Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 78).

This he uses to determine the age of the Cassel Biblical MSS., Kennicott 157 (the references for this formula are: Introduction, p. 617, n. 1; 619, n. 2; 624, n. 2; 759, n. 1).

With this as a starting-point, we cannot agree with Dr. Ginsburg's date 1200 (p. 605) as the period of the undated Codex Brit. Mus. Add. 15751 (in G., No. 25), for this MS. has the mark above mentioned (p. 614, n. 4). The same is found in Brit. Mus. Add. 9399 (in G., No. 12, p. 534, n. 1 and 2).

We cannot accordingly accept here the date 1250 to 1300.

We now note the printer's errors which have come under our notice and which we have corrected as follows: P. 3, note 1, הכליפו : החליפו, החתכה (?) ; 156, n. 2, והעתקים : העתקים, 179, n. 1, נוחן : נוחן ; 197, n. 2, צפן : צפן ; 241, n. 1, חטוב : חטוב ; 242, n. 1, Eben Saphir Lyck, 1886: 1866; 243, l. 5 in the note, נזר : נזר ; 251, n. 2, Lickute Kadmoniot, Vienna, 1880: 1860; 306, n. 2, ש : וישלח, ובקשה : ובקשה, 325, l. 17, שכתבו : שכתבו ; 327, n. 1 and 2 three times, שהחריבו : שהחריבו ; 336, n. 1, וכתבה : וכתבה ; 341, n. 2, *Sanhedrin*, 10, 3 b: 103 b; 377, n. 2, דאר"י בן לוי : דאר"י בן לוי, ib., במשכין, 409, n., כתוב : כתוב ; 432, n. 1, היה : היה ; 484, n., וישלח : וישלח ; in the text וישלח ; 498, n. 22, 967 : 976 (= as the date of the year); 543, n. 2, מאות, then the date is 1007 as Dr. Ginsburg gives it in the text, and which agrees with 1387 Aera Contractuum and 4836 A. M.; 562, n. 20,

מטלימלה : מטלמלה, 597, n. 1, בָּצָ' : בָּצְדָרִים, 564, n. 1, וְעָבָ : וְעָבָב (Toledo); 606, n. 3, כִּיתָבָא : כִּי תָבָא ; 619, n. 2, זָנָה לָפָ' : זָנָה לָפָרָם, 624, third line from end, (= 1395, as correctly in the text); 624, third line from end, אַחֲשֶׁר־פָּנִי, surely a printer's error and not deviating orthography of אַחֲשֶׁר־פָּנִי, as Dr. Ginsburg does not mention such a word in the Hebrew Bible; 702, n. 2, עֵל מָה : עֵל מָה ; 707, Jehuda Ibn Balsam : Balaam; 805, l. 6, the note וּמַהֲתוּרָה : the whole phrase is a little difficult, but probably should be read הַתּוּרָה, and וְיִבְ לַעֲנִין בּוֹ הַשִּׁעוֹר, ib., l. 10, לֵב עָרִים ; ib., l. 10, לַעֲנִין בּוֹ הַשִּׁעוֹר ; 829, n. 6, קָהֵלָה : קָהֵלָה (Kohaleth); 846, n. 19 and 20, אַחֲדָה : אַחֲדָה ; 886, n. 1, יְרִמְיָה : יְרִמְיָה (or is this a printer's error already to be found in this edition of the Later Prophets?); 955, n. 13, Gen. iv. 18 : iv. 8; 964, ll. 2 and 4 from the end, נִמְסָךְ : נִמְסָךְ ; 970, n. 1, כַּחֲשֹׁנָם : כַּחֲשֹׁנָם ; 970, n. 18, Neh. viii. 68 : vii. 68. In Appendix II we also find printer's or author's errors, e.g. § 2 (p. 983), וּמִזֵּם מִזֵּם הוֹרִיָּה : וּמִזֵּם מִזֵּם הוֹרִיָּה. However, I will omit further discussion of these, as this critical notice has already gone to too great length, though I have left untouched many points on which the author and I disagree.

In conclusion, I must say that while, on the one hand, the prolixity and the looseness with which Dr. Ginsburg has treated the problems in question are not to my taste, while the needless repetitions are tiring, and his silence concerning fellow-workers in the same field, as well as the institution of original investigations instead of the utilization of results already existing, are to be deprecated, still I cannot, on the other hand, refuse to acknowledge the author's high merit in having described sixty most important MSS. and given us their rich results. His account of the origin and development of the Massora and of the more ancient printed editions of the Bible I most fully appreciate.

His *Introduction*, as well as his beautifully printed

Hebrew Bible, must be pronounced achievements of value.

The industry, extending over decades, and the untiring zeal which Christian D. Ginsburg has devoted to the unploughed field of the Massora, not only deserve appreciation but most genuine admiration.

LUDWIG BLAU.

BUDAPEST.

PAUL OF BURGOS IN LONDON.

A FEW weeks before his lamented death, Professor David Kaufmann communicated to me an annotated copy of the famous Purim letter written by Solomon Levi, afterwards known as Paul, Bishop of Burgos. As Prof. Kaufmann wrote to me, the text of this letter has hitherto been printed from incorrect MSS., and this one, though not perfect, is fully worthy of reproduction.

In a short paper which I published in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, I took the view that the letter was written in London before Solomon Levi's conversion to Christianity. Of this there can now be no doubt, for the superscription of this text finally settles the point.

Prof. Kaufmann suggested to me that Solomon Levi, who filled a post at the court of Juan I of Castile, may have come to London with the embassy charged with receiving at the English court, and then escorting, the wife of Henry III—the youthful heir of the throne of Castile after the death of Juan I in 1390. Henry III's bride was Catherine of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, and of Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel of Castile. The tone of Solomon's letter quite fits in with the assumption that he was in London on state affairs, and, on the other hand, there is no circumstance that seems to make the theory difficult to uphold.

The writer distinctly states that he had been or was still a prisoner. This may have occurred in 1385, after the battle of Aljubarrota in that year, when Juan I was defeated. Solomon Levi may have been then captured, and afterwards released. His reference to his captivity

may not mean that he was a prisoner in England. One may, however, hazard the suggestion that Solomon may have become acquainted with Englishmen, that his family originally lived in England before the expulsion in 1290, and that he was drawn to visit the country. He was then thrown into prison, and found an escape (*after* writing his Purim Letter) by accepting baptism in 1390 (J. Ch. Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, III, 899).

At all events, we may now regard it as certain that this famous man was a visitor to England in the last decades of the fourteenth century. He was certainly still a Jew when he penned the epistle in London. The letter is moreover of distinct literary merit, and is a worthy addition to the scanty list of compositions written in Hebrew in this country before the seventeenth century.

I publish it now, not only for its intrinsic value, but as a memorial of the interest always shown by Prof. Kaufmann in Anglo-Jewish history. I have also made use of some of his notes. The copy used below was written in Spain. In the fragmentary MS. from which it is taken, the opening piece is the epistle of Jedaiah of Beziers to R. Solomon ben Addereth.

The following is an analysis of the contents of this curious epistle. Little could the writer have anticipated that he would one day, and that not distant, become a bitter foe of the people from which he sprang, and that the honoured friend whom he was greeting would perish at the stake through the machinations of his correspondent!

Letter sent from England by the Bishop of Burgos—named formerly in Israel Don Salmon the Levite—to R. Meir Alguadez, at the time when Don Salmon the Levite was staying in England.

(The printed texts of the Letter, for which see *Israelitische Letterbode*, X, pp. 81 sq., and Dr. Harkavy's publication in *הקרב* for 1894, have מעיר לתוריש. The version now published leaves no doubt that London is meant, though Prof. Grätz, *Geschichte*, ed. 3, vol. VIII, p. 83, note 1, queried this.)

When God made me wander from my father's house, and I was cast into prison, many terrible experiences were mine. (Prof. Grätz saw

in the first phrase a reference to the writer's conversion to Christianity. But the expression *הִעָטְרוּ אֹמִי*, taken from Genesis xx. 13, simply alludes to a departure from home. It is used in this sense e.g. by Leo di Modena in his letter to Menachem Raba, see *בית מועד*. Compare also *Ben Chananja*, IX, 214 and *Israelitische Letterbode*, III, 103, no. 222.) Separated from the company of Israelites, I could not fulfil the duties incumbent even upon the individual, such as those that require the use of wine for Kiddush and Habdala, at the entry and departure of the Sabbath. To-day I am unable to drink deep, as one ought to do on Purim. As on yesterday, the fast-day, so to-day, I can say Yes and No at the right places; I can bless Mordecai and curse Haman. My senses retain their nicety, I can discern between white and blue even at a bowshot's distance; my sense of touch too is normal. Alas for such a Purim!

(Then follows a metrical song in praise of wine and in lament for his own enforced abstinence.)

On the days set apart for gifts, when the witchery of wine should hold sway, friends are afar, and no poor are nigh to receive my offerings—now turn I to the oldest friend, wine, for which since the world began no substitute could be found. Only because wine failed did the generation of the flood sink in water. But that Noah, the re-founder of the world, had planted a vine, still would mankind be sunken in water. But this friend has left me, and my soul has gone out with him. Joy has fled from my table, the sun of my meal is under a cloud. Only its memory remains.

The thought comes to me of those merry throngs who are to-day joyously celebrating the feast in Burgos, whither men come from far and near. (There was a famous Scroll of the Law at Burgos which was the object of pilgrimage. See R. Menachem Meiri's notice in *קריית ספר*, S. Sachs, *Cat.*, Ginsburg, p. 44.) There, poor and rich linger long over their wine, which flows from bowl and cask; all tongues are loosed, incoherence prevails, and a wild scene of mingled love and rage ensues. But me, alas, wine has left solitary, and I have declared: Never more will I name the traitor on my lips! But the memory of the day is too strong for my resolve. Another wine enflames my soul, and unlocks my lips. The sleep of separation which has been called more than a sixtieth part of death passes off, and, taking courage from that other wine, the Law, I will sing of the wine which I cannot enjoy.

(Then in twenty-four apt stanzas, which display considerable poetical power, the writer sings the praise of wine, as revealed in the history of Israel. Each stanza has three rhymed lines followed by a cleverly chosen text from scripture in which allusion is made to wine. The

first eleven stanzas contain the acrostic **אני שלמה הלוי**. Although the copyist has marked the initials of the remaining verses, they do not appear to form any further acrostic.)

The greatest events in human and in Jewish history, says the poet, are consecrated by institutions in which wine is employed. The Sabbath, reminiscent of Creation, is honoured by wine in the Jewish ritual. The salvation from the flood was marked by Noah's plantation of a vine. When Abraham bore Isaac to the altar, full sure the libation of wine was duly made. At the service in commemoration of the Exodus, four cups of wine occupy a chief place. On Purim, wine plays its highest rôle. The verses terminate with a prayer for the restoration of Israel, when the wine of Judah will once more be enjoyed, and the redeemed people will praise God's love even above the praises of wine.

A singer of the songs of the Lord in a strange land, he writes this epistle to his flesh and blood, his friend and brother (Meir Alguadez), that it may be seen that not by wine alone is the drunkard made drunk.

Grätz regarded this composition as a satire. But it is a genuine expression of medieval Judaism. Its exaggeration of the virtue of wine-drinking on Purim—a characteristic foil to the general sobriety of the Jew—its warm love of the ceremonies, its quaint association of piety with the joys of the table, its mystic delight in the beneficence of God as shown in his gift of wine, its total lack of overstrained asceticism, its playful seriousness, its sane humour—all these qualities stamp the letter as the work of a man still imbued with the sentiments of the medieval Rabbis.

I. ABRAHAMS.

טופס כתב ששלח איל אופשפו די בורגש שמו לפנים בישראל דון
שלמון הלוי שלחה מאינגלה מירה להחכם הרב הגדול מאור הגולה דון
מאיר אלוודיש ז"ל זה היה בזמן שדון שלמון הלוי היה עומד באינגלה מירה
עם הראיניש (?) ומשם שלח לו הכתב

אשא עיני אל ההרים מאן יבא דודי לגנו ויאכל פרי מגדיו למראית
העין ואחר ישתה הנזיר יין • החכם הרב ר' מאיר אלוודיש ירום הודו וכבודו •

כאשר התעה אותי אלים מבית אבי ועוני גרשני מהסתפח על נחל
 אבותי ומקום אשר אסירי המלך אסורים שמו אותי בבור • לבי ראה הרבה
 קורות נוראות גם בעיני יפלא הכילים • בכלי כמהו כטפח שחוק בקומו
 ורחבו וכל רוח אין בקרבו • וכל זה אינו שוה לי בכל עת אשר אני רואה •
 מה שתשינ לנפשי הענונה מהחסרן וההפסד בשלמות המצות הראיות
 לתת לה • מבית המלך יי צבאות שמו בסוד ישרים ועדה לשבתי ברד מחן
 למחנה שכניה ליה וישראל ואף במצות יחיד שאדם דש בעקביו כברנות
 המעונות כוס קדשא דבי שמשי ואבדלתא לא זכיתי לב יודע כמה זמן
 חביבא לי חמרא ואקדש אריפתא • והן עוד היום גדול יום משתה ושמחה •
 ליהודים הפחים אין לאל ידי לצאת ידי חובתי אבסומי בפוריא • וכל היום
 הכשר הזה ברעתי אתיישב להשיב על הן הן ועל לאו לאו וכאתמול ביום
 צום אברך מרדכי והמן ארור • ואקרא נא גם לחשוי והנם עמי כאתמול
 גם שלשום ועיני הרזאות בין תכלת ללבן הרחק כמטחוי קשת • מי ומי
 יעמוד אכיר מראהו דממה וקול אשמע • בחכי עמד מעמו ורוח פי לא נמר •
 ידי תבון וכל אשר תגע בצדק תשפוט החזק הוא הרפה • המעט הוא אם
 רב • א"כ איפה אמרתי אל לבי מה נעשה יקר וגדולה למרדכי ובמה יודע
 איפה היות הימים האלה נזכרים ונעשים אם לא בשנותי את מעמי וכסוס
 ענור כן אצפצף אדברה וירוח לי ומרנני אניח • רוחא לבסומי שכח • הנה
 אנכי מדבר אל לבי ותבא בי רוח • כמראה נפש יתירה הרימותי
 קולי ואקרא

---|---|---

לחזות בחן נותן בכוס העין
 אביון למתנות ואדם אין
 בו אמצאה נוחם כהרף עין
 מיום ברוא תבל ויש מאין
 דורות אנש קינ ותובל קין
 מכול יצורים חרבו עדין
 עמו בבא היום אלי העין
 שמש סעודתי סתום העין
 תרתי בלבי למשוך בין

---|---|---

ימים למתנות ומנות נועדו
 רחוק מיודעי ומנותם ואין
 אלו מקום כלם ידידי אפגשה
 הוא דוד תמורתו וערכו נעדרו
 קדם להעדרו במים שוטפו
 לולי יסוד עולם נמעו מפני
 גם הוא יצאני ונפשי יצאה
 שמחה וגיל מן המסבה נאסף
 אף כי בזכרונ לבד אנוחמה

אלה אוכרה ואשפכה עלי נפשי כי אעבור בסך • הבאים לחקור ממסך •
 אחינו כל בית ישראל המאחרים היום על היין • זה בודק שתי שורות על פני

כל המרתף • עד מקום אשר ידו מגעת • זה שואל מתבירו כדי יין • ולא
יאמר לו הלוני • פתח בכד ומסיים בחבית ומן הראוי לנסך על בני המזבח
נזבם יחליקן • וזבחי אדם ענלים ישקן • ויפצרו בו עד בוש • אשר לא
ישמעו איש שפת רעהו • ונבלה שם שפתם גם אהבתם גם שנאתם גם
קנאתם • וכהתעות שכור עיניו יחזו את האלהים יסובבו עיר יתונו וינעו
למסעיהם ויתגדרו כמשפטם בחרבות וברמחים עד שפך דם עליהם ואף
כי היין בוגד מנעורי גדלני וגם פה לא עשיתי מאומה • חלל בריתי בקשתיהו ולא
מצאתיהו ואמרת לא אזכרנו • ולא אדבר עוד בשמו • זכרו כיין הטוב מתוך
שמחת פורים בא לפני תביא בכליותי בני אשפתו וילד בדמותו בצלמו בלבי
כאש בוערת דובב שפתי הישנים • שינת הנדר הנותרת על אחת משישים
במיתה בערך בלתי מדבר חר"ש לאמר כי אין מספר יחליפנו ויסיר אותו
עליו יאמרו המושלים באו חשבון ואביט ואין עזר ואשתומם על המראה •
ואין סומך באשישות ואפן כה וכה וארא כי אין איש יהודי ואם רבים עתה
עם הארץ כרובם כן חטאו ומעמי אין איש אתי ותושע לי זרעתי • שויתי יי
לנגדי • ופורה דרכתני לבדי • ומיין מלכות רב יינה של תורה נסכתי מלבי •
הנה נא פתחתי פי • דברה לשוני בחכי מי כמוך

אור עומה להמציא ננחים
נבזה מעל גבוה וגבהים
כלם ירצון לחשקך כמהים
כי טובים דודיך מיין

נזמה קו ארצות בעצמה
בתוכם ממציא הויות בחכמה
מטל השמים ומשמני הארמה
הנציא לחם ויין

יצר בצלמו שרשי וגזעי
בו חתם פעליו אל רועי
וינה ביום השביעי
כטוב לב המלך ביין

שבת היא לשמרו בדת נסוכה
צוה לזכרו בשולחן ערוכה
ולהבדיל בצאתו כהלכה

גם ביום השביעי במשתה היין

לְעִבּוֹד וּלְשִׁמּוֹר אֶדָם הוֹשֵׁם בַּמִּגְרָשׁ

עֲדָנוּ וְהִזְהִיר בַּמִּצְוֹת מִפּוֹרֶשׁ

הוֹסֵת וְעֵבֶר מִצְוָה וְגִירָשׁ

כִּנְבֵּר עֲבְרוּ יִי

לְטֹרֵד הַיָּקוּם וְשׁוֹמֵף בּוֹרֵם

וְתָהִי כָל הָאָרֶץ חֵרֵם

נִמְלֵט צָדִיק וְיִטַּע כֶּרֶם

וְיֵשֶׁת מִן הַיֵּין

הָעִיר מִמּוֹרָח אֵב הַמֶּזֶן גִּיִּם

קוֹרָא בְּצַדֵּק אֱלִים חַיִּים

פּוֹרֶשׁ לְחִמּוֹ לְרַעֲבִים גַּם צִמְאִים

בְּלֹא כֶסֶף וּבְלֹא מַחִיר יִי

הָקָרִיב יָחִיד בַּחֲבֵה כְּלֹלָה

וְנִחְשָׁב רְצוֹנוֹ בְּתִכְלִי פְעוּלָה

וַיִּקַּח אֶת הָאֵיל וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ לַעֲוֹלָה

וְנִסְכּוֹ יִי

לְנוֹף יִרְדַּן נִינוּ וּבִיתוֹ

וַיִּפְרֹץ לְרֹב עַד נִלְאוּ שְׂאֵתוֹ

וַיִּתְנַכְּלוּ אוֹתוֹ לְהַמִּיתוֹ

הַשּׁוֹתִים בַּמִּזְרָקִי יִי

וַיִּמְרֹדוּ אֶת חַיֵּיהֶם בַּחֲרוֹן וְעִבְרָה

מִלֵּאכֵי רַעִים זַעַם וְצָרָה

וַיִּתְּנוּ הַיֶּלֶד הַיְּאוֹרָה

וְהַיֶּלֶדָה מִכְרָו בֵּין

הָצָרִם בְּשׁוֹתֵם שְׁחָרוּ אֲמוֹנִי

וַיֵּאָחֲזוּ מִן הָעֲבֹדָה כַּהֲנֵי חֲקִנִי

וַיִּקְצַן כִּישֵׁן יִי

כִּנְבֹּר מִתְרוֹזֵן (ב) [ט] יִי

לְפָקֵד מִשְׁעָם בְּשִׁבְטֵי עִבְרָתוֹ

יִשְׁלַח בָּם חֲרוֹן אָפוֹ וְנִקְמָתוֹ

וַיִּשְׁקֶם אֶת כּוֹס חֲמָתוֹ

כִּי כּוֹס בִּיד יִי וַיִּין

הָקָרָם בְּמִים אֲדִירִים אֶסֶן
 וַיֵּצֵא עִמּוֹ בִּשְׁשׁוֹן
 וּמִיָּן מַצּוּלָה נִדְהַג כַּצֶּאן
 הִבִּיאֲנִי אֶל בֵּית הַיֵּין
 בְּסִינֵי צִיּוֹם הָעַם הַכְּתִיר
 רִצּוֹ עַל מַצּוֹת וּמִרְרוֹרִים פֶּסַחם לִהְפָּטִיר
 וּבִארְבַּע כּוֹסוֹת עֲלִילוֹתָיו לַחֲזִיר
 לָבוֹ לַחֲמוֹ בַּלְחָמִי וּשְׁתּוֹ בֵּין
 בְּנִלּוֹת עֲדָה מְדַבֵּיר חֵיכֵל
 אֲנִי לֹה שְׁמִיד אוֹתָהּ נָכֵל
 וְהִיא מֵרַת נֶפֶשׁ וְתַבְכָּה וְלֹא תֹאכֵל
 וְשִׁכּוֹרֶת וְלֹא מֵיִן
 הָרַב אֶת רִיבֵנוּ וְדִינֵנוּ דִן
 הַמֶּן הוֹאִיל וְאַתָּה לִירֶן
 וְעִשְׂרֶת בְּנָיו לַהֲרֹג וְאַבְרֶן
 הִיוּ נְבוֹרִים לְשִׁתּוֹת יֵין
 שְׁשׁוֹן צֹהֵלָה וּלְמַדְרִינּוֹת הַנְּחָה
 וְנָסוּ יָגוֹן וְאַנְחָה
 לִיהוּדִים הִיתָה אוֹרָה וְשִׁמְחָה
 וְתוֹף חֲלִיל וַיֵּין
 לְכָרוֹן בְּסֶפֶר חֻקּוֹ אֲצִילֵיהֶם
 קִיִּימוּ וּקְבִלוּ הִיהוּדִים עֲלֵיהֶם
 לְקִיִּים אֶת יְמֵי הַפְּרוֹרִים הָאֵלֶּה בּוֹמְנֵיהֶם
 וְגַם אֱלֹהֵי בֵּין
 מְנוֹת אִישׁ לָרַעְוָה לַהֲפִיק
 וּמִתְנוֹת לְאַבְיוֹנִים לַהֲעֲנִיק
 וּמִתּוֹךְ סְעוּדָה לְנֶפֶשׁ וּלְהַרְיֵק
 כָּל נָבֵל יִמְלֹא יֵין
 שְׂמַח בַּחֲזוֹר כְּבִין חֲצִיר כְּעֶרְבִים
 עַל יְבִלֵי תִירֶשׁ חֵל כְּטַל וְכִרְבִּיבִים
 הַלּוֹךְ אֶל בֵּית הַרְכָּבִים
 וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלֵיהֶם שְׁתּוֹ יֵין

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמַסְבּוֹתָם

יָחוּנוּ וַיִּנְתְּנוּ כַצֶּפֶר וְכָל חֲכָמָתָם

וְרָאָה וַעֲשֶׂה כְּתַבְנִיתָם

בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר תֵּאָוֶה נַפְשְׁךָ בֵּין

הַשְׁקִיפָה מִמַּעַן קִרְשְׁךָ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

וּקְבֹץ נְרוֹדִים מִקֵּן פְּעָמִים

וַיְהִיו בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבַחֲצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם

בֵּינֶךָ וּבְנוֹתֶיךָ אוֹכְלִים וְשׁוֹתִים יַיִן

אֲבָרְצוֹן עִמָּךְ זָכְרָה דְּלִיהֶם

נִרְשׁוּ הַיּוֹם מִבֵּית מִנּוּרֵיהֶם

וּבֶן נְיִי הָאֲרָצוֹת חָנִים חֲנִיהֶם

בְּשִׁיר לֹא יִשְׁתּוּ יַיִן

אֲנִי יֹאמְרוּ בְּנֵי הַגִּדּוּל יִי לַעֲשׂוֹת עִם אֱלֹהִים

לְהַצִּיא מִמִּסְנֶר אֲסִיר מִבֵּית כְּלָא

נוֹדָה שְׁמֶךָ כִּי עָשִׂיתָ פֶּלֶא

נֹזְכִיר[ה] דּוֹדֶיךָ מִיַּין

נֹאם אֲשֶׁר מַעֲיֵן הַמֵּאוֹרֶעַ וּמִזְמֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ לֵאלֹהִים עוֹשֵׂי נֹתֵן זְמִירוֹת בְּלִילָה •
 בֶּן יָחַד כְּכַבִּי בָקֶר הָשָׁר אֶת שִׁיר יִי' עַל אֲדַמַּת נֹכַר • עֲזוּבָה תִּהְיֶה תַעֲקֶרֶן
 תַעֲקֶר שְׁלוֹם רַבּוֹ אֶךְ עֲצָמוֹ וּבִשְׁרוֹ הוּא בֶן נִילוֹ וְאֶחָיו הַגִּדּוּל אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ יִתְפָּאֵר
 דּוֹרֵשׁ וְחוֹקֵר • מִשְׁחָר פָּנָיו בְּמִלֵּי דְבָרִיחוֹתָא לְכִי חֲלָשִׁי רַבָּנָן מְגִירְסִידֵינוּ
 בְּמַסְכַּת נֹזִיר וְאַחֵר נִדְרִים • לְבָקֶר לְהַשְׁבִּיחַ שְׁאוֹן הַמִּית גְּלִי הַמְתוּכָחִי לֵאמֹר
 הִי מִנִּיּהוּ עֲדִיף סִינִי אוֹ עוֹקֵר כּוֹתֵב בְּיוֹם פּוֹרִים הָאֲסוּר בְּאִכִּילָה וְשִׁתִּיה
 הַמִּפְסָקָת אוֹ הַמִּפְסָקָת לְבַעֲלִיהָ וְעַל עֵין הַמִּים כָּל הַנִּמְצָא יִדְקֵר • וְהַשְׁתִּיה
 כִּדָּת לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת הַנּוֹזִירִים יַיִן • הָעִינִי הָאֲנָשִׁים הָהֵם תִּנְקֵר יִפִּיחַ כּוֹזִים בּוֹ
 יִשׁוּבָה וְלֹא יִרְחִיק עֲדִיו הָרֹצָה לְשִׁקֵּר בַּעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מֵאֲשֶׁר חָטָא עַל
 הַנֶּפֶשׁ כִּי תַעֲבֹר בְּמִים וְנִרְאָה כְּמִיקֵּר וּלְמַעַן הוֹדִיעֶךָ כִּי לֹא עַל הַיִּין לְבָדוֹ
 יִשְׁתַּכֵּר הַמִּשְׁתַּכֵּר מִנְחָל בְּדֶרֶךְ יִשְׁתָּה וְיִשְׁכַּח רִישׁוֹ גַם בְּמַעֲלָלָיו יִתְכַבֵּר הַצִּעִיר
 שְׁלֹמֹה הָלֹץ תָּם שְׁלִיטָה

THE JEWISH SOLDIER.

(From the "Yiddish" of M. Rosenfeld.)

HARD by the walls of Plevna, not fifty yards away,
There lies a grave forsaken, scarce visible to-day.
Forsaken and neglected, uncared for and unknown,
No wreath is there to mark it, no monument of stone.
No grass, no flowers grow there beneath those sullen
skies:

'Tis there a sleeping hero, a Jewish soldier lies,
A Jewish soldier fallen in Plevna's bloody fight,
When Russia, all-victorious, put forth her conquering
might.

The world is hushed to slumber, and silence reigns around,
A silence all unbroken, no voice, no breath, no sound,
But when the chimes of midnight ring from the ancient
tower,

Out of the east awakens a storm-wind, strong in power.
Across the land it rushes and, stronger and more strong,
It roars and howls and thunders in tumult wild and long,
Until the earth it cleaveth, as with the trump of doom,
And, sword in hand, the soldier arises from his tomb.
Upon the wall he standeth, as in the dauntless past,
And from his heart sore-wounded the blood flows free
and fast.

His soldier's blood flows freely, his heart is wounded deep,
And in a voice of thunder he calls the dead from sleep.
"Awake, my warrior-comrades, awake and judge aright.
Say, did I not stand bravely beside you in the fight?
Like you, did I not perish on Plevna's battle plain
For Russia's greater glory, for Russia's greater gain?"

And as his words fall silent, there wakes to life once more
A mighty host, unnumbered as sand upon the shore,
A mighty armed multitude arises at his hest,
From far and near they gather, they come from east and
west,
With marching and with clanging, with heavy, echoing
tread,
Until they stand before him, an army of the dead.
And ev'ry soldier answers, with high uplifted hand,
And swears: "Yea, thou hast fallen for Czar and
fatherland."

And all again is silent, no voice, no breath, no sound.
The mighty host has vanished and stillness reigns around.
But still the Jewish soldier stands on the fortress wall,
And soon his words, resounding, like fiery missiles fall.
"O! Russia, for thy honour did I lay down my life!
O! Russia, thou hast torn me from children and from
wife!

Why dost thou now condemn them to exile and despair?
My curse, my heavy curses, to thee the winds shall bear."
And scarcely has he uttered these curses, fraught with pain,
When swift the storm-wind carries him to his grave again.
And at the self-same hour, and at the self-same place,
The self-same actors nightly that gloomy scene retrace.
The soldier's bitter curses grow deeper night by night,
They deepen and they gather, until they rise in might,
Borne on the tempest's pinions, far o'er the land they fly,
And on Gatschina's palace for evermore they lie.

ALICE LUCAS.

THE HEBREW TEXT OF BEN SIRA.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM FRAGMENTS OF
ECCLESIASTICUS.

THE REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH has well earned the thanks of all Biblical scholars by the promptitude with which he made the British Museum Fragments accessible to them. They will also feel grateful to him for the translation, notes, and vocabulary, which accompany his text. There is many an excellent hint thrown out in his commentary to the student, whilst his translation will also make the layman share in the benefits of the new discoveries. Of course it is impossible to reach finality in the first edition of a text offering so many difficulties. In the following remarks an attempt is made to offer some alternative emendations or differing explanations of the text suggested to me when studying the British Museum Fragments.

The work of Mr. Margoliouth is also headed by a short preface, in which the editor declares his belief in the authenticity of our fragments. To do this in the face of the thunderbolt from Oxford, followed by a shower of abusive and denunciatory language, poured down on the heads of all those who still maintain their allegiance to the new discoveries, requires indeed a good deal of moral courage.

Mr. Margoliouth makes also in his preface mention of my introduction to the Cambridge Fragments, saying among other things "that the Paitanic tendencies of the Hebrew text have no doubt been overstated" in it. Mr. Margoliouth does not say in what this overstating consists, and I am thus unable to enter into an argument. But I am afraid that my quotation from Professor Bacher's essay, in which the Paitanic tendency of Ben Sira was described as consisting "of ready-made expressions and phrases from the Scriptures, hereby already exhibiting that mosaic style which is characteristic of the later *post-Talmudical authors*," gave rise to misunderstanding. For the words in italics were taken by those who never made a study of the Paitanic literature to imply that the mosaic style never occurs before, and thus used as an argument proving the late date of our composition. In the face of such ignorance it becomes unfortunately necessary to point

out that the Paitan is by no means a post-Talmudic product. Thus R. Eleazar b. Simon, who died about the end of the second century, bore among other titles also that of Paitan¹. In the *Midrash Shir hashirim Rabbah*, I, § 7, King Solomon is credited with the accomplishment of his acrostics being complete, whilst those of the Paitanim were not always carried through the whole alphabet. How far Solomon really possessed the Paitanic gift need not be discussed here, but the passage proves beyond doubt the existence of the Paitan during the Talmudic ages. Unfortunately very little is left to us of the Paitanic productions of those earlier ages. But this little betrays the same characteristics of the mosaic and the allusive style which we know from Ben Sira on the one hand, and the later hymnology of the Synagogue on the other. Thus in the short dirge recorded in B. T. *Moed Katon*, 25 b, we have no less than seven quotations from the Bible. It runs thus:—

נוע ישישים² עלה מבבל ועמו ספר מלחמות³.
 קאת וקפוד⁴ הוכפלו לראות בשוד ושבר⁵ הבא משנער.
 קצף על עולמו וחמס ממנו נפשות⁶.
 ושמה בהם ככלה חרשה.
 רוכב ערבות⁷ שש ושמה בבא אליו נפש נקי וצדיק⁸.

In B. T. *Abodah Zarah*, 24 b, we have again a hymn which was originally probably composed in honour of the holy ark. It consists of five lines; but the ark in it is called שיטה in allusion to Exod. xxv. 10 ועשו ארון עצי שטים, whilst the phrases בריקמי זהב and בעדי עדים are borrowed from, or at least suggested by, Ps. xlv. 14 and 15 and Ezek. xvi. In the ordination song recorded in B. T. *Kethuboth*, 17 a, consisting of one line, the phrase ויעלת חן is borrowed from Prov. v. 19.

The quotations from Ben Sira to be found in the Talmud and Midrashim betray the same feature, as may be seen from the following expressions to be found in them: אשת חן (Prov. xi. 16); שבר... למסוך (Isa. v. 22); תעצומים כל הרוניו (Prov. vii. 26); עוף ונו' (Jer. v. 27); משוכבת חיקך ונו' (Mich. vii. 5)⁹.

¹ See *Pesikta d' R. Kahana*, ed. Buber, p. 177, and parallels given there in the notes. Cf. Luzzato, מבוא למחזור בני רומא (Livorno, 1856), p. 5. Cf. also Weiss, דור ודור חרשי, III, p. 263.

² Play of words on Isa. xi. 1 ויגדלנו.

³ Num. xxi. 14.

⁴ Isa. xxxiv. 11.

⁵ Isa. lx. 18.

⁶ Prov. xiii. 2.

⁷ Ps. lxviii. 5.

⁸ Exod. xxiii. 7.

⁹ This fact was already recognized by Franz Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie vom Abschluss der heiligen Schrift*, &c. (Leipzig, 1836), p. 204,

The foregoing specimens will suffice to show that neither the mosaic nor the allusive style is confined to the post-Talmudic literature, the poetic remains of the Rabbis betraying the same characteristics. The Paitanic features of our fragments thus in no way point to its late composition. They only prove that this ornamental style is also pre-Talmudic. But in spite of this Paitanic similarity it must be clear to any one who is at all familiar with the Hebrew Bible, and fairly read in Rabbinic literature, that our fragments stand both in respect of vocabulary and of style quite by themselves, and must therefore come from a period from which till now no literary monument was known to us. I may also add that I have discovered in the Genizah fragments representing a Gnostic collection, written in double columns and provided with the Babylonian punctuation, and probably dating from the times of the Gaonim. I hope soon to publish them, and it will be seen that their style is as far from that of the Ben Sira fragments as these are from Proverbs and Isaiah.

I give now the notes on the British Museum fragments, following in the numbering of the verses Mr. Margoliouth's English version.

xxxi. 12. *שְׁלֹחַן נְדוּל* [Aboth d' R. Nathan, I, c. 27, *סידור של שלחן נדול*. Some MSS. omit the *שְׁל*, but the meaning is obscure. B. T. *Abodah Zarah*, 38 a, *שְׁלֹחַן מַלְכִים*. *Perek R. Meir*, *שְׁל* של מל'.

13 d, e. *מַפְנֵי כָל* [It was suggested by Perles and Ryssel that this was the original. *Ecclus.* xiv. 10 *וּמַעַן יִבֶּשׂ יָד מַיִם* (cf. Num. xxiv. 7, Syr. there in *Ecclus.* יִדְלֵם) suggests that the original reading here was *תְּחִיל*. *דְּמַעָּה מַעַל כָּל פָּנִים* cf. *Isa.* xxv. 8 *בְּעֵינַי יִדְמִיעַ*. see also *Ecclus.* xii. 16 c.

14. Cf. *Derech Eretz Rabbah*, c. 7, *שְׁלֹחַן אֶחָד*, שנים שהיו יושבין על שלחן אחד, הנדול שבהם שולח יד תחלה ואחר כך הקטן ואם שלח הרי זה גרנן.

15. . . . *ר* [Gl. Supply Ayin and He, so as to read *רָעָה*, used in the same sense as *Ecclus.* xxxviii. 1 (*רָעָה* or *רִעָה*), to cultivate, to honour. *Pirke Aboth*, II, 10 *וְנִכְלָךְ כְּשֶׁלֶךְ* יהי כבוד חברך חביב עליך כשלך. *Var.* *וְנִכְלָךְ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר תְּחִילָת הַתְּבוּנָה* in order to avoid it. Cf. the well-known saying of Hillel, *לֹא תַעֲבֹד לֹא תַעֲבֹד*. B. T. *Shubbath* 31 a.

16. *הַסֵּב* &c.] Cf. *Ecclus.* xxxii. 1 Gr. Hebrew. *תַּעֲסֵב* Cf. xiv. 10. *נַח* Gl. Prob. corruption of *נָח*. Cf. below, verse 19.

Anm. 1, where he speaks of the "*musivisch angebrachten Bibelsprüche*" in Ben Sira. Dukes in his *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, p. 32, also draws attention to the "*eigenthümliche Sitte, Biblische Stellen wörtlich in die Diction einzuflechten*," and proceeds to say, "*Wir finden diese Sitte bereits im Sirach und nachher im Buche der Weisheit, im Buche Henoch sowie im Neuen Testament.*"

17. . . בעד] Perhaps מוסר בעד "for the sake of good manners." Cf. Ecclus. xxxii. 2 b, c.

18. נרע] The parallel passages in *Derech Eretz Rabbah*, c. 7 (see above), and *Tosephta Berachoth* (ed. Zuckerman), p. 12, no. 7, would suggest the emendation נרע = ראש גדול.

19. ישיק] Cf. Ecclus. xliii. 4, Gl.

20 c, d. הפוכות] Perhaps originally חשוכות, cf. *Mechilta* (ed. Friedmann), p. 48 a, בפנים חשכות.

20 a, b. שנות plur. of שנה. Cf. Ecclus. xxx. 25, text and note.

22 c, d. צנעו] Cf. Ecclus. xvi. 25, xxxii. 3. B.T. *Berachoth*, 62 a, צנעו באורחחיו.

21 a, b. קוה קוה] Cf. Jer. xxv. 27 Keri קיו Kethib קיו. See also Gesenius (vomit). The matter was by no means so uncommon with the Jews as Edersheim believes, cf. B.T. *Shabbath*, 147 b, the discussion about the אפיקוחין.

22 a, b. ובאחרית חשני אמרי] Cf. Ecclus. xii. 12 c.

23. דעת, Gl. ערות] Cf. introduction to the Cambridge Fragments by S. Schechter, p. 31, note 3—נאמנה... ערות. Cf. Pa. xix. 8.

24. רועו] Cf. Ecclus. xii. 10.

25. Cf. Isa. v. 22 and Eccles. x. 27.

26. לטוש] For which the Gr. read טובל. לטוש. For which some Gr. MSS. had probably לבות, whilst the Syr. read למרות (taken in the sense of embittering and exciting). Possibly the original reading was למטות. The connexion of לצים with wine was probably suggested by Prov. xx. 1 לץ היין.

27 a, b. לכי] Read (as suggested by Perles) כמו.

27 c, d. בראשית] Syr. רישותא. מן. Cf. Ecclus. xv. 14 מבראשית, where the Syr. has בראשית מן. וראי] Read ראוי, part. pass. of ראה, occurring frequently in Rabbinical literature, meaning proper, suitable, and qualified. Cf. *Mishnah Yoma*, c. 8, 2 ראוי לשתייה, 2 משקין... ראוי לשתייה.

29. לענה] Probably alluding to Isa. xxix. 9 ימר שכר לשתי, which word the Syr. somehow connected with עני "poverty."

30. The Gr. for מוקשת in Ecclus. xxxii. 20 is *ἀντιπνομα*, cf. Ryssel to this verse. פצע] Cf. Prov. xxiii. 29.

xxxvi. 19. מטעמי דבר] Cf. Ecclus. xxx. 25 and xxxvii. 29. It is not impossible that the Gr. read הקר in the sense of שור הבר (*taurus silvester*), cf. Levy, *Dict.*, s. בר II. זכר] Gl., cf. Ecclus. xl. 29 c, Gl.

20. ישיבנה בו] Cf. Jer. xvii. 9, cf. also Ecclus. vi. 20. ישיבנה בו, whilst the Syr. probably had יבינה for יש'. Cf., however, Prov. xii. 25, and see also Strack's comm. on it, which would suggest ישמחנה.

18. כָּל נֶכֶח וְנִי This verse forms a doublet to ver. 18 in the Cambridge Fragments (on p. 16 of the text). Cf. for the Syr. Cambridge Fragments, *ibid.*, Gl.

22. יִהְיֶה GL, so Syr., Gr. צִדְהִיל, cf. Ps. civ. 15.

23. מִרְפָּא לִשָּׁן Prov. xv. 4.

25. נֶנֶע וְנֵר Gen. iv. 14. Cf. Prov. xxiv. 30, 31. בְּאֵין גְּרִיר.

26. בְּצִבְאוֹת ... מִדְּלָנ ... דְּוִמָּה דְּוִיר 7-9 Cant. ii. &c. גְּרִיר צִבְא מִדְּלָנ. לְצִבְי, of which words the Syr. translator was thinking.

xxxvii. 1. שֵׁם GL. Cf. Ecclus. vi. 17 b.

2. רִין GL. Cf. Ecclus. xxx. 21, 23, xxxviii. 18, text and notes. כִּנְפֵשׁ GL, cf. Ecclus. vii. 21.

3. הוּי רַע אֶמְר מ' כ' נִוְצִרָה This is probably the original correct reading. שְׁמֵאֵר Syr. suggests שְׁמֵאָה, whilst the Gr. misread נִוְצִרָה (from רִין) for נִוְצִרָה.

4. מִרְע ... שִׁלָּח The strange מִרְע conceived differently by the Gr. and the Syr. (see commentaries) read originally רַע מָה "what is a friend who is only a ש' א' מ' א' (= אֹהֶב מ' א' ש' = חֶבֶר שִׁלָּח in Ecclus. vi. 10).

5. זֵר GL. Syr. perhaps זֵר (cf. Ecclus. xli. 19 c, text and Gl.), whilst the Gr. possibly read נִוִּיר, but translating it rather freely. עֵרִים Cf. Ecclus. xlv. 7 b.

6. מִשְׁל בְּכָל 2 Gen. xxiv. בִּשְׁלָלָךְ Read by the Syr. בִּשְׁלָלָךְ. אֲשֶׁר לוֹ and xxxix. 4.

7. וְהִנֵּי יָדו (of the hypocritical friend) Cf. Ecclus. xii. 18. יָנִיף יָד.

8 a, b. צִוְרִכּוּ Perhaps we should read also in *Derech Eretz Zuta*, c. 8, דִּרְכּוּ for צִוְרִכּוּ.

8 c, d. אֵלֵיוּ לָמָּה זֶה אֵלֵיוּ Gen. xviii. 13 &c. יָפִיל must relate to some noun in the first clause now missing.

9. רִישָׁן GL. רִישָׁן Cf. Prov. vi. 11; xxiv. 32.

11 b. וּמִדֵּר Syr. suggests וּמִצֵּר. Gr. (לֵב) וּמִדֵּר.

11 c. מִחֹר Cf. Fritzsche's Com. to Ecclus. xlii. 5. תַּחְנֵר Read תַּחְנֵר or תַּחְנֵר (bargain), cf. Ecclus. xlii. 5 c (תַּחְנֵר), ed. Smend. Cf. also Levy, s. תַּחְנֵר and Kohut s. תַּחְנֵר. מִמְכֵּר Cf. Ecclus., *ibid.*, ed. Smend.

11 f. תַּחְנֵמֵל Point תַּחְנֵמֵל.

11 g, h. שׁוּמֵר שׁוּמֵר Cf. Pa. cxxvii. 1. שׁוּמֵר שׁוּמֵר. It is more likely that the שׁוּמֵר slipped in from the first clause and the use should read שׁוּמֵר שׁוּמֵר (B. T. *Baba Mezia*, 93 b, in contradistinction to the שׁוּמֵר שׁוּמֵר = שׁוּמֵר = שׁוּמֵר). (פִּתְלָה שׁוּמֵר) Read רַב רַב (see Concordance to the LXX, *συντέλεια*).

12 a, b. מִצֵּחַ שׁוּמֵר Prov. xix. 16.

12 c, d. אֵם תִּכְשֵׁל וְנֵ Cf. Ecclus. xii. 15, text and notes, and xiii. 7. וְהִתְעַבֵּר בָּךְ.

13. עצות מרחוק אמונה אמן 1 Cf. Isa. xxv. 1 [אמן ממנו].
14. [שעיתיו] Cf. Ecclus. xxxviii. 25 c, text and notes. See also Dr. Taylor's note to Ecclus. xiii. 6.
15. [יבין] . . . צעריך Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 23 and Prov. xvi. 9.
16. [מאמר] Gl. Cf. Ecclus. iii. 8.
17. [עקרת] Gl. עקר. Gr. עקב or עקבת. Cf. Ecclus. xiii. 26.
18. המות וחיים 21 [לשון] Cf. Prov. xviii. 21. [נוחיים ונ'] Cf. Ecclus. xv. 17.
19. [נואל] The נמאם in the next verse suggests that the נואל has to be taken in the sense of defiling oneself (see Hebrew Dict.), though it does not occur in the *Kal* in this sense. Cf. the Rabbinical phrase of נאה דורש ואין נאה מקיים (*Tosephta Jebamoth*, 250).
20. [דבריו מבערין] Cf. Ecclus. xiii. 22 a ודבריו ומאם.

P.S. I take here the opportunity of adding the corrections of a few misprints, as well as a few comments on the text occurring to me after the volume of the Cambridge Fragments passed the press.

Text, p. 1³, ch. xxxii. 1 b, c, Gl. ובכין ובכ read ובכ.

P. 18. Add the number 38 against line 18.

P. 21, ver. 24. פינחם read פינחם.

Introduction, p. 34 (at the top). מירא read מירא.

Notes, p. 39, ver. 19 b. Add "cf. Ps. xxv. 14 and Prov. iii. 32."

Ibid., n. 21. Add "cf. also Jerushalmi, *Sotah*, c. 7, § 5, and parallels אין לכם עסק בנסתרות."

P. 40, n. 31. Add "בררכיו", so Syr., Gr. אחריתו, cf. Ryssel to Ecclus. ii. 3, xx. 25, 26, and Perles to xlv. 20. Probably some MSS. had ארחותיו for ררכיו, which the Gr. again read אחריתו. Cf. Ecclus. xxxii. 22 and 22 (1)."

Ibid., ch. iv. n. 1. Add "cf. Prov. xiv. 31 עשק דל and xvii. 5 לעג לרש, which verses are mere doublets."

P. 41, n. 15. Add "אפת, Gr. אפת."

P. 42, n. 30. Cancel the words "and Syr."

P. 43, ch. vi, n. 2. "אל תנול, Gr. אל תפול."

P. 44, n. 17 b. Add "see also Ecclus. ii. 18, Syr. ואך שמא הכנא עברוה."

Ibid., n. 22. Add "see also Ecclus. xxi. 19. Ryssel to this verse: 'Im Hebräischen Text bildete מוסרים bzw. מוסרות einen Anklang an מוסר.'"

P. 47, n. 11 a. Add "אין נפאל אין נפאל, having the meaning of obedience and subjection; cf. Levy and Kohut s. שמע."

P. 48, ch. xiii, n. 11 a. Add "cf. *Pirke Aboth*, I, 7 לרשע."

This would suggest to read לחבר instead of לחמש, for which the Syr. had לרִבֵּר."

P. 51, n. 19. Add "רקוב, Syr. wrongly ברוק."

Ibid., n. 10. Add "cf. *Pereth R. Meir* ומשלח מלכות לו ותנתת. Cf. also New Testament, Matt. vii. 29."

P. 52, ch. xv, n. 15. Add "cf. Ps. xl. 10 לעשות רצונו... תחפץ. With regard to ותבונה it is not impossible that it represents the imperf. *Pual* of בָּנָה, and should thus be pointed ותבִּנָּה or תִּבְנֶנָּה, meaning 'to be well-proportioned, suited,' cf. Levy, s., and Jastrow, s. בנה (about the Rabb. מְבֻנֶּה). It must, however, be noticed that the meaning of the word is not quite clear, cf. Kohut, *Aruch Hushalem*, s. בָּן (II), p. 110."

P. 55, n. 6. Add "cf. Ecclus. viii. 2."

P. 55-57, n. 5. Add "cf. *Ecclus. viii. 2*, Gr. *συγκριμα μουσικων*. The term *συγκριμα* occurs below verse 17 for תורה (see notes), which is synonymous with משפט and חוק. Hence חוק מוזר על חוק below in Ecclus. lxiv. 5, meaning music or song in measured tunes and according to rules. Cf. Ryssel *a. l.*"

P. 57, n. 5 (1). Read דברים instead of בררים.

P. 62, n. 25 c. Add "cf. Ecclus. xxii. 6 Syr."

P. 63, ch. I, n. 1 a. Add "גדול אחיו." Cf. Lev. xxi. 10."

P. 66, n. 4 b. Read נופח instead of נפחו.

P. 65, n. 27 c. Add "It is also possible that we should read נבע ביאור לבו. Cf. Ecclus. xxiv. 27 Syr., and xlvi. 14 *מוסר*." *ותצף ביאור מוסר* 27 Syr., and xlvi. 14 *מוסר*."

P. 68, n. 27. Add "ולא תבושו," cf. Ecclus. xxiv. 22 Gr."

Ibid., n. 29. Add after בשיבתי "For a similar confusion by the LXX in 1 Sam. xii. 2 see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, p. lxi."

S. SCHECHTER.

NOTES ON THE CAMBRIDGE FRAGMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

THE following observations on the new "fragments of Sirach," the edition of which by Prof. Schechter and Dr. Taylor forms so important a continuation to the Oxford edition by Dr. Neubauer and Mr. Cowley, have a threefold object in view. In the first section I have endeavoured, by means of emendations of the text, to give new, and perhaps more

satisfactory, explanations of such passages of the Hebrew fragments as appear not to have been satisfactorily elucidated by the editors. In doing so, I have, as a matter of course, constantly taken into consideration the two ancient versions, the Greek (G) and the Syriac (S). In the second section, some passages of both these versions are elucidated by the light of the Hebrew original before us. The third section is devoted to the discussion of the relationship between the quotations, contained in the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, and in Saadiah's works, taken from the Hebrew Ben-Sira, and the fragments of the Geniza. The fragments contained in the Oxford edition offer only occasionally passages which were also known from ancient quotations, whilst the Cambridge edition contains a great number of such. This renders the fragments contained in the Cambridge edition particularly important for questions of criticism connected with the Hebrew Sirach. Another point which makes the latter edition of particular value in this respect is this, that the fragments are taken from two entirely different MSS. At the time when the fragments of the Oxford edition, and of a portion of the Cambridge edition, were written, there were still extant several copies of the Hebrew Sirach, as is evident from the marginal notes, and, particularly, from the remarks of the copyist written in the Persian language. We become acquainted with such a copy from the fragments designated as MS. A. It is externally distinguished from the other MS., for it is not, like the latter, written as verse. In this we see a relaxation of the care which was formerly devoted to the Hebrew Sirach. Saadiah made use of a copy which was still furnished, like the Bible, with vowel-points and accents. One of the MSS. of the Geniza fragments, although devoid of the latter, is still written as verse, whereas the other has even given up the latter mode of writing. The Hebrew Sirach fell at last entirely into oblivion. We recovered it as through a miracle. I believe that the following observations will contribute to silence further scepticism as to the genuineness of the Hebrew Sirach and the artificial hypotheses by which it is tried to prove the late composition of the fragments¹.

¹ In the *Guardian* for Nov. 8, 1899, Prof. Margoliouth refers to my article in this *Review* (XII, 92-108), but only touches one detail. He shows that the expression *sukhun afshāndan* does really occur in Persian. I freely admit this, and regret that I erroneously stated that the phrase is not to be found in Vullers. That, however, I laid no stress on the point may be at once seen from my further remark: "It is not impossible that it was used in the sense of speaking." I regard it as a strong testimony to the general force of my criticism of Prof. Margoliouth that he can only fix on a slip like this, and makes no rejoinder to my main attack.

Since the above article was written, M. Israel Lévi has published in the VOL. XII.

I. ON THE HEBREW TEXT.

Emendations and Explanations.

(1) iii. 23. In reference to *וביותר מ' Prof. Schechter points to Ecclesiastes xii. 12, and in reference to תמר to Exodus xxiii. 21. Dr. Taylor adopts this identification of תמר with תמר in Exodus xxiii. 21, and translates: "and intrude not into that which is beyond thee." But his translation does not in any way answer to either of the words יותר and תמר. I see no possibility of getting any sense out of תמר, or of finding a connexion between that word and the corresponding expressions in G and S. Undoubtedly we have here a corrupted reading. Instead of תמר there was originally the word תעמק, which was misread by S as תעמק, and rendered *تعمق*. It remains a question whether the verb *περιεργάζομαι* in G rests also on the reading תעמק, or whether it is a free translation of תעמק. The sentence תעמק אל וביותר מן would mean: "Do not enter deeply into that which is too much for thee—which is beyond thy understanding." יותר מן means about the same as רב מן in the second section of the verse, which says: "for more has been shown thee than is fit for thee." This means: "Since thou gettest anyhow to see much that is beyond thy understanding, it is unnecessary for thee to try and penetrate things which are altogether inaccessible to thee." G read מעשיך (*τῶν ἐργων σου*) instead of מן, S read even מעשיו (*معهه*?, referring to God). The word corresponding in S to יותר is *مما*, therefore יותר.*

(2) iv. 1. Originally, the second section of the verse read probably thus:—

ואל תדאב עיני מר נפש.

Cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 10: עיני דאבה מני עני. In G we have the translation of עיני (*ὀφθαλμούς*). But in H עני was turned into עני, and accordingly

Revue des Études Juives the opening parts of an article in which, with many other and far more serious arguments than Prof. Margoliouth's, he essays to prove the spuriousness of the Cairene text. It does not appear to me appropriate to deal with M. Lévi's arguments until they are complete. I hope, however, that in my present article I have given some positive grounds in favour of the authenticity of the text. It will be the duty of those who maintain the authenticity to bring into line with the striking facts confirmative of their position those other phenomena on which the opponents of the text justify their scepticism. The problem is certainly a difficult one. But I do not think that it can be solved by discarding the good with the bad, and by holding that the Geniza fragments are the work of a medieval Hebraist.

incorrect, for the subject to יעשה is God, as mentioned in the second section of the verse (כי אל ארך אפים הוא). In reality, ומה יעשה לי ומה יעשה לי is a compound question, a combination of לי ומה יעשה and לי ומה יעשה. Cf. Ps. xiii. 2: עד אנה י' חשכחני נצח, a combination of עד אנה י' חשכחני נצח and אל חשכחני נצח. G takes no notice of מאומה, and translates: *καὶ τί μοι ἐγένετο* (נעשה for יעשה); S translates מאומה also, and expresses the interrogative word by a negative: *לֹא יֵשׁוּעַ* (reading יעשה). Besides, the question לי ומה יעשה can really have been meant to express the negation; cf. Job ix. 2; xxv. 4.

(9) v. 17. תתעבר can have no connexion with מתעבר in Proverbs xiv. 16, as Prof. Schechter thinks; nor is his other suggestion tenable, to read תתעבר, in accordance with the Syriac. תתעבר seems to have the meaning of "to delay," "to draw on," although it cannot be proved that it has this meaning anywhere else. We might refer to Jeremiah xli. 16 העביר מועד, or the Talmudic expression אין מעבירין על המצות (*Joma*, 32 b). As a matter of fact, S translates *infra*, vii. 10, the sentence ובעדקה אל תתעבר, parallel to תתעבר, is rendered *סῶμα ὡς ἔστιν*, and in our passage the word תתעבר, parallel to תתעבר, is rendered *סῶμα ὡς ἔστιν*. It is true S renders the word תתעבר in our passage by *ἡσυχία*, from which we must not, however, infer that H also had תתעבר, and applied in a sense quite foreign to the Hebrew root עבר. The Syriac root עבר, in the sense of "to keep back," "to hinder," accords with the new-Hebrew and Aramaic עכב, and our expression תתעבר is really equivalent to תתעכב. The expression אל תתעבר, bearing the same meaning ("do not hesitate," "do not delay"), is also found in H in xxxviii. 9. G translates it in v. 7 *μὴ ὑπερβάλλου* ("do not put off"); in vii. 10 *μὴ παρίδης* ("do not neglect"); in xxxviii. 9 *μὴ παράβλεπες*; in vii. 16 יתעבר, *χρονεῖ*.

(10) v. 13. Dr. Taylor translates ספלתו, "is his fall." Thus he explains ספלתו as a noun, and in doing so he follows G (*πτῶσις αὐτοῦ*); S translates *ἡσυχία*, and consequently takes it to be a verb. In that case, ספלתו would be a participle Hiphil. "The tongue of man causes him to fall." Cf. *Aboda Zara*, 11 b: הַבְּשִׁילָן בִּיהֶם, "their own tongue made them stumble," caused them to fall.

(11) vi. 7. Prof. Schechter suggests to read בניין for בניין. The correction into בניין would be more simple. For the word נפח, active noun from נָפַח, occurs in H elsewhere; vide xxxiii. 1 and xlv. 20. But נסיון occurs also in xiii. 11; and the plural, נסיונות, in iv. 17.

(12) vi. 11. וברעתך יתנזה טמך, "In thy misfortune he keeps far

from thee." S translates מנדיכם, like מנדיכם, Isa. lxvi. 5, which the Targum renders by מרחיקכן. G reads ובעבריתך יתגדל or ובעבריתך יתגדל.

(13) vi. 20. עקיבה is the feminine of עקב, Isa. xl. 4. G translates it εραξία, the same word with which היכסום, in Isa. xl. 4, an expression parallel to העקב, is translated.

(14) vi. 22. This verse was until now unintelligible in the versions, since neither from G nor S the allusion, contained in the name of Wisdom, could be understood. H offers the solution of the riddle. Not חכמה, but מוסר, is spoken of. But the allusion, which is contained directly in the word מוסר, cannot be found in the way Dr. Taylor explains it in his note. It would be too artificial, and the section of the verse would not be quite intelligible. I believe that מוסר is compared with a word which has an equal sound, and is the participle Hophal of סור (vide Isa. xvii. 1): כן הוא (read כשמו) כי המוסר כשמה, "The discipline is like its name," i.e. מוסר, remote, distant, not accessible to many. In the continuation of the sentence, ולא לרבים היא נכוחה, "Wisdom," which is the subject of the whole passage, is substituted for "discipline," which is also meant to express as much as "Wisdom" (cf. Prov. i. 2, 7 חכמה ומוסר), hence the feminine construction. The meaning is either: "It is not straight for many," i.e. "not easily accessible"—in that case נכוחה (a synonym of ישרה) is in contrast to עקיבה in ver. 20—or, the one indicated by the punctuation of the word נכוחה היא נכוחה היא ולא לרבים היא נכוחה, "it is not destined for many"—in which case נכוחה is the passive of חילקיה, in the same meaning which it bears in Gen. xxiv. 14, 44.

(15) vii. 15. Instead of תאין, read תקין, cf. iv. 9 and vi. 25.

(16) vii. 16. זכור עברן לא יתעבר. The correct reading is undoubtedly עברן (G εργα, S עבר), a form which occurs nowhere else, and is equivalent to עברה (in the meaning of עברה, Zeph. i. 15, Prov. xi. 4; cf. Isa. xiii. 9). The word was formed, perhaps, in analogy to תרון. Cf. also xxx. 23, קצפון. The word עברן is a play upon the word יתעבר, which is used in the sense indicated supra, v. 7. Cf. Sirach's play upon words, supra, vi. 22. For other instances in H, see xlvi. 17 and 20: יחזקיהו חזק עיר; יחזקיהו ביד ישעיהו. Cf. on this subject Prof. Schechter's remark, on p. 30 of his introduction.

(17) vii. 18. Messrs. Schechter and Taylor's remarks in explanation of the word תלוי are very much forced, both in regard to

¹ Vid. also xlvi. 22 כי עשה יחזקיהו את המצב ויחזק בידיו דוד (Isr. Lévi, *L'Ecclesiastique*, p. 142).

grammar and context¹, and offer, besides, no possibility of understanding the translation of the word in S and G. I think I am able to solve the enigma in the following manner. תלוי is corrupted from שלם. אִם שָׁלֵם means "sincere brother," equivalent to תמים. Cf. לֵב שָׁלֵם, "an upright heart"; the Aramaic שְׁלִים corresponds to the Hebrew תמים. G translates אִם שָׁלֵם most aptly ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον, "a genuine brother" ("genuine" in its moral meaning of "loyal"). S reads אִם שְׁלַךְ instead of אִם שָׁלֵם and translates לוֹ אֶחָד, "the brother whom you have."

(18) xii. 3. In order to understand the words אין טובה למנוח רשע, Prof. Schechter assumes here the use of an Arabism, and thinks that למנוח is a form of the word מנח (from which מְנַחֵה is derived) in the sense of "making a present." But this is unnecessary, it is sufficient to read למנוח instead of למנוח to obtain the meaning of the phrase. וְיָנִיחַ with the accusative means "to afford rest, pleasure"; cf. Prov. xxix. 17 וְיָנִיחַךְ. Our phrase means therefore, "no good comes to one who affords rest to the wicked." S has the same reading, although it is freely translated by محبة ("honours"). G reads apparently אין טובה למנוח רשע, "one who leaves wickedness to remain," i.e. "who persists in wickedness" (τῷ ἐνδελεχίζοντι εἰς κακά). The second section of the verse tallies very well with the first לא עשה לא וגם צדקה לא. The meaning is "he who affords rest to the wicked has not even done an act of benevolence." But G takes this phrase as co-ordinate with the words למנוח רשע, καὶ τῷ ἐλεημοσύνην μὴ χαριζόμενῳ. It seems that S only guessed at the meaning he produces. The emendation of וְיָנִיחַ into וְיָנִיחַ is unnecessary and incorrect.

(19) xiii. 6. Instead of וְהָשִׁיעַ, read וְהָשִׁיחַ; לך is to be taken as an accusative. לך וְהָשִׁיחַ = וְהָשִׁיחַ לך, "he beguiles thee, leads thee astray." Thus G also translates καὶ ἀποπλανήσει σε. The words עד אשר יועילך עווןך in the next verse are only a doublet of לך עווןך וְהָשִׁיחַ לך, the latter being synonymous with וְהָשִׁיחַ.

(20) xiii. 24. העוני על פי זון cannot mean "the poverty in the mouth of presumptuousness." This would make no sense. על פי has the plain meaning of "over," "on the top of," an emphatic extension of the preposition על, like על גב, which occurs frequently in the Mishnah. S translates correctly فوق, "poverty over presumptuousness," i.e. "poverty, which has presumptuousness behind it." But G took על פי in its literal meaning, and זון as an *abstractum pro*

¹ Smend (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, col. 507), when rendering the word by "devoted to," follows Dr. Taylor's explanation. But how can it possibly have such a meaning?

concreto, "in the mouth of the godless" (*ἐν στόμασιν ἀσεβούς*), and thus Dr. Taylor also translates it.

(21) xiv. 14. תִּמְנַע must not be read as Kal (תִּמְנַע), as Dr. Taylor does ("refuse not"), but as Ni'phal (תִּמְנַעַ), cf. Num. xxii. 16. Therefore, "Do not refrain thyself from the good which the day brings thee," "do not deny it to thyself." S translates correctly, לֹא לִמְנַע (the same also Peshitta to Num. xxii. 16). G gives a free translation.

(22) xiv. 15. לִיְדֵי נֹרָא. Prof. Schechter refers to Joel iv. 3 (יְדֵי ג'). The more correct reading is לְיֹרִי, in reference to Josh. xviii. 6 יִרְיָה לָכֶם נֹרָא.

(23) xiv. 16. Instead of לְכַפִּי, which makes no sense, read, in accordance with the marginal note, לְפָנֵי. The phrase reads then, וְכָל דָּבָר שִׁפָּה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְפָנֵי אֱלֹהִים עֲשֵׂה. This must not be translated as Dr. Taylor does, but יִפָּה לְפָנֵי אֱלֹהִים belongs to יִפָּה, and thus it is quite properly taken in S. Cf. Eccles. vii. 26. In reference to the formation of the sentence cf. Eccles. ix. 10, כָּל אֲשֶׁר תַּמְצֵא, כָּל אֲשֶׁר תַּמְצֵא, v. also 1 Chron. xvii. 2; 1 Sam. xiv. 36.

(24) xiv. 24. Instead of יִתְרִיו, read יִתְרוֹ, "his pin." "To drive one's pin in her (Wisdom's) wall" seems to have been a proverbial phrase. One who drives his pin in the wall of a house—say, to hang his tools on (cf. Isa. xxii. 13 sq.)—has obtained a footing in the house, is at home there. Cf. the phrase in Ezra ix. 8, וּלְתַת לָנוּ יִתְרוֹ. G also translates יִתְרוֹ (in the singular), πᾶσسالον. S reads יִתְרֵיו (a plural form, which, though not attested, is yet possible, for יִתְרוֹתָיו), and translates in the plural مَقَامَاتِهِ.

(25) xiv. 25. וּשְׁכֵן שָׁכֵן טוֹב. Dr. Taylor reads apparently טוֹב שְׁכֵן, for he translates, "in good neighbourhood." This is grammatically impossible. Read שְׁכֵן טוֹב, שְׁכֵן שְׁכֵן being the *nomen actionis* from יִשְׁכֵן. Cf. Deut. xii. 5. S translates correctly ἡμεῖς ὡς ἀγαθόν, and thus also G καταλύσει ἐν καταλύματι ἀγαθόν, where we must read, of course, ἀγαθῶν.

(26) xv. 16. The figure of fire and water, by which the freedom of human will is metaphorically expressed, reminds us of the well-known simile of the two ways, the one of burning fire and the other of snow, but it is applied to the symbolization of another idea. On the simile (*Aboth di R. Nathan*, XXVIII, p. 86, ed. Schechter) vid. *Die Agada der Tanaiten*, ii. 196, n. 4. Instead of מִצָּרִי לְפָנֶיךָ we ought probably to read מִצָּרִי לְפָנֶיךָ. Cf. infra xxx. 18, מִצָּרִי לְפָנֶיךָ. But S had the reading מִצָּרִי, pronounced מִצָּרִי from מִצָּרִי, and, therefore, translates مَحْضَم. G translates παρίθηκέ σοι, which may be an active rendering of מִצָּרִי. Ryssel, ad loc. (*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepi-*

graphen des Alten Testaments . . ., von E. Kautzsch, p. 307), observes rightly that the Greek words are equivalent to הָיִיתָ לְפָנַי. But the further observation, "S ('we are left thee') read this erroneously as הָיִיתָ, and therefore translated it 'to leave'," is unintelligible. It is just הָיִיתָ which means "to leave," whereas הָיִיתָ means "to afford rest."

(27) xvi. 11. For יָנַח read יָנַח, i.e. יָנַח. Cf. in regard to יָנַח the expression הַיָּנֻחִי חֲמִטִּי, Ezek. xxi. 22, and elsewhere.

(28) xvi. 12. In regard to בָּקָעוֹת רַחוּת כָּל בְּנֵי אָדָם cf. בָּקָעוֹת הָעָם, 1 Kings xii. 31. S translates בָּקָעוֹת, בָּקָע, which may be a free translation; and we need not assume that he read בִּינוֹת.

(29) xvi. 22. Messrs. Schechter and Taylor's conjectures as to אָצוֹק are unsatisfactory. אָצוֹק is an error for אָצוֹר. Cf. as to אָצוֹר חוֹק the expression אָצַרְהָ אָצַר, Ps. cxix. 145, and elsewhere. We gain thus the following very clear phrase, "What hope is there, if I observe the law?" In S the whole verse is missing. G read perhaps עָצוֹר "restrained," i.e. "distant."

(30) xvi. 23. וְנָבַר עַתָּה יִחְשַׁב זֵאת. The abbreviations תה and ע must, in accordance with G (*ἀφρον και πλανώμενος*), be supplemented thus: וְנָבַר עַתָּה [תָּנֻחַ] תִּנְחָה יִחְשַׁב זֵאת. S reproduces only the first epithet, and renders it with the similar term, חָבֵל. G read אֵיל.

(31) xvi. 26. For כִּבְרָא read כִּבְרָא, i.e. כִּבְרָא. G has instead, ἐκρίει, for which, however, already Felix Perles (*Revue des Études Juives*, XXXV, 37) read correctly, after S (כָּבַר), ἐκρίει, which is a verbal translation of כִּבְרָא.

(32) xxx. 22. For אָמַר read יָמַי, and not חָיִי, as Prof. Schechter suggests.

(33) xxxi. 4. וְאִם יִנַּח לֹא נִחָה לוֹ. Here we have a play upon words, as it seems, between יָנַח in the meaning of "to rest," and the phrase יָנַח לוֹ, "he does not like it," "it is no advantage to him." The phrase occurs elsewhere only in the masculine, . . . לֹא נִחָה לוֹ (vid. Levy, III, 255 b). The meaning is, "When the poor rests—i.e. 'does not work'—it is no advantage to him," because he must suffer want in consequence. This is thus distinctly expressed in the parallel verse, immediately preceding this, יָדִיהָ צָרִיךְ, and so also translated by G and S. This use of צָרִיךְ, when occurring without explanatory word, in the sense of "suffering want," "needy," is also found in the Haggadah of Passover, כָּל דְּצָרִיךְ לֵיתִי וְלִיכּוֹל. It is an Aramaic phrase (vid. *Taanith*, 20 b).

(34) xxxi. 5. The marginal note reads בְּמַחִיר א' for אֵיבָה מַחִיר. This is the same construction of אֵיבָה as in Eccles. v. 9 בְּמַחִיר 9.

(35) xxxii. 3. For הוּא לֹךְ read יָאָה לֹךְ (vid. Jer. x. 7). G πρῆναι σοι (cf. LXX to Ps. xciii. 5 πρῆναι = נָאָה).

(36) xxxii. 4. ובל is abbreviated from ובלא. S had also עת ובל, but read erroneously עת ובל (סחב חב).

(37) xxxii. 8. כל belongs neither to כול nor to כלה, as Prof. Schechter tries to explain it, but to כלל. We must read כל (cf. ול from כלל), the imperative of כלל, "to comprise." כל לאמר (the ל is the sign of the accusative) means, "Take the speech comprehensively." Cf. the phrases, כולל דברים, שכללו, דברים שנכללו, Levy, II, 337 sq. G translates this very well by *καταλαίωσον λόγον*. The following ומעט הרבה must not be translated, with Dr. Taylor, "and diminish it exceedingly," for הרבה is here not an adverb, but it is taken as a substantive, and as the object in the sentence. The meaning is, "Make much little," by saying much in few words. G expresses this very well thus, *ἐν ὀλίγοις πολλά*.

(38) xxxii. 10. ולפני ברש חן. The י must be separated from ברש, and understood as an abbreviation of ינצח. We thus get the phrase, ולפני ברש ינצח חן, as in the preceding doublet of our verse the corresponding phrase reads, ולפני דבא ינצח חן.

(39) xxxv. 11. The marginal note, ומי בעל נמולות כי אם הוא. The expression בעל נמולות occurs in Isa. lix. 18, after the reading בעל נמולות (for בעל ג'), as presented by the Targum (מרי נמוליא). This affords, moreover, important evidence for that reading.

(40) xxxviii. 24. וחסר עסק הוא יתחכם. Besides the passages cited by Prof. Schechter (p. 62), and by Messrs. Neubauer and Cowley (p. xxi), cf. *Mishnah Aboth*, II, 15, המרבה בסחורה מחכים ולא כל המרבה.

(41) xlix. 14. וגם הוא נלך פנים. Prof. Schechter's conjecture, to read פנים, is not satisfactory. It is evident that פנים is a corrupt remnant of the words מעל פניה (cf. פני הארמה, Gen. vi. 7, vii. 4). This can still be recognized in G, ἀπὸ τῆς ῥῆς.

(42) l. 27. אשר ניבע בפתור לבן. The attempts made by Messrs. Schechter and Taylor to solve the difficulty arising from the word בפתור are rather unsuccessful. At all events, לבו must be read for לבן. Prof. Schechter observes expressly that the ך of לבן was doubtful; so is the ב of בפתור, as he himself also remarks. I believe that the word was originally כפרת, and that a copyist, not understanding the phrase, transposed the letters and wrote בפתור, which then became בפתור. כפתור means here nothing else but "like the Euphrates," קפּרַת. Sirach, in his proud consciousness of having produced so great a wealth of wise sayings, says in this concluding phrase that he had made his heart flow like the Euphrates. It is the same figure of speech by which Sirach describes the wealth of teaching as furnished by the Torah, XXIV, 25-27. In that passage he alludes to five other rivers besides the Euphrates. The sentence

in which the Euphrates is mentioned runs as follows, *ὁ ἀναληρῶν ὡς Εὐφράτης σύνεσιν*; in S *כַּמְלָא כְּפִרְתָּ תְּבוּנָה* (vid. 1 Chron. xii. 15). G, in our passage, comprises both sections of the verse, and translates, *ὁ ἀνώβρησε σοφίαν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτοῦ*, omitting the simile of the Euphrates. In H the second section reads, *וְאִשֶּׁר הִבִּיעַ בְּתַבְנוֹת*. Here we have an intentional play upon the words *נָבַע* and *הִבִּיעַ*. The one word, in the Piel, which is not otherwise attested, means "to cause to flow," in the primary sense of the root, whilst *הִבִּיעַ* has the metaphorical meaning, well known from the Bible, of "to announce," "to proclaim." The object *תַּבְנוֹת* is connected with the verb by the preposition *ב*. Cf. *נָחַן בְּקוֹל* Jer. xii. 8, Ps. xli. 7; *הִרִים בְּקוֹל* 1 Chron. xv. 16.

II. THE GREEK AND SYRIAC TRANSLATIONS.

iii. 16 H. *וּמַכְעִים בּוֹרֵא מַסְלֵל אִמּוֹ*. Both translations read *בּוֹרֵא מַכְעִים אִמּוֹ*.

iii. 20. The verse added to v. 20 in some of the MSS. of G, *πολλοὶ εἰσιν ὑψηλοὶ καὶ ἐπιδοξοὶ* (v. l. *ὑψ. ἰνδοξοι*), *ἀλλὰ πραΐσιν ἀποκαλύπτεται μυστήρια αὐτοῦ*, agrees with the Hebrew text, except that the translator reads *כִּי רַבִּים רָחִים נְבוֹחִים*.

iii. 27. *וּמַתְחַלֵּל* seems to have been rightly explained by Prof. Schechter, after Ps. xxxvii. 7 (*וְהִתְחַלֵּל*), as "one who persists"; namely, in his frowardness. G took the word in the same sense, when he translated it *ἀμαρτωλός*. But S translates *עֲבֹדֵי* "one who shows temerity," a rendering based, perhaps, on the meaning of the word in Jer. xxiii. 19.

iii. 31. *פֹּעַל טוֹב* (= S *עֹשֶׂה טוֹב*). G *ὁ ἀνταποδιδούς χάριτας*, i. e. *טוֹב טוֹב*. Cf. Perles, *R. d. É. J.*, XXXV, 50.

iv. 1. For *תִּלְעַנּוּ*, G read *תִּגְלוּ*.

iv. 10. *לֹא לִמְנוֹחַ*; G *τῇ μετρίᾳ αὐτῶν*. He read *לֹא לִמְנוֹחַ*.

iv. 12. *וּמִבְקִשִּׁיהָ*. G had in his text *וּמִשְׁחִירָהּ* and translated, *οἱ ὀρβρίζοντες πρὸς αὐτήν*. Vid. Ryssel, ad loc.

iv. 15. *אֶתָּה*. G read *אֶתָּה* (*ἐθνη*). S perhaps *אֶתָּה* (*חֶסֶד*). For *בַּחֲרִי* G read *בַּחֲרִי* (*πεποιθώς*). *מִבֵּית* in H is a marginal note, strayed into the text.

iv. 15-19. Both in H and S, Wisdom is introduced here in the first person, as speaking herself (the commencing words *לִי שׁוֹמֵעַ* recall Prov. i. 33). G applies throughout the third person, in continuation of the phraseology in ver. 11-14. In H ver. 17 *וְלִפְנֵי אֲבֹהֵינוּ* must be read instead of *יִפְתָּנוּ*.

iv. 25. Instead of **עם האמת**, S and G read **עם האמת**. The second section of the verse (**ואל אלהים היבנע**) was read by S as **ומאולתך הפלא** ("refrain from thy folly"), whereas G read **הפלים** for **הכלא** ("be ashamed").

v. 1. G and S read **יש לי די** ("I have enough") instead of **יש לא ידי**.

vi. 12. For **תשינך** (with **רעה** for its subject) G read **תשפל**, S **תפל**, and took it in the second person, omitting **רעה**.

vi. 29. **והבלתה** is parallel to **רשתה**, and therefore means "snare." We must read **וְהִבְלֶהָ** (without **ת**). Cf. Ps. cxl. 6; Job xviii. 10, or, perhaps, the plural **וְהִבְלֶיהָ**. At any rate, the latter was the reading of G, who renders the word by **αλοιφ.** For **בגדי כתר**, G read **בגדי כבוד**, which was also the reading of S. But the latter translated **חבלתה** (**חבליה**) **ללבו** ("she clothes thee"). The corresponding term would be **החלבישתך**.

vii. 4. **מורש כבוד** is translated in S **מורש כבוד**. The first word is evidently an error for **מורש**. Vid. Ryssel, ad loc.

vii. 11. **וזר** is omitted in G and S.

vii. 14. **חישן** is the Jussive Kal of **חישן** (**חישן**), correctly translated by G **δευτερωσσης**. S however read **חישן**, and translates **لمحسب**.

vii. 25. **ואל נבן נבר חברה**, "Associate her with a man of understanding" (**חברה**). G **δωρησαι αυτην**, S **δωρη**. Both read **הברה**, "give her." The phrase in H is undoubtedly the original one. For the phrase construed with **אל** vid. also xii. 14; xiii. 2, 16, 17. Cf. **חברתך**, Mal. ii. 14, to designate the wife, the consort.

xii. 12. For **יהפך** (which was translated by G), S read **יהפך** (i. e. **יהפך**), and translates **لما يهبط**.

xiii. 11. H **ושחך לך** = G **ὡς προσγελω.** S **סחללך**, "he tires thee." May he have read perhaps **שחך**, and taken this verb (which really means "to grind") in the sense of "fatiguing"?

xiii. 17. **לצדיק** is translated by S **לצדיק**; he read, therefore, **לצדיק**, which was perhaps the original reading, otherwise the second section of the verse would be too short.

xiii. 19. Both translators seem to have read **פראים במדבר** **פראי** **פראי**; the former may have been the original reading, in view of Job xxiv. 5.

xiv. 2. H **חסרתו**, which Schechter justly corrects into **חסרתו**. S has **חסרתו**, which is perhaps an error for **חסרתו**.

xiv. 17. For **חוק** (G **διαθετη**), S read **דור**.

xiv. 26. For **קנו**, G read **בניו**.

xv. 6. H **ימצא** (for which G has no equivalent), S read **ימצא**.

xv. 8. In S, instead of $\text{בְּכֹכְבֵּי שָׁמַיִם}$, read $\text{בְּכֹכְבֵּי שָׁמַיִם}$ (זכרון).

xv. 13. H לֹא יֵאָמֵר . Instead of this, G renders $\text{καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀγαπῶν}$. He evidently read יֵאָמֵר . About S, vid. Ryssel, ad loc.

xv. 19. $\text{עֵינֵי אֱלֹהִים יִרְאוּ מַעֲשֵׂיו}$ (God's eyes see his creatures). Instead of this, G has $\text{καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβούμενους αὐτόν}$. He read, therefore, $\text{עֵינֵי אֱלֹהִים יִרְאוּ מַעֲשֵׂיו}$ and disregarded מַעֲשֵׂיו . S gives a free translation of the Hebrew ($\text{בְּכֹכְבֵּי שָׁמַיִם}$).

xvi. 4. In G φουλῆ (מטלחת) must be read instead of φουλῆ .

xvi. 6. For נִצְחָה (G ἐξεκαύθη), S has חָלָה , and read, perhaps, נִצְחָה .

xvi. 10. בֵּן (σῶν) is rendered in S by בֶּן . He either took the word in the sense of בֶּן , or he read thus.

xxx. 13. For עָלוּ (i. e. עָלוּ), G and S read עָלוּ .

xxxi. 6. It seems that G read $\text{וְהַמִּוֹקֵשׁ עַל פְּנֵיהֶם}$ instead of $\text{הַמִּוֹקֵשׁ עַל פְּנֵיהֶם}$.

xxxii. 9. For וְשָׂרִים , S read וְשָׂרִים , G וְשָׂרִים .

xxxii. 16. For מִנְשֵׁשׁ , S read perhaps מִנְשֵׁשׁ (صح), G מִנְשֵׁשׁ (ῶς φῶς).

III. THE ANCIENT QUOTATIONS FROM BAR-SIRA, IN THEIR RELATION TO THE GENIZAH FRAGMENTS.

1. Quotations by Saadiah.

In the introduction to the *Sefer Haggal'it*, which is still extant (edited by Harkavy, *Leben und Werke Saadja Gaon's*, I, 150-181), Saadiah names Simon b. Jeshuah b. Eleazar b. Sira as the author of a book on morals, similar to the biblical book of Proverbs (p. 150 $\text{סֵפֶר מוֹסֵר וְדִרְוֵמָה לְסֵפֶר מִשְׁלֵי}$). He therefore designates Bar-Sira by the same full name, as found in the Fragments edited by Prof. Schechter (l. 27). Saadiah cited from this book seven sentences (pp. 176-178), which are almost all found in our fragments.

The first quotation (Saadiah himself numbers the citations) occurs in v. 5, 6, and there is a complete agreement between the quotation and the text in H, with the single exception of the last word. For Saadiah has $\text{וְעַל רִשְׁעֵיהֶם יִנּוּחַ עוֹן}$, whilst we read in H $\text{וְעַל רִשְׁעֵיהֶם (sic) יִנּוּחַ רִנּוּ}$. R. Nissim of Kairuwan also quotes this saying of Ben Sira, in *Sefer Maasiyot* (vid. Harkavy, p. 201 sq.), and also has עוֹן for רִנּוּ . It is highly probable that R. Nissim derived his quotations from Saadiah. The original reading is רִנּוּ , which is also confirmed by G (ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ) and S (רִנּוּ).

The second quotation of Saadiah reads, $\text{רַבִּים יְהוּ אֲנִשִּׁי שְׁלוֹמֶךָ גִּלְהָ}$

אנשי שלומך יהיו רבים ובעל סודך. In H we read, סודך לאחר מני אלף. The Hebrew quotation from Sirach occurs also in the Babylonian Talmud (*Jebamoth*, 63 b, *Sanhedrin*, 100 b)¹. The first section of the verse reads, רבים יהיו דורשי שלומך. In *Sanhedrin* there is דורשי מבקשי דורשי (Rabbinowicz, *Dikd. Soferim*, IX, 304). דורשי ש' is an old *varia lectio* for אנשי ש'. It does not, however, give an appropriate sense, and the latter reading is reproduced in G, *ol eipnevourres* σοι. S renders the reading of the Talmud thus, *חלבי חלבי*. In S we also find the different sequence of the words as in H, the subject being placed at the beginning of the sentence. As to the second section of the verse, Saadiah's text is in accord with the Talmudic quotation (נלה סודך), whilst the reading in H (בעל סודך) is directly confirmed by G and S. It is, evidently, the original reading, for the meaning of בעל סודך is in harmony with אנשי שלומך.

The third quotation of Saadiah's is the sentence immediately following, namely vi. 7, 8. It agrees with H to the letter; only that Saadiah has, instead of נפשי (vid. supra, ad vi. 7), the Biblical טפה, which has the identical meaning, and for ואל יעמד more correctly ולא יעמד.

The fourth quotation of Saadiah (xi. 28) is not extant in H. Saadiah's text agrees with G, except that the Greek translator translated באחריתו by *en téknois autou*. He attributed, perhaps, the same meaning to the word as it bears in Ps. cix. 13 (אחריתו, LXX *ta tékna autou*). Vid. also Targum and Commentaries to Amos iv. 2.

Saadiah's fifth quotation (vi. 13) accords exactly with H, with the exception that Saadiah has הנהיר, and H הִשְׁמִיר. In xxxii. 22 H has also הִנְיִיר.

Saadiah's sixth quotation (xvi. 17) differs from H only in this, that in the former, at the end of the whole passage, the words בני אדם, which, as a matter of fact, destroy the rhythm, are absent. In G the words are also missing; we find them, however, in S. Further, Saadiah has נא מי נפשי, instead of ומה נפשי. The latter is the original reading, for G gives *ris yap*, and S *ואי כן*.

Saadiah's seventh quotation reads, כי ברב שיה מנחה אותך ושהק לך. The first section of the verse reads in H, כי מהרבות שיהו נסיון. Saadiah's text agrees with G, and H agrees with S. But G seems to have read מרב שיה (not ברב שיה).

Saadiah, in his Introduction to the *Sefer Haggalut*, mentions also the work of a certain Eleazar b. Irai (בן עיראי), which was similar to the book of Ecclesiastes (Harkavy, p. 150). He quotes three sentences

¹ The quotations in Jellinek's *Beit-Hamidrash*, V, 142, are taken from the Talmud.

from that work, the first of which occurs also in Saadiah's Introduction to his commentary of *Sefer Yetsira* (p. 6, ed. M. Lambert), and Eleazar b. Irai is again named as the author. But this sentence is also found in Ben Sira; it is the saying in iii. 21, 22, the Hebrew original of which is also cited in the Talmud and the Midrash, and, indeed, distinctly as a saying of Ben Sira. The latter circumstance must have certainly been known to Saadiah, and this, coupled with the fact that this saying must have also occurred in the Hebrew text of Sirach which he had before him, makes it appear particularly strange that he did not include it in his quotations from Sirach. Having found the sentence also in the work of Eleazar b. Irai, it is possible that he intentionally named the latter only as its author, in order to borrow some important saying from his work also. The fact that this saying, which belongs undoubtedly to Ben Sira, occurred also in Ben Irai's book, now lost, proves that the latter contained also genuine sentences borrowed from Ben Sira's book. Of course, it cannot now be decided whether an author of the name of *אלעזר בן עיראי* really existed, whether the latter name is not a corrupt shortening of that of Ben Sira (*סירא* from *עיראי*), and whether the book of Ben Irai, used by Saadiah, was anything else but a compilation, which bore originally Ben Sira's name, and contained also ancient sayings of Ben Sira. As to the text of the quotation, we shall have an opportunity to further consider it.

Saadiah's quotations from Sirach lead us to the conclusion that, as a matter of fact, the Gaon had before a Hebrew text of the Sirach, which was essentially identical with the text of the Genizah fragments. The latter differed only externally from Saadiah's text, in as far as the latter, as expressly stated by Saadiah, was provided with vowel-points and accents, and had, therefore, quite the appearance of a Biblical text. A few traces of punctuation are also preserved in the Genizah fragments. At all events, Saadiah furnishes us with irrefragable evidence that the Hebrew Sirach was still extant at the beginning of the tenth century in the form in which it was discovered at the present time; that it is, therefore, out of the question to assume, with Prof. Margoliouth, an artificial restoration of the Hebrew Sirach in the eleventh century.

2. Quotations in the Babylonian Talmud.

We have in the Babylonian Talmud a whole series of quotations from the Hebrew Sirach, and, indeed, partly with the designation "as written in the book of Ben Sira" (*כתוב בספר בן סירא*). Some of these quotations occur in the Genizah fragments.

1. *Chagiga*, 13a:

- 1 בנרול ממך אל תדרוש בחוק ממך אל תחקור
 2 במופלא ממך כל תרע במכוסה ממך כל תשאל
 3 במה שהרשית התבונן ואין לך עסק בנסתרות

This quotation (Sirach iii. 21, 22) occurs also in Palestinian documents; namely, in *Genesis Rabba*, VIII, and *Jer. Chagiga*, 77 c, where the Amoraite Eleazar (ben Pedath) cites the saying in the name of Ben Sira. The text in *Genesis Rabba* is identical with that of the Babylonian Talmud; the former quotation has evidently been brought into accord with that of the latter. In the Jerusalem Talmud the whole of the first line is missing. The second line reads פליאה ממך תחוקר מה תרע עמוקה משאל מה תחקור. This is a modification of the sentence in view of Job xi. 8. In Saadiah's quotation, given by him as emanating from "Ben Irai" (v. supra), the first line is also missing, but the verbs occurring in the latter are employed in the second line, which reads thus במופלא ממך אל תדרוש במכוסה ממך אל תחקור. In this form we find the second line also in H (where the first line is also missing); but we have פלאות for מופלא, and מכוסה for מכוסה. In both old versions, G and S, the text of the Babylonian Talmud was reproduced¹, the second line is entirely missing. The result of this comparison is as follows: The first half of our saying was extant in two versions, the one is reproduced in G and S, the other appears, in a modified form, in the text of the Palestinian Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud (and, thence, *Genesis Rabba*) combined both versions. Lines 1 and 2 are, therefore, doubles, such as occur frequently in the fragments. Saadiah and H reproduce the Palestinian version. I observe in addition that, in the second line, the word תרע must be explained as the completion of an abbreviation 'תר' (for תדרוש). Cf. the quotations from Midrash Haggadol and Midrash Konen by Prof. Schechter, *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, IV, 699.

2. Sirach vi. 6, quoted *Jebamoth*, 63 b, *Sanhedrin*, 100 b. Vid. supra, the second quotation from Sirach by Saadiah.

3. Sirach xiii. 15 (xxvii. 9), quoted in *Baba Kama*, 92 b, with the formula משולש בכתובים (דכתיב), i.e. as a Hagiographical sentence. The quotation reads כל עוף למינו ישכון וכן (ובני אדם לרומה לו). This sentence is not found thus, either in H, or in G and S. The first section of the verse occurs in a different connexion in Sirach xxvii. 9, *παντα προς τα δμοια αυτοις καταλυσει* (= כל עוף לרומה לו ישכון). S has for this *פוסלן? ממשל? ממשל? ממשל* (= עוף השמים למינו ישכון). In Sirach xiii. 15 the first section reads in H כל הבשר יאהב מינו; and

¹ Only that they also read במופלא for בנרול.

the first half of the following verse מִן כָּל בָּשָׂר אֲעֹלָה. The second half of xiii. 15 reads וְכָל הָאָדָם אֶת הָרוּחָה לֹא; and of xiii. 16 וְאֵל מִינִי אֶדָם יִחוּבֵר אֶדָם. Our quotation seems to be a free combination of xxvii. 9 a and xiii. 15 a.

4. Sirach xlii. 9, 10; quoted *Sanhedrin*, 100 b. In the fragments (Oxford edition, p. 12) the passage in question is preserved in a mutilated form, but the remnants show no evidence that the text, as quoted in the Talmud, differs considerably from that in H. The latter is more in accord with G than with that of the Babylonian Talmud.

5. Rab quotes (evidently from Sirach vii. 10) the saying בָּצַר אֵל בְּצָרָה, *Erubin*, 65 a. According to my surmise (*Die Agada der bab. Amoräer*, p. 28) the quotation read originally וְיִפְלֹל אֶל הַמִּצָּר or יִפְלֹל אֵל. In H the corresponding sentence reads אֵל תִּתְקַצֵּר בַּתְּפִלָּה.

6. The same Rab exhorts his pupil Hamnuna to rejoice in benefits bestowed in view of the perishableness of everything human, *Erubin*, 54 a. The exhortation consists of sentences taken from Sirach xiv. 11-18. I place the corresponding passages together, in order to render the differences more conspicuous.

Rab.	Sirach H.
1 בני אדם יש לך היטיב לך	11 בני אדם יש לך . . . היטיב לך
2 שאין (כי אין s. l.) בשאול תענוג	12 חכור כי לא בשאול תענוג
3 ואין למות התמהמה (ול' א' ה' s. l.)	ולא מות יתמהמה
4 ואם תאמר אניה לבני	
5 חוק בשאול מי יניד (יודה s. l.) לך	חוק לשאול מי יניד לך
6 בני האדם דומים לעשבי השרה	18 כפרח עלה על עץ רענן . . .
(האדמה s. l.)	
7 חללו נתצין חללו נובלן	כן דורות בשר ודם אחד נוע
	ואחד נומל

We see that, in Rab's words, lines 1, 2, 3, 5, are exactly like those in H. Line 4 is absent in H, but it agrees somewhat with v. 15, הלא לאמר תענוב חילך. The last two lines are, as to the sense, in agreement with v. 18. G and S agree with H.

From the foregoing examples it is evident that the quotations from Ben Sira in the Babylonian Talmud are partly original. At all events, the text of the Hebrew Sirach, as used by the Babylonian Amoraites, whilst containing much which accorded with the text of the fragments, contained also much which was not found at all, or found in a different way, in the latter.

3. *Quotations in Palestinian documents.*

1. Eleazar b. Pedath quotes in *Jer. Chagiga*, 77 c, Sirach iii. 21, 22; also in *Genesis Rabba*, VIII. Vid. previous section, No. 1.

2. The same Amoraite quotes Sirach xxxviii. 1 a; according to one source (*Tanchuma*, מִקֵּץ, at the end) he states expressly that it "was written in the book of Ben Sira," according to another (*Exodus Rabba*, XXI, 7) he gives it as a proverb (הַמֶּשֶׁל אוֹמֵר); in *Jer. Tuaniṯh*, 66 d, at the top, there is no allegation whatever, as if it were a saying of Eleazar himself (equally *Pesikta Rabbathi*, XXV, 127 a). The quotations in *Tanchuma* and in *Jerushalmi* are in the Aramaic language, in both other sources they are in Hebrew. H reads רָעָה רִוּפָא לְפָנֵי צִרְכּוֹ. The marginal note has צִרְכּוֹ לְרָעָה, and רָעָה לְרָעָה. The reading רָעָה is certainly the correct one. The Palestinian quotation has, instead of this word, צִרְכּוֹ, Aramaic אִיקִיר, and the versions have also *τίμα*, *تيمم*. In spite of such harmony, רָעָה can be the original reading; we must then assume that at early times already צִרְכּוֹ had been substituted for רָעָה, which had become unintelligible. Ben Sira used the term רָעָה—which is an alliteration with רִוּפָא—somewhat in the sense of "to associate," "to have intercourse with."¹ "Have intercourse with the physician, before thou wantest him." Later, the more lucid expression צִרְכּוֹ was put for רָעָה. For לְפָנֵי צִרְכּוֹ, which appears in H in the marginal note, the equivalent עַד שְׁלָא תִצְטָרֵךְ לוֹ was put. S paraphrases *حب لا يحلج حب*. Probably, G had originally *πρὸς τῆς χρείας αὐτοῦ*, which is equivalent to לְפָנֵי צִרְכּוֹ in H. This became *πρὸς τὰς χρείας αὐτοῦ*, but αὐτοῦ having lost all meaning, *τιμὰς* was inserted, as much as to say, "with his honours, with the honours due to him."

3. In *Genesis Rabba*, XXII, 8, a saying is quoted in Aramaic, which is cited in *Tanchuma*, חֲקָת, init. (not, however, in Buber's text of *Tanchuma*), as a saying of Ben Sira. It runs as follows, מִכּ לְבִישׁ לֹא תַעֲבִיד וּבִישׁ לֹא יִסְמִי לָךְ. The second part of this apophthegm agrees with Sirach vii. 16, וְאַל יִשְׁיַךְ רָעָה (G καὶ οὐ μὴ σε καταλάβῃ κακόν, 8 *لا يمسح بحلم*). The first half would be in Hebrew, מִכּוֹבָה אֶל תַּעֲשֶׂה. But for this H presents, אֶל תַּעֲשֶׂה לָךְ רָעָה. We may, perhaps, assume that לָךְ is a corruption of לָרָע (= לָרָעָה), that the word מִכּוֹבָה disappeared, and that רָעָה was added for the purpose of completing

¹ Cf. Prov. xiii. 20; xxviii. 7. It is not necessary to suppose that רָעָה is an Arabism in the sense of "honouring" (Lévi, *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXIX, 4).

the phrase. G and S reproduce the Hebrew text אל תעש רעה. But G read perhaps originally, εὐ ποιεῖ κακῶ, and S لا اُحِبُّ اِحِبُّ.

4. Referring to Gen. xxxi. 2 ("Jacob saw the face of Laban"), *Genesis Rabba*, LXXIII, 12, cites a saying of Ben Sira, לב אדם ישנה פניו בין לטוב בין לרע. This is thus found in Sirach xiii. 25, only that in H אנוש occurs for אדם, and ואם ... אם for ובין ... בין. G and S entirely agree with H.

5. In *Genesis Rabba*, X, 6, the following is cited as a saying of Ben Sira:

- 1 אלוה העלה סמים מן הארץ
- 2 בהם הרופא מרפא את המכה
- 3 ומהם הרוקח מרקח את המרקחת

According to H the text of these lines (xxxviii. 4 a, 7 a, 8 a) reads thus:

- 1 אל מארץ ברא סמים (מציא תרופות. v. l.)
- 2 בהם רופא יניח מכאוב
- 3 וכן רוקח עושה מרקחת

In (1) G has *ἐκτίσεν* like in H; thus also S בן. (2) is in S the same as in H, and also L in his *curans mitigavit dolorem*; G reproduces something like בהם הרופא יניח את עמלו. In (3) both G and S translate the verb עושה, which occurs in H. The word מרקח of the quotation is not, therefore, original. וכן in H = וכן in S.

The five examples cited here make it evident that the text in H, although differing from that from which the Palestinian sources of traditional literature quote Ben Sira, yet is not essentially at variance with it.

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NOTES ON GENEALOGIES OF THE TRIBE OF LEVI IN 1 CHRON. XXIII—XXVI.

Gershon: xxiii. 6—11.

THERE are here some difficulties as obvious as is their solution. According to the genealogies in Exod. vi. 17 and Num. iii. 18, 21 (=1 Chron. vi. 2, 5)¹, the sons of Gershon are two: Libni and Shimei; here we find Shimei in his place, but Libni's place is taken by Laadan (ver. 7). In the further development of the family, which is not given in any other book, first the descendants of Laadan are enumerated, and concluded with the words, "these were the chiefs of the fathers of Laadan," vers. 8, 9; then follow the descendants of Shimei in vers. 10, 11. But if we examine vers. 8 f. we detect that the sons of Laadan are really contained in ver. 8 only, while ver. 9 gives a set of sons of Shimei; the latter cannot be the same Shimei as in ver. 10, for firstly his descendants differ entirely from those in vers. 10 f. and they are also included, by the winding up in ver. 9, in the number of Laadan's descendants.

One will readily recognize, that of the two Shimei, the latter one in vers. 10 f. is the clan of the second son of Gershon; also that the elder house of Libni was in later times represented by a compound clan, which consisted of a chief clan, Laadan, which gave its name to all its members, and of a subordinate branch called Shimei.

There are however yet these difficulties about it. How is it that Libni's name is not given? True, we meet with similar cases in other tribes in the Genealogies, chs. i—ix; but, as Bertheau elsewhere remarks, it is hardly to be expected that the traditions about the original founders of the famous Levitical houses should have been given in varying forms; moreover, in ch. vi, Libni is in his place.

If Shimei in ver. 7 refers to the sub-clan of Laadan, then there is no previous mention of Gershon's real sons at all, either of Libni or Shimei; if however Shimei in ver. 7 refers to Gershon's son, the appearance of a branch of Laadan under the name of Shimei is still more surprising and unexpected.

Two ways out of this difficulty may be suggested:

A. That Shimei in ver. 9 is a mistake for one of the names in the preceding verse, so that ver. 9 in reality gives a subdivision of one of

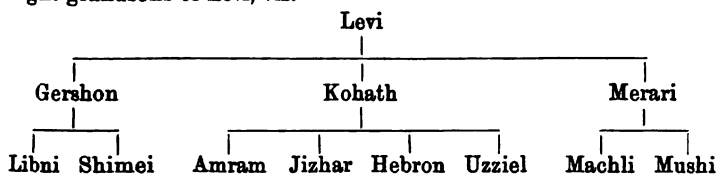
¹ Num. xxvi. 58 is altogether (perhaps purposely) fragmentary and without proper order, so that it cannot be cited here as a witness.

the end of ver. 8 is, according to A, limited by the subsequent subdivision, just as the total of "four" fathers' houses in ver. 10 is immediately reduced to three sections of Levites in ver. 11. Note in this connexion that the sons of Laadan, who in ver. 8 appear as co-ordinate "three," are in xxvi. 22 represented as an elder or chief clan and two subordinate ones. This seems to imply that the paternal clan Jechiel continued to be counted side by side with the two descendant clans Zetham and Joel. If so, the same might have been the case with that son of Laadan who, according to A, was the father of the subordinate houses of Laadan in ver. 9; so that even A might have yielded three houses for every branch, nine for the whole family. This is, however, artificial enough to render the other alternative more acceptable.

That Gershon's son Shimei had a nephew of the same name is not any more strange than the same occurrence in Merari's son and grandson Machli, xxiii. 21 ff, and several other similar cases.

There is another point which is more in favour of suggestion B than A, viz. the evident predilection in these chapters for a division of the Levites into sets and multiples of three "houses." Of Gershon's descendants Laadan and his subordinate or brother clan yield each three houses; Shimei's four sons are reduced to three counts as well (ver. 11): total nine. The four sons of Kohath are made to number nine "houses," just as many as Gershon. (The first two together yield three; the last two have six houses.) Of Merari's sons the younger has also three houses.

This is not accidental or a fanciful conceit of the author, but the designed result of the division of the Levites into twenty-four sections¹ "to correspond with" (לעמֹתָ xxiv. 31) the twenty-four courses of the priests (ch. xxiv), so that one Levitical section should always be in attendance ("ready at hand," לִידֵּי ver. 28) upon each priestly section as it took its turn. It is only natural to expect, and we should not be surprised to find, that the division of the ("twenty-four" thousand) Levites appointed for the Temple, xxiii. 4, should be spread over them in a fairly balanced manner; one might have expected that of the eight grandsons of Levi, viz.:



¹ This fact the writer has learnt from Bertheau, who quotes Ewald and others for it.

each one should afford three sections. But though a representation by three houses seems to be adopted, the plan is not carried through quite so exactly, but in such a way that Gershon has $3 \times 3 = 9$ lots, Kohath also 9, Merari's younger son 3; this would leave 3 lots also for Merari's elder branch, Machli—Kish, and it would be so much fairer to give him an increased representation, seeing that Kish had, by marriage, adopted the inheritance of his heirless brother Eleazar, ver. 22. And since there are two counts wanting of the twenty-four, it may be with some reason assumed that the house of Merari—Machli—Kish—Jerachmeel, vers. 21 f., was in reality subdivided into three houses, which, for some cause, are not mentioned in this chapter. This assumption would satisfy a threefold requirement: it would supply the two wanting of the twenty-four Levitical sections; it would do this not by disturbing the harmonious division into sets of three, but by spreading it further and completing it; and it would more fairly balance the number of lots among the three families.

It will be seen that this argumentation clearly confirms the division of the Gershonites, according to suggestion B, into 3×3 houses. But we shall be better able to judge of this after an investigation of

Merari: xxiii. 21-23; xxiv. 26-30.

It will be at once admitted that xxiv. 26a+28-30 are an exact repetition of xxiii. 21-23, and that this¹ presents a genealogy apparently complete, and in accord with the Pentateuchal traditions, which all give Merari two sons, Machli and Mushi. 26b: "The sons of Jaaziyahu his son" is as unexpected as it is strangely formulated; it is, moreover, redundant, because repeated in the next verse. This passage clearly interrupts the connexion between 26a and 28; and if a third descendant of Merari of the name Jaaziyahu was to be introduced, as Bertheau assumes, surely he should have been named before producing "the sons of Jaaziyahu his son." Bertheau not only does not seem to feel the impossibility of connecting this passage with 26a, but (after rendering it in itself understandable by the proper pruning of the ו of וְשָׁחָם) copies the whole of it, for its insertion in xxiii. 21, where he thinks it must have fallen out, because, as he opines, the two tables must have been identical.

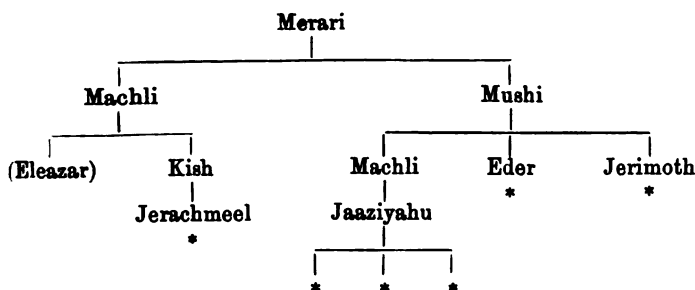
As to their being identical or not, it is surprising that he should not have noticed that in the latter list Gershon's house is wanting, and that the information about six houses is here carried further

¹ Or xxiv. 26a + בני מררי (ver. 27a) + vers. 28-30.

than in the earlier list, inasmuch as their representative houses (or heads?) at the time of the allotment are named (viz. the two houses of Amram, the one of Jizhar, the two of Uzziel, and Kish of Merari). May it then not be that the new name Jaaziyahu is, like the other five new names, the descendant of one or other house, and that his three descendant houses are the counts of that house in the twenty-four Levitical courses? This seems a probable solution of the difficulty, though the questions arise as to whose descendant these new names were, and why they interrupt the earlier Merari table. Perhaps they are the issue of Machli the son of Mushi, and belong consequently immediately after 30 a; having been omitted by one scribe, they had subsequently been added in the margin, &c., but were by the next copyist introduced after the mention of the *first* Machli, where they now appear. (Perhaps the name Machli was added to the marginal correction as catchword, and the copyist mistook this nephew Machli in ver. 30 for his uncle in ver. 26.) According to this suggestion the whole inserted passage in question belongs after וַיִּרְמֹחַ, ver. 30 a, and may be emended thus:

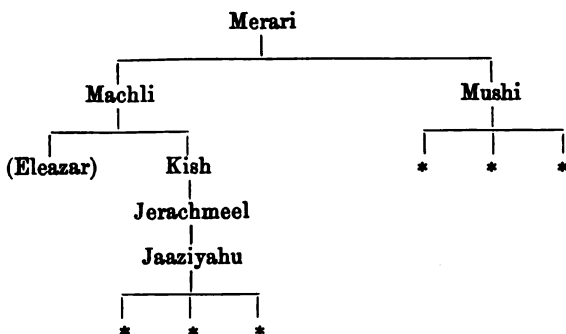
בני [מחלי] יעזיהו בנו. בני [מחלי] ליעזיהו בנו שהם ונ'

The house of Merari would then still yield six "fathers' houses" towards the Levitical courses, viz.:



Instead of the violent expedients of expunging Machli from among Mushi's sons, and of adding Jaaziyahu and his sons to Gershon's table, as Bertheau suggests, we obtain the same number of houses and a more satisfactory text by the above method.

On the same principles we might regard Jaaziyahu as the development of Jerachmeel of the elder house of Merari, vers. 28, 29. The catchword of the marginal gloss may have been וַיִּרְמֹחַ (ובני מרשי), intending that it belonged after ver. 29, and to be continued by וַיִּבְנֵי מרשי in ver. 30, while the copyist by mistake inserted it after מרשי in ver. 26.



The text would not require any more alteration than in the former case, viz. to read, after ver. 30:

בני ירחמאל [יעזרו בננו בני מררי מחלי? לעזרו] (&c. as before)

This suggestion is even more pleasing, as it would render the three-fold division carried through the sons of Gershon (3×3) and Merari (2×3).

There is, however, still the possibility of Jaaziyahu being the spreading out of some other member, and indeed there are some reasons that tend to suggest that Jaaziyahu, this foundling in search of a father, should be ascribed to the earlier Jishiyah, ver. 21 (not the one in ver. 25, although the marginal gloss stood probably nearer to this one. Perhaps the catchword was ישיה).

The reasons are the following:—

In xxiii. 17 there is a note appended indicating that although Eliezer the son of Moses, had only one son, Rechabyah, the descendants of the latter “increased abundantly.” There would hardly have been cause for this note, where so many single persons of the same degree of descent from Levi are enumerated, unless it was to signify that in the division of the Levites into twenty-four houses the sons of Rechabyah took a comparatively large share; as we think, three houses through Jaaziyahu.

This may perhaps derive support from an investigation into the passage concerning those Levite houses that had special appointments, xxvi. 20¹–26 seqq., as foreshadowed in xxiii. 4, 5. It appears from that passage, that in some cases entire sections of the Levites were thus specially employed, viz. three houses of Laadan, xxvi. 21 f. = xxiii. 7; both houses of Amram, vers. 24–28 = xxiii. 13–17, xxiv. 20 f.; and the first house of Hebron, ver. 31 = xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23 (where of course the words חֲבֵרֹן הָרִאשׁוֹן have fallen out after וּבְנֵי). In the two other cases

¹ xxvi. 20 should begin וְהָיוּ אֲדֹמִים; so also corrects Bertheau.

where new names occur, viz. Kenanyahu of Jizhar (ver. 29; cp. xxiii. 18, xxiv. 22), and Chashabyahu of Chebron (ver. 30; cp. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23), these may have been either single families selected for special purposes, such as are the musicians and gate-porters in chs. xxv and xxvi, or they are really whole houses, but not included in the twenty-four courses, because these were limited to attendance upon the Temple and its needs. Seeing that the superscription, xxvi. 23, includes Uzziel, but that he is not represented, it may be conjectured that ver. 32 originally began ואחיו בני עזיאל; and that the mention of Hebron's firstborn house in ver. 31 is only a repetition from xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23.

We now approach the house of Eliezer, second son of Moses. The passages xxiii. 17 and xxiv. 21 give the descending line, Eliezer—Rechabyah—Jishiyah; but xxvi. 25 f., another line is given, which goes far lower down than any other. Now this is in itself surprising; nor may we explain the consecutive "his son" in this verse all to refer to the same father Rechabyah, in explanation of xxiii. 17, that "the sons of Rechabyah increased abundantly." But all the same we may explain these names to mean "houses" that descended from Rechabyah, by expunging, with the LXX, the four latter בני; the ו that connects these names being unusual in descending lines with בני, e.g. iii. 10-12, iv. 25 ff., v. 4 f., confirms that emendation.

We assume, therefore, that these new names are co-ordinate houses descended of Rechabyah. (Shelomoth is singled out, perhaps because he was more prominent or better known.) If we now turn to the lists in ch. xxiv, we cannot help being struck by the resemblance of the names.

לִיעֲזָרִי שְׁלֹמֹת xxiv. 22.

יִשִּׁיה xxiv. 21.

יַעֲזִיהוּ וְשֵׁהם חֲכֹר וְעֶבְרִי xxiv. 26, 27.

שְׁלֹמֹת:

יַשְׁעִיהוּ וִירֵם חֲכֹר xxvi. 25.

It is otherwise hazardous to draw inferences from similarity of names in Chronicles; but since several arguments tend in the same direction, it may be allowable to suggest that in ch. xxiv the verses 26 b, 27, belong after 21, and should read thus:

בְּנֵי יִשִּׁיה יַעֲזִיהוּ וְשֵׁהם (וִירֵם *alias*) חֲכֹר (חֲכֹרִי *alias*, וְעֶבְרִי *alias*)

the last being a variant in the margin, that has subsequently entered the text.

Then follows ver. 22, לִיעֲזָרִי שְׁלֹמֹת.

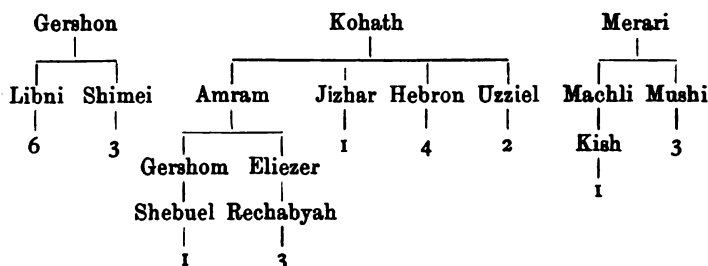
Similarly xxvi. 25 f. should read:

וְאֶחָיו לְאֵלְעָזָר רַחֲבִיהוּ בְּנֵי יִשִּׁיה בְּנֵי יַעֲזִיהוּ וִירֵם חֲכֹר ver. 25.

לִיעֲזָרִי שְׁלֹמֹת (בְּנֵי) הוּא שְׁלֹמֹת וְגו' ver. 26.

The double mention of Jizhar (in vers. 26 and 29) should not be more surprising than the two (or three) לַחֲכַרִּי in vers. 30 and 31. The second house of Jizhar is moreover not of those employed in the Temple, and therefore does not appear previously.

The distribution of houses would, however, then not be of the same character as above, viz.:



Most of the above suggestions are made tentatively only; but the arrangement of the Gershon family under B, and the plea that xxiv. 26 a (27 a, first two words) and 28 should be uninterrupted, and vers. 26 b + 27 belong elsewhere, are put forward with confidence.

M. BERLIN.

Notes. One more alternative may be mentioned: to regard xxiv. 27 a as a variant of 26 b, and this and what follows to be resolved into: בני (סורי?) ישידו בנ ושידס חכור; this would give one house more to their paternal stem; on the other hand, to count of Laadan, xxiii. 8, only Zetham and Joel, in accordance with xxvi. 22 but cp. xxiii. 8, "three"). If the four in ver. 27 are ascribed to Rechabyah there would ensue a division in sets of 4, viz. Gershon 8; Kohath 12; Merari 4.

THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF JOWETT.

THE following selections from the writings of the late Master of Balliol were originally prepared for a lecture to the elder students at the Jewish Theological Training College of London. The material proved too large for the limits of a lecture, but I hope that it may prove of interest and value to many a reader, whether Christian or Jew. I have throughout left the Master to speak for himself, and have given to his words the very minimum of commentary. Nor have I attempted to sum up or analyse his matured religious position. I will only say a few words by way of introduction, so as to explain the method and the limits of this selection.

Jowett's teaching was notoriously and even increasingly unsystematic. During the last thirty years of his life—that is, through the period of his ripest maturity—he published no definitely religious work. Since his death two volumes of his *Sermons* have been given to the world. A third volume, which from the theological point of view will be the most important of the three—it is to be called *Doctrinal Sermons*—is announced as “in preparation.” Hence this *florilegium* ought properly speaking to have been postponed. If it is ever republished as a book, it will probably require enlargement and amplification.

In many letters to intimate friends, and in numerous note-books, from both of which sources selections have been made in his *Life*, there frequently occur deeply interesting passages about religion and theology. Upon these materials I have freely drawn; but a word of caution is perhaps necessary concerning them. In a sermon a preacher is sometimes tempted to say more than he believes; in a letter, or even in a reflection written down in a moment of depression, he may possibly say less. Jowett was probably never guilty of the excess: perhaps he may once or twice be found to illustrate the defect. At any rate a casual phrase of which the bearing may be quite clear to an intimate friend, or a one-sided sentence which was never meant for publication, and the limited or partial truth of which is perfectly well known to the writer, may, if rashly used, give a false impression of a man's religious teaching taken as a whole.

In spite of the fact that during the thirty years of his maturity

Jowett published no book on religion, the material is tolerably large. The *Sermons* and the *Plato* contain innumerable passages one would wish to quote. As a selection had to be made from these I have naturally given most space to subjects which would presumably be of greater interest to my Jewish readers. But I have not, I hope, in the smallest degree desired to show the Master as other than he was, or veiled the depth of his devotion to the teaching and to the life of Christ. Again, I have said little or nothing about the gradual development of his religious position. Hence the paradox that I shall quote least from his one professedly theological work, the *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul*. The first edition of that book appeared in 1855 (when Jowett was thirty-eight years old), and the second edition in 1859. The religious and theological essays appended to the *Commentary* contain some of Jowett's finest writing, and are replete with wisdom and with piety. But paradoxical though it be, I shall not quote very largely from them here, partly because they deal to a great extent with technical questions of Christian theology, and partly because they do not represent the ripest and maturest views of their author. The bulk of my quotations are taken from Jowett's books, or sermons, or letters, or notes written while he was Master of Balliol, that is, in the last twenty-three years of his life, while he was in the full maturity of his peculiar powers (1870-1893). I shall mainly use the book on St. Paul and the famous contribution to *Essays and Reviews* to confirm and supplement what he spoke and wrote during that later period.

It is perhaps desirable to recall a few dates and facts. Jowett was born in 1817, and his first religious influences were strongly Protestant and Evangelical. He won the Balliol scholarship in 1835, and was elected to a fellowship in 1838 while still an undergraduate. His whole subsequent life was passed as tutor and then as Master of Balliol College. He took orders in 1842 when he was twenty-five years old. He saw the rise and development of the whole Tractarian movement. In his friendship with Stanley he could mark the influence and read the teaching of Arnold. He learnt German, and became an earnest student of German philosophy, especially of Kant, Schelling, and Hegel. He witnessed the rise of historical criticism as regards the Bible; he lived through the theological agitations which accompanied the early teaching of Darwin. What changes and excitements and alarms had passed over the religious world of England between the year 1840 (when Jowett was twenty-three) and 1870, when at fifty-three he became Master of Balliol. And yet, as Jowett held more and more strongly, God and religion remained precisely where they were before, where in truth they had always been and must

always be. On the basis of his early upbringing and environment, and with the help of all he witnessed and learnt in later years, Jowett was gradually feeling his way to a phase of Christian Theism, which his own words will best describe.

But two points about it may be mentioned beforehand.

It was a Christian Theism. Nevertheless it partly belonged to a sphere where the purer Judaism and the purer Christianity fade into each other, where the accuracy of labels becomes doubtful, and differences merge into a higher and more catholic unity. The Master would have smiled if I had ventured to tell him that his teaching was Jewish, but I think he would not have been wholly displeased. To agree about the essentials of religion, he would have said, is far more important than to agree by what names we shall call them.

Secondly, it was a simple Theism. But it was simplicity with a difference. It was the simplicity which, so to speak, lies on the other side of complexity. It was the result of thought. It was profound. It was not the simplicity of negation. It was the unessential which (to his mind) had been eliminated; the essential remained. This essential was large and living. No man more than Jowett lived by his religion. It was simple, then, not in its weakness, but in its strength; not in its vagueness, but in its clarity; not in its remoteness from life, but in its direct appeal to the heart, to the mind, and to the will.

The positive side of the Master's teaching is, I think, too little known and appreciated. He was often misunderstood. Few people heard him preach: for many years, when the clamour about his unorthodoxy was at its highest, he seldom preached at all. His supposed scepticism clung about him; the memory of *Essays and Reviews* lived long. People spoke of his practical sagacity; he was the incarnation of "common sense"; he appreciated success; as to his religion, it was a mixture of broadness and doubt. The intense piety of the man, his deep religious fervour, his unshakable faith in the divine, escaped notice. Yet these were the greatest realities of his nature and character; they went to make him what he was. It was just their combination with what is too rashly called scepticism, with "broadness," with common sense, with amazing practical sagacity and omnivorous interest in the actual facts of life, which made them, to those who knew him well, the more fascinating and the more remarkable, which gave them their power to influence and to control, so that in spite of difficulties, moral, religious, or intellectual, many as well as himself remained firm believers in the divine authorship of the world and of the human mind¹.

¹ *Life*, II, p. 439, ad fin.

Let us consider these striking combinations in his character and teaching a little longer. First then as regards his scepticism. How far did this extend? and what, if I may say so, was its dominating purpose and object? His great aim was to get religion put upon a firm footing, so that it might be a power and reality to the educated as well as to the uneducated, to those who are responsive to the modern spirit as well as to those who are impervious to its influences. Hence religion must not conflict with the conclusions of science or of history. In other words it must not depend on miracles or on the verbal accuracy of an ancient narrative; it must see God in law and not in odd suspensions of law; it must be rooted in morality and in truth. The object of Jowett's scepticism, so far as it is part of his teaching, was to detach religion from what is uncertain, transitory, and inaccurate in order to rivet it to what is sure, permanent, and true. Religion must as it were keep pace with and even be improved by every assured advance in science, in history, and in criticism. These things, so far from making religion feebler, should make it purer, nobler, stronger.

From this point of view let us hear some of his remarks upon religion and science.

Already in the first edition of the *Epistles of St. Paul* he had said:

"Past and present strive together in our minds; the modes of thought which we have derived from Scripture and from antiquity are at variance with the language of science. It is our duty as Christians and as reasonable beings to lay aside such illusions. Language and religious feeling supply many blinds which we may interpose between ourselves and truth. But there is no resting-place until we admit freely that the laws of nature and the will of the God of nature are absolutely identical¹."

And again he says in a fine passage, which is almost the same in both editions of the book on St. Paul:

"The more we take out of the category of chance in the world either of nature or of mind, the more present evidence we have of the faithfulness of God. We do not need to have a chapter of accidents in life to enable us to realize the existence of a personal God, as though events which we can account for were not equally his work. Let not use or custom so prevail in our minds as to make this higher notion of God cheerless or uncomfortable to us. The rays of his presence may still warm us, as well as enlighten us. Surely he, in whom we live and move and have our being, is nearer to us than he would be if he interfered occasionally for our benefit.

"The curtain of the physical world is closing in upon us': what does this mean but that the arms of his intelligence are embracing us

¹ *St. Paul*, II, p. 413 (ed. 1).

on every side? We have no more fear of nature; for our knowledge of the laws of nature has cast out fear. We know him as he shows himself in them, even as we are known of him. Do we think to draw near to God by returning to that state in which nature seemed to be without law, when man cowered like the animals before the storm, and in the meteors of the skies and the motions of the heavenly bodies sought to read the purposes of God respecting himself? Or shall we rest in that stage of the knowledge of nature which was common to the heathen philosophers and to the Fathers of the Christian Church? or in that of two hundred years ago, ere the laws of the heavenly bodies were discovered? or of fifty years ago, before geology had established its truths on sure foundations? or of thirty years ago, ere the investigation of old language had revealed the earlier stages of the history of the human mind? At which of these resting-places shall we pause to renew the covenant between Reason and Faith? Rather at none of them, if the first condition of a true faith be the belief in all true knowledge¹."

Jowett was well aware that the precise form which the relations of religion and science to each other will assume cannot be foretold from age to age. But he never doubted but that religion would hold its own with science, or that God would provide a way, as he picturesquely puts it, whereby the thought of him shall never be banished from the hearts of men. It is very interesting to find him in 1855 and 1859 writing in the following, as has been said, almost prophetic strain (*The Origin of Species* was published in 1859):

"No one who, instead of hanging to the past, will look forward to the future, can expect that natural science should stand in the same attitude towards revelation fifty years hence as at present. The faith of mankind varies from age to age; it is weaker, or it may be stronger, at one time than at another. But that which never varies or turns aside, which is always going on and cannot be driven back, is knowledge based on the sure ground of observation and experiment, the regular progress of which is itself matter of observation. The stage at which the few have arrived is already far in advance of the many, and if there were nothing remaining to be discovered, still the diffusion of the knowledge that we have, without new addition, would exert a great influence on religious and social life. Still greater is the indirect influence which science exercises through the medium of the arts. In one century a single invention has changed the face of Europe; three or four such inventions might produce a gulf between us and the future far greater than the interval which separates ancient from modern civilization. Doubtless God has provided a way that the thought of him should not be banished from the hearts of men. And habit, and opinion, and prescription may 'last our time,' and many motives may conspire to keep our minds off the coming change. But if ever our present

¹ *St. Paul*, II, p. 484 (ed. 2).

knowledge of geology, of languages, of the races and religions of mankind, of the human frame itself, shall be regarded as the starting-point of a goal which has been almost reached, supposing too the progress of science to be accompanied by a corresponding development of the mechanical arts, we can hardly anticipate, from what we already see, the new relation that will then arise between reason and faith. Perhaps the very opposition between them may have died away. At any rate experience shows that religion is not stationary when all other things are moving onward.

"Changes of this kind pass gradually over the world ; the mind of man is not suddenly thrown into a state for which it is unprepared. No one has more doubts than he can carry ; the way of life is not found to stop and come to an end in the midst of a volcano, or on the edge of a precipice. Dangers occur, not from the disclosure of any new, or hitherto unobserved, facts, for which, as for all other blessings, we have reason to be thankful to God ; but from our concealment or denial of them, from the belief that we can make them other than they are ; from the fancy that some *a priori* notion, some undefined word, some intensity of personal conviction, is the weapon with which they are to be met. New facts, whether bearing on Scripture, or on religion generally, or on morality, are sure to win their way ; the tide refuses to recede at any man's bidding. And there are not wanting signs that the increase of secular knowledge is beginning to be met by a corresponding progress in religious ideas. Controversies are dying out ; the lines of party are fading into one another ; niceties of doctrine are laid aside. The opinions respecting the inspiration of Scripture, which are held in the present day by good and able men, are not those of fifty years ago ; a change may be observed on many points, a reserve on still more. Formulas of reconciliation have sprung up ; 'the Bible is not a book of science,' 'the inspired writers were not taught supernaturally what they could have learned from ordinary sources,' resting-places in the argument at which travellers are the more ready to halt, because they do not perceive that they are only temporary. For there is no real resting-place but in the entire faith, that all true knowledge is a revelation of the will of God. In the case of the poor and suffering, we often teach resignation to the accidents of life : it is not less plainly a duty of religious men, to submit to the progress of knowledge. That is a new kind of resignation, in which many Christians have to school themselves. When the difficulty may seem, in anticipation, to be greatest, they will find, like the apostle, that there is a way out : 'The truth has made them free' ¹."

To some of us the almost cheery optimism displayed in this passage may seem here and there a little doubtful and difficult, but Jowett never wavered in his twofold certainty that the spiritual was no less a reality than the material, and that different bits or pieces of truths must in the long run, and in the mind of God, be reconcilable with one another.

¹ *St. Paul*, II, pp. 521, 522 (ed. 2).

Thus he says in a sermon preached in 1871 :

"There is no real separation between truth and goodness ; but for a time, and owing to some misunderstanding, they appear to part company. . . . Religious men are beginning to be aware that they must not deny any true fact of history or science. Scientific men are becoming conscious that human life cannot be reconstructed out of the negative results of criticism, or the dry bones of science. The first thoughts of persons often are : this is at variance with what I learnt in childhood, with what I read in Scripture, with what I hear from the pulpit. Their second thoughts are that no truth can be at variance with any other truth, and that they must wait patiently for the reconciliation of them ¹."

And if for some of us a theoretic reconciliation between religion and science is too difficult, Jowett urges us to keep fast to the excellence of both ; we must combine the love of God with the love of truth.

"If the speculative reconciliation of science and religion seem at the present moment (1878) to be distant and improbable, we should struggle to attain the practical reconciliation of them in our own lives, not allowing mere scientific notions, whether physical or metaphysical, to extinguish in our minds the love of God or the power of prayer, nor on the other hand suffering the intensity of religious or devotional feeling to do violence to our sense of truth ²."

He was anxious to show the practical gain to morality and religion which would ensue by a better realization of the universality of law. Both God and man are, as it were, made free by law.

"In which case are you the most free and most the master of your own actions—amid order or disorder, in a civilized country which has roads and laws, or in an uncivilized country ? in a state of life which is dark and deprived of experience, or in one which is lighted up by history and science ?

"Is it not obvious that as our power over nature increases, our responsibility towards other men increases also ? Do we not rather seem to want—I will not say a new religion—but a new application of religion, which should teach us that we are answerable for the consequences of our actions, even in things that hitherto seemed indifferent ; perhaps answerable for the good which we neglect to do, as well as for the evil which we do ? ³"

In a sermon which the Master preached in the University Church in 1879 he makes the foundations of religion to consist of three "unchangeable truths." The first of these is the perfection of the

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³ *Life*, II, p. 64 (an extract from a University Sermon preached in 1874).

divine nature; the second is the life of Christ. Both these seem to mean to Jowett the clear certainty of goodness and truth, together with their origin and source in a divine reality. And then:

"Thirdly, among the fixed points of religion, we must admit all well-ascertained facts of history or science. For these too are the revelation of God to us, and they seem to be gaining and accumulating every day. And they do not change like mere opinions; after an interval of years, we come back to them and find them the same. No declaration of popes or churches can alter by a single hair's breadth any one of them, any more than it can alter in any degree the present or future lot of a single person. It cannot make that which is false to be true, and that which is improbable to be probable. And amid the shiftings of opinions, the knowledge of facts and the faith in them, whithersoever they seem to lead, has a tendency to stablish, strengthen, settle us. There are a thousand ways in which they bear upon human life and therefore indirectly upon religion. And there is also a more direct connexion between them; for we may regard truths of fact as acceptable to the God of truth, and the discovery or acquirement of them as a part of our service to him. And when we give up our long-cherished opinions or our party views to the power of fact; or when we seek to train our intellectual faculties in accuracy, in attention, in the conscientious love of truth—in this too there may be something of the sacrifice which is well-pleasing to him¹."

From many passages in his writings and in his note-books we can observe that in his conception of the divine nature Jowett sought to combine the ideas of a person and of a law. God is *ὁ Θεός* and *ὁ δεινός* in one. There is a deeply interesting and suggestive paragraph in the introduction to Plato's *Statesman*, which well expresses this bent of his mind:

"Whether the best form of the ideal is a person or a law may fairly be doubted. The former is more akin to us: it clothes itself in poetry and art, and appeals to reason more in the form of feeling; in the latter there is less danger of allowing ourselves to be deluded by a figure of speech. The ideal of the Greek state found an expression in the deification of law: the ancient Stoics spoke of a wise man perfect in virtue, who was fancifully said to be a king; but neither they nor Plato had arrived at the conception of a person who was also a law. Nor is it easy for the Christian to think of God as wisdom, truth, holiness, and also as the wise, true, and holy one. He is always wanting to break through the abstraction and interrupt the law, in order that he may present to himself the more familiar image of a divine friend. While the impersonal has too slender a hold upon the affections to be made the basis of religion, the conception of a person on the other hand tends to degenerate into a new kind of

¹ Report of Sermon in *Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates' Journal*, Feb. 20, 1879.

idolatry. Neither criticism nor experience allows us to suppose that there are interferences with the laws of nature; the idea is inconceivable to us and at variance with facts. The philosopher or theologian who could realize to mankind that a person is a law, that the higher rule has no exception, that goodness, like knowledge, is also power, would breathe a new religious life into the world¹."

Obviously in a theism of this kind there is no room for miracles. Jowett rejects them, first from the critical point of view, and secondly because his conception of God as a person who is also a law makes miracles inadmissible. Thus, he writes in a note-book:

"No one believes the miracles who does not believe the religion which they are supposed to attest. No Pagan believes the miracles of a Christian; no Christian, of a Pagan; no Jesuit, of a Jansenist; no Protestant, of a Catholic. Every one who affirms the truth of miracles does in fact assert the truth of his own miracles as the one exception to all the rest. But how impossible is this! For he asks you to believe the most improbable of all things, and does at the same time acknowledge a principle of self-illusion in human nature, quite sufficient to have invented them²."

And from a note-book of the year 1886 we have the following:

"Nor shall we ever return to the belief in facts which are disproved, e.g. miracles, the narratives of creation, of Mount Sinai³."

The loss of miracles did not seem to occasion him any pang, nor does he appear to realize the immense difference (as it seems to me) between a Christianity with miracles and a Christianity without them. In a great Westminster Abbey sermon, preached in 1883, he is speaking of the changes which may come to pass in the Church of the future; these he attempts to "anticipate in some measure from tendencies which already exist." And he quietly says:

"No sensible person would think nowadays of resting the evidence of Christianity on the basis of miracles, and may not this stumbling-block, which has so long almost necessarily divided the Christian from the scientific world, in the course of another generation altogether disappear? Such a change would certainly not be greater than many other changes of opinion, which some here present have witnessed in their own lifetime. The change will not be affected by argument, but there will be a growing sense among men that neither belief in this nor unbelief availeth anything, but only a life like that of Christ. There will be an increasing conviction that nothing in the past can ever be of equal importance with the present; that no opinion about religion is to be weighed in the balance with practice; and more and more we may expect to find that religion

¹ *Plato*, IV, p. 441 (ed. 3).

² *Life*, II, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 310.

will be indissolubly bound up with morality, and that the idea of the nature of God will become ennobled, enlarged, idealized¹."

Closely similar to his treatment of miracles was Jowett's treatment of criticism. To him religion is not based on a book or a narrative; free inquiry which results in any new facts can only be beneficial to religion. It is curious to read, forty years after it was written, Jowett's contribution to the famous *Essays and Reviews* on the *Interpretation of Scripture*. His prophecy in 1859, "that the increase of secular knowledge is beginning to be met by a corresponding progress in religious ideas," has in many respects been realized. Most people who read the article now will wonder why it created such a stir. It seems so obvious. It could almost be preached from any Jewish or Christian pulpit. Yet here we find laid down in the clearest terms the right and the benefit of free inquiry. Sentences like these are very interesting and significant:

"The healthy tone of religion among the poor depends upon freedom of thought and inquiry among the educated.

"Doubt comes in at the window, when Inquiry is denied at the door.

"That in the present day the great object of Christianity should be, not to change the lives of men, but to prevent them from changing their opinions; that would be a singular inversion of the purposes for which Christ came into the world. The Christian religion is in a false position when all the tendencies of knowledge are opposed to it.

"Criticism has a healing influence in clearing away what may be termed the Sectarianism of knowledge. Without criticism it would be impossible to reconcile History and Science with Revealed Religion; they must remain for ever in a hostile and defiant attitude. Instead of being like other records, subject to the conditions of knowledge which existed in an early stage of the world, Scripture would be regarded on the one side as the work of organic Inspiration, and as a lying imposition on the other.

"Criticism is not only negative: if it creates some difficulties, it does away others. It may put us at variance with a party or section of Christians in our own neighbourhood. But on the other hand, it enables us to look at all men as they are in the sight of God, not as they appear to the human eye, separated and often interdicted from each other by lines of religious demarcation; it divides us from the parts to unite us to the whole. That is a great help to religious communion. It does away with the supposed opposition of reason and faith. It throws us back on the conviction that religion is a personal thing, in which certainty is to be slowly won and not assumed as the result of evidence or testimony²."

Religion, then, to Jowett, "is not dependent upon historical events, the report of which we cannot altogether trust³." We must in con-

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 293.

² *Essays and Reviews* (1861), pp. 373, 374, 411, 431.

³ *Life*, II, p. 306.

sidering them attempt, not in any conceited sense, but in calm devotion to the God of truth, "to place ourselves above them." Whither the argument leads, thither, as servants of goodness and of truth, we too must follow. This line of thought is indicated in a passage in the introduction of the *Republic*, which can, however, only with some incompleteness be understood without a reference to the context in which it stands :

"A Greek in the age of Plato attached no importance to the question whether his religion was an historical fact. He was just beginning to be conscious that the past had a history ; but he could see nothing beyond Homer or Hesiod. Whether their narratives were true or false did not seriously affect the political or social life of Hellas. Men only began to suspect that they were fictions when they recognized them to be immoral. And so in all religions ; the consideration of their morality comes first, afterwards the truth of the documents in which they are recorded, or of the events natural or supernatural which are told of them. But in modern times, and in Protestant countries perhaps more than in Catholic, we have been too much inclined to identify the historical with the moral ; and some have refused to believe in religion at all, unless a superhuman accuracy was discernible in every part of the record. The facts of an ancient or religious history are amongst the most important of all facts ; but they are frequently uncertain, and we only learn the true lesson which is to be gathered from them when we place ourselves above them ¹."

With such views about miracles and criticism, we are naturally interested to hear what Jowett thought about the life and person of Christ, about inspiration, about the Bible, and about prayer.

Did Jowett believe in the Divinity of Christ ? In one sense of the word I should think the answer would be in the negative. In the light of what we have already heard, it would be ridiculous to suppose that he believed in the story of the Virgin Birth, or in a miraculous resurrection. But it must also be remembered that the question would have seemed less real and less important to Jowett than it does either to very orthodox Christians on the one hand, or to most Jews upon the other. To him the opposition between God and man was less abrupt and profound than it is to most Jews. The doctrine of the divine immanence meant to him more, or went with him further. There was a more vivid sense of a diffusion of the divine everywhere rather than of its concentration within a single self-conscious personality. Thus we find him writing of God in the following way :

"In speaking of divine perfection, we mean to say that God is just and true and loving, the author of order and not of disorder, of good and not

¹ *Plato*, III, p. xxxvii.

of evil. Or rather, that he is justice, that he is truth, that he is love, that he is order, that he is the very progress of which we were speaking; and that wherever these qualities are present, whether in the human soul or in the order of nature, there is God. We might still see him everywhere, if we had not been mistakenly seeking for him apart from us, instead of in us; away from the laws of nature, instead of in them. And we become united to him not by mystical absorption, but by partaking, whether consciously or unconsciously, of that truth and justice and love which he himself is¹."

It does not therefore seem surprising that Jowett, with his profound admiration for the character and life of Christ, should have any difficulty in speaking of Christ's teaching as "the religion of a person whom we believe to be divine" (1879). He would not have thought it worth while, so to speak, to become a Unitarian. He would have said—personally I do not follow him, but I think he would have said—that the Unitarian was holding out on a subtlety of doctrine the importance of which had passed away. To him the Christian was the man who sought to live the Christian life, not he who held this opinion or that as to the person of Christ. A Jew can easily translate such sentiments into Jewish dialect if he finds any difficulty in realizing their meaning. A Jewish Jowett would say: The Jew is not he who believes or disbelieves that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, but he who loves God and loves man: the Jew is not he who observes or neglects this ceremony or that ritual, but he who loves righteousness and loving-kindness, and walks humbly before his God.

As to the greatness of the life and teaching of Christ, Jowett never wavered. Thus in a sermon of the year 1888 he says:

"We know that the life of Christ is so far above us that we cannot ascend to it. We can only follow humbly and at a distance. Of Christ we may say he went about doing good, because he was good, because he was truth, because he knew human nature, because he judged not as man judgeth. He lived in communion with God, and therefore he 'took of the things of God and showed them to men.' As God was his father, so he was like a father or elder brother to all other men²."

There are many similar passages; I note them here, without expressing agreement or disagreement, that I may faithfully record a main element, a central feature of his entire teaching. Perhaps his own position as regards Christ's person or divinity is nowhere more clearly indicated than in a sermon preached at Oxford in 1882. Jowett there tries to show that God was the witness to the purity and excellence of Christ's teaching and life.

¹ *Plato*, II, p. 179.

² *College Sermons*, pp. 323, 318.

"Christ has a greater witness than the witness of men. He feels that God is his witness. Without God he could not have lived such a life, or died such a death. To those who say, 'Shew us the Father and it sufficeth us,' he only replies, 'I am the manifestation of the Father.' Righteousness witnesses to itself, but it has also the witness of God. The Jews said, 'This is blasphemy,' and so it was for Simon Magus, or any other false prophet who had no truth in him, to declare that he was the 'great power of God.' But it was not blasphemy for Christ, feeling in his whole soul the love of God, the truth of God, the righteousness of God, feeling that in all his words, works, thoughts, he was reflecting the will of God, to declare himself one with God. The creed tells us that he was 'equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, inferior to the Father as touching his manhood.' But is it not more intelligible to us and more instructive to think of him as one with God, because Christ and God are one with righteousness and truth? Christ does not so much assume to be God as he naturally loses himself in God."

It will be noticed that in this as in many other passages Jowett freely makes use of the fourth Gospel as well as of the Synoptics. The life of Christ as recorded in all four Gospels became to him more and more an ideal, and he was apparently not greatly concerned as to whether the actual Jesus of Nazareth did or did not say or do all the things which those four Gospels ascribe to him. He seemed to see in the story of Christ the ideal exemplar, the ideal human incarnation of perfect morality and perfect religion. It seems as if it was of little importance to him how far in every respect the actual man may or may not have corresponded with this ideal. At all events the ideal is there, drawn and depicted for all time for our continuous profit and edification. It was perhaps this half-historic and half-ideal way of regarding Christ which made the Master's teaching more sympathetic to Jews. He seemed to indicate that it was rather a question of circumstance or education whether you regarded the ideal in this personal way or not. Certainly about the substance or content of the ideal, as he depicted or elicited it from the Gospel narratives, there could be no dispute whatever. It was an ideal of morality and religion with which everybody, Jew and Christian, would be in practical agreement. I infer the accuracy of what I have just said about Jowett's conception of Christ from several striking passages, which I will now proceed to quote.

First I take some words in a sermon on "the Completion of a Life's Work" preached in 1882:

"And, perhaps, that very want of confidence in the letter of Scripture of which I was speaking at the beginning of this sermon, to which criticism and comparison of documents have given rise, and which by some persons

¹ *Oxford University Herald*, Oct. 28, 1882.

is regarded as the destruction of the Christian faith, may be really the means by which we attain to a higher comprehension of the whole, passing from words to things, from the sayings of Christ to the life of Christ, from the life of Christ while he was upon earth to the life of Christ dwelling in the heart of men, from Christianity as a sect to 'My kingdom is not of this world'."

Then in a note-book belonging to the years 1873 to 1876 we find the following :

"An ideal necessarily mingles with all conceptions of Christ ; why then should we object to a Christ who is necessarily ideal ? Do persons really suppose that they know Christ as they know a living friend ? Is not Christ in the Sacrament, Christ at the right hand of God, 'Christ in you the hope of glory,' an ideal ? Have not the disciples of Christ from the age of St. Paul onwards, been always idealizing his memory ?

"We must accept the fact that the life of Christ is only partially known to us, like that of other great teachers of religion. And this is best for us. We have enough to assist us, but not enough to constrain us. And upon this basis the thoughts of men in many ages may raise an ideal more perfect than any actual conception of him. Each age may add something to the perfection and balance of the whole. Did not St. Paul idealize Christ ? Do we suppose that all which he says of him is simply matter of fact, or known to St. Paul as such ? It might have been that the character would have been less universal if we had been able to trace more defined features.

"What would have happened to the world if Christ had not come ? what would happen if he were to come again ? What would have happened if we had perfectly known the words and teaching of Christ ? How far can we individualize Christ, or is he only the perfect image of humanity ?"

Thoughts such as these, like innumerable other thoughts about religion and morality, were constantly being turned over in his mind. The practical Jowett was always thinking of spiritual things. In 1879 he re-reads Thomas à Kempis, and makes the following note :

"Is it possible to feel a personal attachment to Christ such as is prescribed by Thomas à Kempis ? I think that it is impossible and contrary to human nature that we should be able to concentrate our thoughts on a person scarcely known to us, who lived 1,800 years ago. But there might be such a passionate longing and yearning for goodness and truth. The personal Christ might become the ideal Christ, and this would easily pass into the idea of goodness."

Then at the very close of his life (1892), he writes in the same strain in a letter to Mrs. Humphry Ward. I quote the setting of the particular words I here want as well as the words themselves, because

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 342.

² *Life*, II, p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

they show the positive bent of the Master's mind. Though he welcomed the freest inquiry and the fullest criticism he yet always "placed himself above them":

"I hope that the age of Biblical criticism is passing away, and that we may get into a *largior aether*. I do not see that we have gained from it except negatively, and there of course we have gained a great deal by clearing away so much, but positively we have gained little or nothing. And even if we knew the manner of the composition of the Old and New Testament, and were sure of every reading and every date and fact, we should be no nearer the true form of religion. It is not with the very words of Christ, but with the best form of Christianity as the world has made it, or can make it, or will receive it, that we are concerned to-day. There is an ideal which we have to place before us intimately connected with practical life—nothing, if not a life—which may be conveniently spoken of as the life of Christ¹."

This letter to Mrs. Ward throws some additional light on a superb passage with which the Introduction to the *Republic* now concludes. It is part of a short section added in the third edition, and belongs therefore, like the letter, to the latest period of the Master's life². From its almost mystical language we can yet perceive that Jowett is seeking to find as it were a common term for that moral ideal which some see embodied and humanized in the person of Christ. He has spoken of two ideals which "never appeared above the horizon in Greek philosophy," but "float before the minds of men in our own day." These two ideals are the future of the human race in this world and the future of the individual in another. And having spoken briefly of them he ends as follows:

"There is a third ideal, not the same, but akin to these, which has a place in the home and heart of every believer in the religion of Christ, and in which men seem to find a nearer and more familiar truth, the Divine man, the Son of Man, the Saviour of mankind, who is the first-born and head of the whole family in heaven and earth, in whom the Divine and human, that which is without and that which is within the range of our earthly faculties, are indissolubly united. Neither is this divine form of goodness wholly separable from the ideal of the Christian Church, which is said in the New Testament to be 'his body,' or at variance with those other images of good which Plato sets before us. We see him in a figure only, and of figures of speech we select but a few, and these the simplest, to be the expression of him. We behold him in a picture, but he is not there. We gather up the fragments of his discourses, but neither do they represent him as he truly was. His dwelling is neither in heaven nor earth, but in the heart of man. This

¹ *L46*, II, p. 445.

² The third edition of the *Republic* was published separately before the other dialogues in 1888.

is that image which Plato saw dimly in the distance, which, when existing among men, he called, in the language of Homer, 'the likeness of God,' the likeness of a nature which in all ages men have felt to be greater and better than themselves, and which in endless forms, whether derived from Scripture or nature, from the witness of history or from the human heart, regarded as a person or not as a person, with or without parts or passions, existing in space or not in space, is and will always continue to be to mankind the Idea of Good¹."

Jowett's views on inspiration are, I should say, much the same as those of liberal theists in all religious denominations. But doubtless his broad and dispassionate utterances in *Essays and Reviews* must have given grave offence forty years ago. How the cobwebs of outworn theology are brushed away by such a sentence as this :

"To the question 'What is inspiration?' the first answer is, 'That idea of Scripture which we gather from the knowledge of it.'²"

And how simple and comprehensive is the next consideration :

"Any true doctrine of inspiration must conform to all well-ascertained facts of history or of science. The same fact cannot be true and untrue, any more than the same words can have two opposite meanings. The same fact cannot be true in religion when seen by the light of faith, and untrue in science when looked at through the medium of evidence or experiment. It is ridiculous to suppose that the sun goes round the earth in the same sense in which the earth goes round the sun ; or that the world appears to have existed, but has not existed, during the vast epochs of which geology speaks to us. But if so, there is no need of elaborate reconcilements of revelation and science ; they reconcile themselves the moment any scientific truth is distinctly ascertained. As the idea of nature enlarges, the idea of revelation also enlarges ; it was a temporary misunderstanding which severed them. And as the knowledge of nature which is procured by the few is communicated in its leading features at least to the many, they will receive with it a higher conception of the ways of God to man. It may hereafter appear as natural to the majority of mankind to see the providence of God in the order of the world, as it once was to appeal to interruptions of it."

From a note-book belonging to the years 1873 to 1876 we are given the following "last words on inspiration":

"1. Were the writers of the New Testament inspired when they wrote in any other sense than they were during the rest of their lives ?

"2. Is there any essential difference between the apostle St. Paul and St. Bernard, and if so, how is this difference to be defined or ascertained ?

¹ *Plato*, III, p. ccxxxi.

² *Essays and Reviews*, p. 347.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

"3. Is there any difference between St. Bernard and Plato except that they were men of genius of a different kind—the one a religious genius, the other a philosophical and poetical genius?

"4. But if so, inspiration must be extended to all men who rise above themselves, who get out of themselves, who have anticipations of truths which they cannot realize; who live not in the present and individual, but in the future and universal world.

"5. But if so, every great and good man is inspired, or none are inspired, and all the great thoughts of mankind are to be treated as part of the sacred inheritance¹."

Jowett was willing to use convenient phrases about inspiration, such as its human and its divine element, but he was well aware of their necessary inaccuracy. Our words and our thoughts are not equal to the complexity of the relations between the human and the divine. In 1891 he writes the following:

"I do not think it is strictly correct to speak of the human any more than of the divine element in inspiration. We cannot separate them any more than we can separate mind and body: they run up into one another. But in common language it is a natural mode of speaking. In the higher part we include the truer and more spiritual conceptions of God, the more perfect morality, the holy life. In the lower part we may place the historical facts, whether true or invented, the passions of a warlike and semi-barbarous race, imprecations against enemies, and the like. I think it worthy of remark that in precept, though not always in practice, the Old and the New Testament everywhere rise above the animal passions and also above the deceits and falsehoods of mankind. These remarks seem to me to apply more or less to all the religions of the world: they are all more or less inspired, more or less human and also divine²."

The last quotation already indicates what it was that Jowett admired in the Bible, and how he regarded it. No one had a greater appreciation for the great sayings and teachings whether of the Old or of the New Testament. I have heard him repeat favourite sentences, such as "I desire love and not sacrifice," or "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," with a sort of inspired enthusiasm. The great can best understand the great: the profundity and magnificence of the highest prophetic teaching, or of the Sermon on the Mount, meant more to him than to an ordinary person. He saw deeper down; he realized more fully. But his admiration was always discriminating. "Nothing," he observes, "has ever surpassed the Psalms in depth and purity of devotion³." On one occasion he ends a sermon by quoting six very simple sentences from the Psalms, with this preface: "And now I shall sum up the meaning which

¹ *Life*, II, p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, p. 388.

³ *College Sermons*, p. 290.

I have imperfectly sought to convey in words which have been the comfort of many¹." But at the same time he was at pains to point out that: "We are not bound to give our assent either to the conception of God, or the acts and words of inspired men, if our conscience revolts at them, merely because they are found in Scripture or read in churches²."

In another sermon he says:

"The religious ideas of one age require to be translated into the religious ideas of another. The religious thoughts of one age may become the feelings of another; the religious truth of one age may become the religious poetry of another. The language of the Old Testament is personal and individual, speaking heart to heart as one man speaks to another, telling of a God who is indeed always described by the Psalmist or Prophet as the God of justice and of truth, and yet asserts his despotic power to pull down one man and put up another. . . . There must be a silent correction of the familiar words of the Psalmist when we use them, if they are to express the truth for us. For we know that God is not sitting, as he is represented in some pictures, on the circle of the heavens, but that his temple is the heart of man; we know that he is not the God of one nation only, but of all mankind; we know that God helps those who help themselves. Except men build the house, the Lord will not build it; except the watchmen keep guard in the city, the Lord will not guard it. In everything the means are to be taken first, the laws of nature are to be studied and consulted:—then, and only then, the blessing of God follows us, and, in the language of the Psalmist, 'the Lord prospers our handiwork'.³"

Jowett would have teachers and clergymen neither exaggerate nor minimize the difficulties of Scripture. On this subject there are some wise suggestions in his article in *Essays and Reviews*. Thus he says:

"The poor generally read the Bible unconsciously; they take the good, and catch the prevailing spirit. . . . The child is only struck by the impiety of the children who mocked the prophet; he does not think of the severity of the punishment which is inflicted on them. And the poor, in this respect, are much like children: their reflection on the morality or immorality of characters or events is suppressed by reverence for Scripture. The Christian teacher has a sort of tact by which he guides them to perceive only the spirit of the Gospel everywhere; they read in the Psalms of David's sin and repentance, of the never-failing goodness of God to him, and his never-failing trust in Him, not of his imprecations against his enemies. Such difficulties are greater in theory and on paper, than in the management of a school or parish. They are found to affect the half-educated, rather than either the poor, or those who are educated in a higher sense. To be above such difficulties is the happiest condition of human life and knowledge, or to be below

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

them; to see, or think we see, how they may be reconciled with divine power and wisdom, or not to see how they are apparently at variance with them¹."

The wisdom of the last sentence (combining as it does a touching gentleness with just a glimmer of benignant satire) is truly admirable. According to this teaching I need not have removed the "bear" story from my *Bible for Home Reading*. But it may be doubted whether either the "children" or the "poor" of 1899 are quite the same as those of 1860. Perhaps a larger and growing number of the latter have passed into the class whom Jowett describes as "half-educated." And them these scriptural difficulties chiefly affect.

On the other hand the Essayist would wish to see the teaching of Scripture become a more integral part of liberal education, and taught in a larger spirit:

"It may be doubted whether Scripture has ever been sufficiently regarded as an element of liberal education. Few deem it worth while to spend in the study of it the same honest thought or pains which are bestowed on a classical author. Nor as at present studied can it be said always to have an elevating effect. It is not a useful lesson for the young student to apply to Scripture, principles which he would hesitate to apply to other books; to make formal reconcilements of discrepancies which he would not think of reconciling in ordinary history; to divide simple words into double meanings; to adopt the fancies of Fathers and commentators as real knowledge. This laxity of knowledge is apt to infect the judgment when transferred to other subjects. It is not easy to say how much of the unsettlement of mind which prevails among intellectual young men is attributable to these causes; the mixture of truth and falsehood in religious education certainly tends to impair, at the age when it is most needed, the early influence of a religious home²."

For the right study of the Scriptures there are several good hints and cautions in the course of the essay. Whether it was a classical poet or a Hebrew prophet, Jowett in either case had a wholesome fear lest the words of the text should become less familiar to the student than the words of the commentator. When he began to prepare his edition of the three Epistles of St. Paul, the first thing he did was to learn the entire Greek by heart. What he did in his own case, he recommends to others. He urges the student to use commentaries to get rid of commentaries, to have only one great object in view: to find out what the words actually meant to the original writer.

"Any one who, instead of burying himself in the pages of the commentators, would learn the sacred writings by heart, and paraphrase

¹ *Essays and Reviews*, p. 417.

² *Ibid.*, p. 428.

them in English, will probably make a nearer approach to their true meaning than he would gather from any commentary. The intelligent mind will ask its own questions, and find for the most part its own answers. The true use of interpretation is to get rid of interpretation, and leave us alone in company with the author¹."

And again (speaking of the New Testament, but with words which apply almost equally well to the Old) he says :

"The book itself remains as at the first unchanged amid the changing interpretations of it. The office of the interpreter is not to add another, but to recover the original one ; the meaning, that is, of the words as they struck on the ears or flashed before the eyes of those who first heard and read them. . . . All the after thoughts of theology are nothing to him ; they are not the true lights which light him in difficult places. His concern is with a book in which, as in other ancient writings, are some things of which we are ignorant ; which defect of our knowledge cannot however be supplied by the conjectures of Fathers or divines. The simple words of that book he tries to preserve absolutely pure from the refinements or distinctions of later times. He acknowledges that they are fragmentary, and would suspect himself, if out of fragments he were able to create a well-rounded system or a continuous history. The greater part of his learning is a knowledge of the text itself ; he has no delight in the voluminous literature which has overgrown it. He has no theory of interpretation ; a few rules guarding against common errors are enough for him. His object is to read the Scriptures like any other book, with a real interest and not merely a conventional one. He wants to be able to open his eyes and see or imagine things as they really are²."

For young men who are going to become ministers of religion, and who will have to write endless sermons, with perhaps no endless stock of matter and ideas, the caution which Jowett gives on the use of Scripture is probably not wholly out of date :

"The tendency to exaggerate or amplify the meaning of simple words for the sake of edification may indeed have a practical use in sermons, the object of which is to awaken not so much the intellect as the heart and conscience. Spiritual food, like natural, may require to be of a certain bulk to nourish the human mind. But this 'tendency to edification' has had an unfortunate influence on the interpretation of Scripture. For the preacher almost necessarily oversteps the limits of actual knowledge, his feelings overflow with the subject ; even if he have the power, he has seldom the time for accurate thought or inquiry. And in the course of years spent in writing, perhaps without study, he is apt to persuade himself, if not others, of the truth of his own repetitions. . . . Any one who has ever written sermons is aware how hard it is to apply Scripture to the wants of his hearers and at the same time to preserve its meaning³."

¹ *Essays and Reviews*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

Yet Jowett was far from saying that it is illegitimate to expand the words of the Bible and to give them a wider and sometimes a higher meaning. He writes about this subject with his usual fascinating wisdom in the opening of a sermon on "failure and success" preached in 1879.

"It has been common to apply the words of Scripture in senses which were not present to the minds of those who wrote or uttered them. Besides the original meaning, other meanings or uses of them have sprung up, which have been hardly less important. They have served not only as rules of life but as vehicles or expressions of the higher thoughts of mankind. They have stamped the literature of Christendom, which may be said to have been created out of them. The new meaning which was brought to them and was shown through them, the truth in the heart of men which was infused into them, has inspired the nations of Europe and been the light of other ages. Such an enlargement of ancient and sacred words appears to be natural and necessary. The world would soon have outgrown the religious books of its childhood if there were no power of adapting them to new wants and circumstances. . . . The sacred books of all nations, in so far as they retain any life or power, have experienced a similar adaptation. They mean, or are made to mean, more than the authors of them ever knew, or could have conceived. There is a new truth which is also old, another commandment which was given from the beginning. This is the progress of religious thought which is ever widening as years go on; which clothes itself in many solemn and expressive formulas, in many poetical figures, in many types and symbols taken from an older dispensation. It transmutes what is local and national into what is spiritual and universal. It is not merely the words of the Bible as they may be interpreted by the philological critic, but the words of the Bible as they have been enriched by the minds of men in all ages, as they have reflected their highest thoughts and feelings, as they have been lighted up by the lessons of human history, as they have been interpreted by experience, which have been the living word of God, bringing forth fruit in the world.

"There seems to be no objection to that manner of adapting Scripture which is so widely prevalent in religious writings, if we distinguish, as with our present knowledge we ought to do, between the adaptation and the original meaning. We are not making Scripture signify what we please, we are only endeavouring to read it by the light of our own highest thoughts, or seeking to find in it their best and truest expression¹."

Before taking leave of this part of our subject, it is worth while to give two extracts, from different epochs of Jowett's life, dealing specifically with the Old Testament as such. The first is again taken from the article in *Essays and Reviews*:

"The Old Testament has also its peculiar lessons which are not conveyed

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 244.

with equal point or force in the New. The beginnings of human history are themselves a lesson having a freshness as of the early dawn. There are forms of evil against which the prophets and the prophetic spirit of the law carry on a warfare, in terms almost too bold for the way of life of modern times. There, more plainly than in any other portion of Scripture, is expressed the antagonism of outward and inward, of ceremonial and moral, of mercy and sacrifice. There all the masks of hypocrisy are rudely torn asunder, in which an unthinking world allows itself to be disguised. There the relations of rich and poor in the sight of God, and their duties towards one another, are most clearly enunciated. There the religion of suffering first appears—'adversity, the blessing' of the Old Testament as well as of the New. There the sorrows and aspirations of the soul find their deepest expressions, and also their consolation. The feeble person has an image of himself in the 'bruised reed'; the suffering servant of God passes into the 'beloved one in whom my soul delighteth.' Even the latent and most desolate phases of the human mind are reflected in Job and Ecclesiastes; yet not without the solemn assertion that 'to fear God and keep his commandments' is the beginning and end of all things¹."

And twenty-six years later, from a note-book of 1886, we get the following:

"Hitherto the language of the New Testament has superseded or adapted that of the Old. But we may also return from the New to the Old. The language of the prophets has a much nearer relation to our feelings than the language of St. Paul, and infinitely nearer than the language of dogmatic theology²."

We have seen how Jowett sought to reconcile religion with science. The more law, the more God, seems to be his formula. How then, we ask, did he deal with the subtle problem of prayer? I fancy most people would say that no cut-and-dry answer can be given to the question. Jowett would perhaps not have thought any the worse of himself even if this be the case. What he said of Plato might also be said of him: "nor is he always consistent with himself, because he is always moving onward, and knows that there are many more things in philosophy than can be expressed in words, and that truth is greater than consistency³." The laws of our spiritual being which relate us to God are not capable of being exactly defined or understood; there clings about them a mystery, but none the less do we believe that they are laws and not caprice. It is this twofold aspect of them which Jowett presents to us, and when we consider his remarks on prayer as a whole, we shall, I think, find them characterized rather by unity than differences.

¹ *Essays and Reviews*, p. 416.

² *Life*, II, p. 312.

³ *Plato*, V, p. cccxxviii (from Jowett's 'Last Words' on Plato added in the third edition, 1891).

The longest and most detailed statement about prayer is to be found in the commentary on St. Paul. In its essentials I hardly think that Jowett would have desired to alter it even in his maturest years.

"Prayer is the summing up of the Christian life in a definite act, which is at once inward and outward, the power of which on the character, like that of any other act, is proportioned to its intensity. The imagination of doing rightly adds little to our strength: even the wish to do so is not necessarily accompanied by a change of heart and conduct. But in prayer we imagine, and wish, and perform all in one. Our imperfect resolutions are offered up to God; our weakness becomes strength, our words deeds. No other action is so mysterious; there is none in which we seem, in the same manner, to renounce ourselves that we may be one with God.

"Of what nature that prayer is which is effectual to the obtaining of its requests is a question of the same kind as what constitutes a true faith. That prayer, we should reply, which is itself most of an act, which is most immediately followed by action, which is most truthful, manly, self-controlled, which seems to lead and direct, rather than to follow, our natural emotions. That prayer which is its own answer because it asks not for any temporal good, but for union with God. That prayer which begins with the confession, 'We know not what to pray for as we ought'; which can never by any possibility interfere with the laws of nature, because even in extremity of danger or suffering, it seeks only the fulfilment of his will. That prayer which acknowledges that our enemies, or those of a different faith, are equally with ourselves in the hands of God; in which we never unwittingly ask for our own good at the expense of others. That prayer in which faith is strong enough to submit to experience; in which the soul of man is nevertheless conscious not of any self-produced impression, but of a true communion with the Author and Maker of his being.

"In prayer, as in all religion, there is something that it is impossible to describe, and that seems to be untrue the moment it is expressed in words. In the relations of man with God, it is vain to attempt to separate what belongs to the finite and what to the infinite. We can feel, but we cannot analyse it. We can lay down practical rules for it, but can give no adequate account of it. It is a mystery which we do not need to fathom. In all religion there is an element of which we are conscious;—which is no mystery, which ought to be and is on a level with reason and experience. There is something besides, which, in those who give way to every vague spiritual emotion, may often fall below reason (for to them it becomes a merely physical state); which may also raise us above ourselves, until reason and feeling meet in one, and the life on earth even of the poor and ignorant answers to the description of the apostle, 'Having your conversation in heaven'.¹"

¹ *St. Paul*, II, p. 247 (ed. 2).

To some doubtless this language may seem vague; to others it will represent a high ideal towards which their practice will seek to strive. The next extract from a letter written in 1865 says the same things in different words:

"Prayer, as at present conducted, is an absurdity, if it means praying for fine weather, &c. (faith must snap in the face of universal obvious facts); or an ambiguity of the worst kind, if the Theologian refuses to say, in reference to an action of everyday life, whether it is supposed to have this effect or not.

"There is nothing that more requires to be stated than that prayer is a mental, moral, spiritual process, a communion or conversation with God, or an aspiration after him and resignation to him, an anticipation of heaven, an identification of self with the highest law, the truest idea, the blending of true thought and true feeling, of the will and the understanding, containing also the recognition that we ask for nothing but to be better, stronger, truer, deeper than we are. I am afraid that the anthropomorphism of much of what is called revealed religion has obscured the natural religion of men on this subject. On the old theory, all answers to prayer were necessarily miraculous, and therefore the belief in them could not be otherwise than unreal¹."

In a different tone, but yet echoing the same fundamental ideas, is much which he says about prayer in a sermon on "going to church" preached at Balliol in 1875. Every young man who wants to spend his time in church or synagogue wisely and well would be the better for reading and pondering over that sagacious discourse. Here the Master, "careful of not saying more than he believes," tells us in what manner we ought to lay our petitions before God and of what they should consist. We need not always attend to the words of the service:

"The advantage of public worship is that it is also private: any reasonable act of devotion may form part of it; we may offer up to God our studies, entreating him to give us the power so to use our natural talents that they may be the instruments of his service. We may consecrate to him our business, praying that the gains which we make may be employed in his service, and sometimes devising plans of charity or philanthropy. We may review our faults, begging him to take from us all vanity, levity, sensuality, and to infuse into us a new mind and character. . . . Or, once more, we may ask of him to illumine our minds with the spirit of truth, with fairness and judgment, with accuracy and clearness, that in some way, whether by teaching or writing, we may assist in the education of mankind: so many topics of thought are there on which we may reflect and at the same time wish, for prayer is a time for wishing and thinking, not as some imagine a mere enthusiasm, or act of prostration, but requiring the highest exercise of the intellect, as

¹ *Lt's*, I, p. 410.

well as the deepest affection of the heart. God does not demand of us that we should lie down before him, like worms crawling in the sunshine, but that with our reason, the highest of his gifts, we should seek to recognize the truth of his nature—that we should watch what experience teaches about his modes of dealing with us—that we should turn again to that image of himself, transcending experience, which he has set in the human heart¹."

These last noble words are like a sentence in the first edition of *St. Paul's Epistles* which is not found in the second edition of 1859:

"Prayer is the very reverse of the assertion of ourselves before God; yet in kneeling before him, while we remember that he is God, he bids us remember also that we are men, whom, even when humbled before him, he would not have fall below the reason that he has given us²."

To the end of his life Jowett retained a belief in the value of prayer. He is inclined to ascribe a laxity in the habit rather to moral weakness than to intellectual doubts. In the privacy of his own thoughts, with touching and habitual humility, he accuses himself of an inadequate love of God, and writes:

"Nothing makes one more conscious of poverty and shallowness of character than the difficulty of praying or attending to prayer³."

Jowett cannot, I think, be accused of not facing with resolution all the difficulties of the subject. From a note-book of the year 1874 we are given an extract which begins: "Can there be prayer if the personality of God is no longer believed?" We must not take this to mean that Jowett himself did not believe in the personality of God. He would rather, I think, have said that "he is a person but not like ourselves⁴," or again, that though "we pray to God as a person, a larger self, there must always be a *subintelligitur* that he is not a person⁵." But however this may have been, and whatever varying value different persons may assign to the word "personality" as ascribed to or denied of God, the interesting thing is to see how Jowett seemed able to retain the worth and reality of prayer whether God be regarded as "personal" or not.

"Can there be prayer if the personality of God is no longer believed? I think so; prayer may be conceived as (1) communion with God; (2) recognition of the highest truth within us; (3) intense resignation to law, i. e. to the will of God; (4) intense aspiration within the limits of our own powers⁶."

Some contradiction between his principles and his practice there may indeed always seem to be. He says himself: "Our forms

¹ *College Sermons*, pp. 285-287.

² *Life*, II, p. 241.

³ *Life*, II, p. 313.

⁴ *St. Paul*, II (ed. 1, 1855), p. 217.

⁵ *Plato*, IV, p. 43.

⁶ *Letters*, p. 241.

of worship, public and private, imply some interference with the course of nature. We know that the empire of law permeates all things¹." But writing thus in 1886, he still composes prayers in his almost fatal illness in 1891. We may be absolutely convinced that his mind was no less clear and his utterance no less sincere at that time than five years before. And how truly noble these prayers are. One quoted in the *Life* has special reference to his own illness :

"Grant, O Lord, that we may have age without pain, and death without suffering ; that we may love thee, and be resigned to thy will, and may acknowledge thy laws to be in all things the rule of our life. Let us say in our hearts, 'The Lord is my shepherd ; I shall not want. Yea, though I walk through the valley of death, I will fear no evil : for thou art with me ; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.' Make us to think in the hour of death of the sufferings of others rather than of our own, and let us not forget that there are blessings reserved for us greater than any pains and suffering. Give us peace, O Lord, in the hour of our agony, and let us thank thee for having made suffering possible to us²."

Then there is the prayer contained in his message to the College which was read out on the first Sunday of the autumn term of 1891, when he was unable to preach his usual sermon :

"We have not loved others in all classes of society as thou, O Lord, hast loved us. We have not thanked thee sufficiently for the treasures of knowledge, and for the opportunities of doing good which thou hast given us in this latter day. We have worried ourselves too much about the religious gossip of the age, and have not considered enough the fixed forms of truth. We have been indolent, and have made many excuses for falling short in thy work.

"And now, O Lord, in these difficult times, when there is a seeming opposition of knowledge and faith, and an accumulation of facts beyond the power of the human mind to conceive ; and good men of all religions, more and more, meet in thee ; and the strife between classes in society, and between good and evil in our own souls, is not less than of old ; and the love of pleasure and the desires of the flesh are always coming in between us and thee ; and we cannot rise above these things to see the light of heaven, but are tossed upon a sea of troubles ; we pray thee be our guide, and strength, and light, that, looking up to thee always, we may behold the rock on which we stand, and be confident in the word which thou hast spoken³."

Mankind will perhaps come to rest in two only seemingly contradictory ideas or tendencies which we may elicit from the Master's writings. Though "the empire of law permeates all things," we may still lift up purified prayers unto God, recognizing that we are in presence

¹ *Life*, II, p. 313.

² *Ibid.*, p. 366.

³ *College Sermons*, p. 347.

of a "mystery which we do not need to fathom"; that "in prayer as in all religion there is something that it is impossible to describe, and that seems to be untrue the moment it is expressed in words"; that "in the relations of man with God, it is vain to attempt to separate what belongs to the finite and what to the infinite."

As a sort of appendix to Jowett's views on prayer something may be said as to his position with regard to public worship and a liturgy. As to the former it is difficult to make any adequate extracts from his sermon on "Going to Church." While he is anxious to urge that we must not think better of ourselves "because we attend the public worship of God," or "divide men into good and bad according as they go to church or not," he nevertheless points out with admirable wisdom what the true uses of church-going are, or, at any rate, may be. I have already quoted the passage in which he shows how one of the advantages of public worship is "that it is also private," and how "any reasonable act of devotion may form part of it." Church or synagogue gives us opportunity for the higher rest, higher thoughts, the higher aspiration.

"We pass in review the last day or two, and ask ourselves whether we are doing enough for others; we seek to realize in our minds a higher standard of duty and character. Here are revived in us those aspirations after another and better state of being, which in good men are always returning and are never completely satisfied, but which, like wings, bear us up on the sea of life, and prevent our sinking into the routine of custom which prevails in the world around us. Here we resign ourselves to the pure thought, to the pure will, to the pure mind, which is the truer part of our own souls, and in which and through which we see God¹."

Church-going is a means, not an end.

"The end is not that, but a change of nature and the fulfilment of the commandments of God. The sense of duty, the love of truth, the desire to do good to all men, are not inseparably connected with the habit of going to church. Yet a man may also make a noble use of the opportunities of public worship. They may deepen his nature and character; they may strengthen and steady him. They may draw him towards others and prevent his becoming isolated. They may enable him to resist the temptations of evil, to get rid of levity and egotism. They may teach him to know himself; they may lead him to think seriously of life; they may enable him to preserve consistency, when other men are going backwards and forwards from one pole of religious belief to the other; they are the natural balance of the amusements and excitements of youth, when the pulse beats quickly and the heart is eager, and the sorrows of life have not yet been felt. There is nothing in this which is necessarily

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 283.

formal or unreal or constrained. He who does not under some hasty misconception lay aside the habits of religion, as many in the present day seem apt to do, will find that they are in no way inconsistent with the love of truth. And he will learn, as years go on, that truth does not consist in a series of abstract propositions, or in systems of philosophy or discoveries about facts of science or history, but that of truth too there is a higher and more living image in the perfection of human nature—the likeness of God in Christ¹.”

The question of what constitutes an ideal liturgy is often before his mind. A curious passage occurs in a letter to a friend written in 1869.

“The making people repeat the Creed, prayer for fine weather, and other relief from temporal calamities; also, in another way, the reading of parts of the Old Testament, is thoroughly demoralizing. And do but think of the hymns they sing. A good essay might be written on the Ideal of Public Worship.

“You require (1) some common feeling concentrated in special acts or words; (2) the greatest latitude for individual thought or prayer; (3) every word should be true; (4) every word should be elevating. You would have to select out of ancient liturgies and mediæval prayers. For no one can write a prayer now any more than he can compose an epic poem: and in some ways antiquity has such a curious religious power, stronger perhaps than the belief in a future life².”

Jowett himself, I think, proved the exaggeration of the last sentence, but in this as in some other extracts from the correspondence we have to observe the caution to which I alluded before. We must sometimes take them in the spirit and not in the letter. The spirit of what has just been quoted reappears in some notes of 1874:

“1. The true idea of a liturgy is that it should sympathize with the higher mind or intelligence of the church or congregation, in which each individual is also raised by communion with his fellow men:—Man rising to God in company with his fellow men.

“2. Can anybody suppose that the chance collection of 300 years ago can be suited to us in the nineteenth century?

“3. Ought not a recognition of the laws of nature to form a part of the services of the nineteenth century?”

And from the same period of his life we have the following:

“A perfect Liturgy should be:—

“1. Ancient.

“2. Yet not at variance with modern scientific opinion.

“3. Should vary within certain limits.

“4. Should be adapted to private as well as public devotion.

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 293.

² *Life*, I, p. 435.

³ *Letters*, p. 242.

"5. Should consist of what is highest and deepest in thought and purest in expression.

"6. Should respond to the fears, hopes, sorrows, speculations of mankind.

"7. Should have no creeds; for these almost at once pass into mere words.

"8. Should be the 'expression' of our highest thoughts and feelings; not exhortations or confessions, not the mere intensifying or exaggerating of our ordinary religion, but the elevation of it¹."

Would that that crying need, the reform of the Jewish liturgy, could be conducted on these lines! But Jowett was well aware of the immense difficulties that lie in the way. Already in the *Epistles of St. Paul* he wrote:

"Old age affords examples of habits which become insane and inveterate at a time when they have no longer an object; that is an image of the antiquity of religions. Modes of worship, rules of purification, set forms of words, cling with a greater tenacity when they have no meaning or purpose. The habit of a week or a month may be thrown off; not the habit of a thousand years. The hand of the past lies heavy on the present in all religions. . . . Among the educated classes belief may pass away, and yet the routine of ceremonial continues²."

To his remarks about a liturgy there may be added a note from the year 1878 about subjects for sermons:

"Subjects which ought to be, but never are treated in sermons:—

Love.

The Passions—not generally, but particularly.

Good manners.

Differences of rank.

The right use of money.

The influence of art.

Self-dedication.

The limits of self-denial.

Failure in life³."

On some of these subjects Jowett himself was wont to preach. He was also fond of biographical sermons, holding that "if there are sermons in stones, much more are there sermons in the lives of men." It is rightly humiliating to us second and third rate men to see the profound reverence with which Jowett, who was such a great man himself, speaks of great men, the leaders and teachers of mankind. Those sermons on Wesley and Loyola and Pascal and Wycliffe and Baxter and Bunyan and Spinoza show a splendid power of appreciating the great man in all his different manifestations and in all the variety of his beliefs. Jowett was not by any means inclined

¹ *Life*, II, p. 87.

² *St. Paul*, II, p. 464 (ed. 2).

³ *Letters*, p. 246.

to overrate the permanent value of printed sermons. "I observe," he says, "that sermons, although they are supposed to speak of eternal truths, have of all literary productions the shortest life¹." But neither did he refuse to recognize their possible power and influence over the lives of men. In 1881 he preached a special sermon for undergraduates in the University Church, and devoted a considerable portion of his sermon to a picture of the life of the lawyer and the life of the clergyman. He there touches upon sermons:

"One of the chief sources of a minister's influence and one of his chief means of usefulness is preaching. Yet many a man is averse to taking upon himself the clerical office because he is, or fancies he is, ill-adapted for the performance of this duty. He is not literary, he is not eloquent; how can he be qualified to teach others? He hears preaching very commonly derided, and is doubtful whether the practice is of any real use. Such is the feeling. Yet so far from preaching being unimportant, we can hardly exaggerate its effect. Is it a small matter to seek to raise men above the world in which they live, to increase their knowledge of themselves, to renew in them the thoughts of a Divine Being? Is it nothing that they should have impressed upon them, from time to time, a higher standard of duty towards God and their fellow men? The best sermons are those which are the natural outgrowth of a man's character, not strained through books, but fresh from the experience of life²."

In another University sermon from which I have already quoted he gives comfort to those who are perplexed by the spirit of the age. The words are equally applicable to Jew as well as Christian: we have only to substitute "Law" for "Gospel," and "Judaism" for "Christianity."

"The minister of the Gospel who sometimes asks uneasily, 'What am I to teach now?' need be under no real apprehension because a few of the commonplaces of theology are taken from him. The essentials of Christianity strongly and personally felt, not mere vague abstraction, but holiness and unselfishness, the living sense of truth and right, the love of God and man, have greater power to touch the heart than anything else. The good life of a clergyman is his best sermon; and the doctrine by which he will most affect others is the fresh and natural expression of it. To have a firm conviction of a few things, is better than to have a feeble faith in many, and to live in a belief is the strongest witness of its truth³."

Reserving for a later stage the question whether Jowett faced the deeper problems of religion as fearlessly as he faced those which are connected with the miracles of the Bible or with historical criticism, I pass to a side of his teaching which was especially

¹ *Letters*, p. 205.

² *Oxford University Herald*, Nov. 5, 1881.

³ *Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates' Journal*, Feb. 20, 1879.

characteristic of him, and yet was perhaps not always adequately understood—his religious broadness and toleration. Jowett's broadness was intimately connected with his growing insistence on the simplicity of religion, as well as with his penetrating capacity to recognize agreement in essentials under the widest apparent differences of form and of belief. But the distinguishing feature of his broadness, as of his scepticism, if that disagreeable word must still be employed, was that it was accompanied and justified by religious fervour and intensity. Jowett was not the champion of liberalism in religion because to him all religions were much of a muchness, or because he wanted religion to become less powerful in human life; he did not become "broad" because he grew less religious; but, on the contrary, because he became more religious, more absorbed in and possessed by certain large and simple truths, therefore he became broader. The broadness of an outsider, the broadness of contempt, indifference, or neglect, is of no value or interest. The broadness which is the expression of fervour is of the utmost worth. That was the broadness of Jowett.

One of the most classic expressions of this liberal fervour is contained in a letter written only two years before his death, to Mr. Edwards, the Principal of a Welsh theological college at Bala. Jowett was hovering on the brink of an illness which almost proved fatal, and was unable to be present at the re-opening.

"I dare say that you remember the often quoted saying of Lessing, that 'the Christian religion had been tried for eighteen centuries, and that the religion of Christ remained to be tried.' It seems rather boastful and extravagant, but it expresses the spirit in which any new movement for the improvement of theology must be carried on. It means that Christians should no longer be divided into Churchmen and Nonconformists, or even into Christians and non-Christians, but that the best men everywhere should know themselves to be partakers of the Spirit of God, as He imparts Himself to them in various degrees. It means that the old foolish quarrels of science with religion, or of criticism with religion, should for ever cease, and that we should recognize all truth, based on fact, to be acceptable to the God of truth. It means that goodness and knowledge should be inseparably united in every Christian word or work, that the school should not be divorced from the Church, or the sermon from the lesson, or preaching from visiting, or secular duties from religious ones, except so far as convenience may require. It means that we should regard all persons as Christians, even if they come before us with other names, if they are doing the works of Christ¹."

Two points are made here. First: "Christians should no longer be divided into Churchmen and Nonconformists." Jowett was by

¹ *Life*, II, p. 362.

no means wanting in attachment to the Church of England, "with all its faults," as he said in 1883, "the best and most tolerant of the Churches in Christendom and the least opposed to the spirit of the age¹." But tolerance towards Dissent grew with his years. In 1891 he preached on Baxter in the Abbey, and I can well remember the tone in which he said:

"It is probable that the name of Baxter has never been celebrated before within these walls; for he was the leader of the Nonconformists of his day; and it is not to be supposed that perfect justice was done him in a later generation, any more than in his own by his opponents²."

A little later on in the same sermon he spoke of the Act of Uniformity (1662) as:

"The greatest misfortune which has ever befallen this country, a misfortune which has never been retrieved. For it has made two nations of us instead of one, in politics, in religion, almost in our notion of right and wrong: it has arrayed one class of society permanently against another³."

It seems natural that a liberal Christian such as Jowett should have made light of the minor differences, minor at any rate to him, which separate the Churchman from the Dissenter. But we are rather startled by the further statement that men should not even be divided into Christians and non-Christians, or that "we should regard all persons as Christians, even if they come before us with other names, if they are doing the works of Christ." But in one form or another this thought is constantly repeated in the Master's writings about religion.

To Jewish readers, it may at the first blush sound conceited. Jews are accustomed to hold that there are good men in every creed; in this respect they separate ethics from religion, and believe that the dogmas and rites of every creed can consort with, and even sustain high products of morality. The point of view of a small minority must be different from that of an overwhelming majority. The Jews are a *quantité négligeable*; most people never have met a non-Christian, or at any rate some one not born of nominally Christian parents, in their lives; they think of such a person as an "oriental" or even as a "heathen," far distant from themselves in place and in ideas. "Christian" and "religious" have become pardonably synonymous. And if "religious" is interpreted in Jowett's sense, to mean the love of God and man, the service of goodness and of truth, then the identification of "Christian" with "religious" leads only to the purification and broadening of Christianity. The very moderation

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 292.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

or modesty of the Jews is liable to land them into error. For if, because there are good men in every creed, and because high morality can accompany a number of religions, they are inclined to make the distinguishing elements or characteristic features of Judaism to consist of ritual and ceremonies, such a line of thought tends to narrow and degrade their creed. Far better that each religion should assert that the life of righteousness and self-sacrifice makes him who lives it an unconscious adherent, than that the very conception of religion should be debased in the minds of men. For the words of St. Paul are still profoundly true: "He is not a Jew, who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God¹."

In Jowett's case the identification of "Christian" and "religious" was made the easier by his idealization of the person of Christ on the one hand, and his firm belief in the greatness and supremacy of the teaching and the life recorded in the Gospels on the other. This point of view comes out in many passages. In one sermon he speaks (as I have already said) of the "three fixed points of religion," of which the third is, as we saw, "all well-ascertained facts of history or science," and the first is the "perfection of the divine nature."

The second is the life of Christ.

"Secondly, among the fixed points of religion is the life of Christ himself, in whose person the Divine justice and wisdom and love are embodied to us. It may be true that the record contained in the Gospels is fragmentary, and that the life of Christ itself far surpassed the memorials of it which remain to us. But there is enough in the words which have come down to us to be the rule of our lives; and they would not be the less true if we knew not whence they came, or who was the author of them. They appear to run counter to the maxims both of the Church and of the world; and yet the Church and the world equally acknowledge them. To some who have rejected the profession of Christianity, they have seemed equally true and equally divine—may we not say of these, too, that they have been 'Christians in unconsciousness,' if, not knowing Christ, like him they have lived for others, infusing into every moral and political question a higher tone by their greater regard for truth and more disinterested love of mankind? For this is what gives permanence to the religion of Christ as taught by himself alone—its comprehensiveness; it leaves no sort of truth or good outside of itself to be its enemy and antagonist. Or to put the same thought in other words, it remains because of its simplicity. The teaching of Christ is not like the teaching of some scribe or commentator who can eke out a few simple words to a tedious length; or of some scholastic divine who elaborates the particulars of a system; it is summed up in a word or two, 'believe,'

¹ Romans ii. 28, 29.

'forgive,' 'be ye perfect even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect.' It is not only common to different sects of Christians, but unites different classes of society, those who have and those who have not education, in one brotherhood. And if we could imagine the world ever so much improved, it would be still tending towards the kingdom of Christ, still falling short of his maxims and commands. Amid all the changes to which, during centuries to come, the Christian faith may be exposed, either from the influence of opinion or political causes, the image of Christ going about doing good, of Christ suffering for man, of Christ praying for his enemies—this, and this alone, will never pass away. And if anybody asks, Where, after all these assaults of criticism and science, and the concessions made to them, is our religion to be found now? we answer, Where it always was—in the imitation of Christ¹."

In a later sermon, from which I have already quoted, the universality of the Christian spirit is again enlarged upon :

"He who hungers and thirsts after goodness and truth shall not be long in doubt about their true nature, for God will reveal them to him. He who is seeking for the light will not be left in darkness. To him who is saying, 'Who is the Lord, that I may believe on him?' Christ will appear, whether in the form of a person or not in the form of a person, whether in a Christian country or not in a Christian country, whether in the words of the Gospel or not in the words of the Gospel. For we are a long way off that revelation of God which Christ made to his disciples; we see him at a distance only; and there may be some who do not bear his name, and yet are partakers of his spirit; and others again in so-called heathen countries, who speak of truth and righteousness in other language than that of the New Testament; who have known Christ and have not known him, in the spirit and not in the letter. And the more we enlarge the meaning of his words so as to include those sheep of another fold, those Christians in unconsciousness, as they may be termed, the more truly do we enter into the mind of Christ²."

Jowett not unfrequently dwelt upon this thought of the "unconscious Christian," precisely as a liberal Jew, who, be it observed, can include in his Judaism all that is best and most permanent in the teaching of Jesus, could speak, if he pleased, about the "unconscious Jew."

"As there are nominal Christians in the world who say that they are and are not, so there are unconscious Christians in the world who say that they are not and yet are³."

Among those who hold aloof from all outward manifestations of religion, whether Jews or Christians, let us hope that there are many who answer to the following description :

¹ *Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates' Journal*, Feb. 20, 1879.

² *Oxford University Herald*, Oct. 28, 1882.

³ *College Sermons*, p. 343.

"There are some persons, and not the least religious of men, who seem hardly ever to speak on the subject of religion. They are afraid of introducing a matter so serious into daily conversation; or they are overwhelmed by the difficulties which have gathered around the faith of Christ in this latter age of criticism and philosophy; they have never disentangled the true life from the traditions by which it has been overlaid. They have a high sense of honour and right, and they do their duty in a manner which shames most of us. They know that God is good; and in their lives they seek to imitate Christ himself by going about doing good. But they cannot make up their minds to profess themselves the members of a Church; it would not seem natural to them. What shall we say of them?—that they are Christians? that they are not Christians? Shall we lay stress on the name rather than upon the thing? or shall we boldly affirm the familiar words of a poet as containing the very essence of the teaching of Christian truth: 'He can't be wrong whose life is in the right'? Or shall we adopt an uncouth term, which yet may have a great significance to some minds, and say that they are 'Christian,' but in unconsciousness? Better perhaps to make use of the words of Christ himself and say, as he said to the young man who had kept the commandments, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven'."

Again, he sometimes likes to speak of the invisible Church, and of those who compose it. "Who they are no eye of man can discern;" for:

"As some of the best of Protestants have been condemned by Catholics and some of the best of Catholics by Protestants, so there are judgments in which the whole Christian world has concurred, which will nevertheless have to be reversed before the judgment-seat of God."

And:

"As there is in any Christian Church or country a certain number of true Christians, so, on the other hand, in distant lands there are those to whom Christ in his individual person has never been revealed, who yet have had the temper of Christ, and in a way of their own have followed him. And in this invisible Church we include all those who in former ages, as well as in other countries, have lived for others and not for themselves."

It has already been indicated how the religious "broadness" of Jowett was connected with the simplicity of his religious belief. He himself says that his religion became simpler as the years went on; his mind was concentrated more and more upon a few very simple but very far-reaching propositions. They seemed to him to constitute the religion of the future. In 1870 he writes to Sir R. Morier:

"I still think that there is something to be done in the way of making

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 272.

² *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

Christianity, whether under that or some other name, a reality. The daily life of people has been one thing, and there has been a mass of doctrines as well, with which they have muddled their minds. The simple love of truth and of God, and the desire to do good to man, have hardly been tried as yet, and people would tell you that they cannot be tried. There is something in your transcendental fluid : in some form or other—religious, moral, or metaphysical—men must rise above their daily life. I always feel the danger of utilitarianism or materialism lowering the character of education and of life¹."

In the last year of his life he writes about religious difficulties :

"They become less every year, because we are beginning to realize that religion is the fulfilling of the two great commandments, or, at a higher stage, the taking up the Cross and following Christ, and consists not in ceremonies and miracles or in any past facts, but in a Christian life. If any man has his mind fixed on justice, truth, holiness, doing good, he has religion enough. I believe that in the future religion will occupy the minds of men much more than it has in the past, and that it will be much simpler²."

Sometimes he quotes a series of religious sayings in the Old and New Testaments, and then asks : What can be simpler than these ? Yet do they not comprehend the essentials of religion³ ? "So simple," he says, on one occasion, after starting a sermon by some such quotations, "so simple is the religion of Christ." There is a grand passage in the first sermon which he preached before the University after he became Master of Balliol. He imagines Christ as once more on earth, and the words which would be upon his lips :

"He would have taught the new commandment, which is also old—purity of thought as well as of word and act ; the not doing things that we may be seen of men, or laying up for ourselves treasure upon earth ; the seeking first the kingdom of God, the forgiveness of injuries, the love of enemies—'that we may be the children of our Father which is in heaven.' What ! only the Sermon on the Mount ! and we verily thought that he would have spoken to us of apostolical succession, of baptismal regeneration, of justification by faith only, of final assurance, of satisfaction and atonement ; or that he would have told us, not that the father came out and kissed the prodigal son, and fell upon his neck and wept, but that there was one way, and one way only, by which men could be restored to the favour of God, or that he would have wrought a miracle in the face of all men and put an end to the controversy about them ; but he only says 'There shall be no sign given to this generation' : or that he would have told us plainly when we asked him about another life ; but he only replies, 'In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage.' We thought that we should have been confirmed in those points of faith

¹ *Letters*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

³ e. g. *College Sermons*, p. 313.

or practice in which we differ from others and that they would have been condemned by him; that we should have heard from his lips precise statements of doctrine; that he would have decided authoritatively disputed points, saying, 'Thus and thus shall he think who would be saved.' But he puts us off with parables about little children, about the wheat and the tares growing together, about the new wine and the old bottles, about the wayward children sitting in the market-place, about a house divided against itself. . . . The language of theology seems never to fall from his lips¹."

Jowett seems to have been so utterly impressed with these first principles of religion and morality, that all other minor questions, and all lesser difficulties and uncertainties, simply faded away from him. He brushed them aside, and perhaps wondered almost impatiently why others could not brush them aside so easily. They could not possibly affect him; his mind dwelt so habitually among the big and simple verities (as to him they seemed), that he had no room for anxiety or care about the historic scaffoldings and casements of religious truth. He seems, on the whole, in spite of moments of gloom, to have been confident about the future of religion.

"We should look forward in faith to the future, and not be too much influenced by the accidents of the age in which we live—the state of knowledge, the progress of criticism, the conflict of ideas and modes of thinking. Human nature has been so created by God as to be sufficient for itself under all its trials. The world is moving on fast: ideas which are in the air trouble our minds, at times they seem quite to overpower us; and we want to know where amid the floating sands of opinion we may find some rock or anchor of the soul.

"Is not the answer the same as of old: 'The things which are shaken are being removed, that the things which cannot be shaken may remain'? The law of duty, the standards of morality, the relations of family life are unchanged. No one can truly say that he is uncertain about right and wrong. 'Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?' The answer is the same as it always was, 'Even by ruling himself after thy word.' The nature of true religion is not altered in the latter half of the nineteenth century. 'To do justice, to love mercy, to walk humbly with God': 'to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep himself unspotted from the world': to live always as unto the Lord and not unto men; to be kindly affectioned one to another; to take up the Cross and follow Christ (if we are capable of it)—which of these precepts is changed by the inquiries of criticism? Which of them does not come home to us, not only as a word of the New Testament, but as a self-evident duty or truth?"

It is a very curious and striking fact that in another form Jowett seems to return to a doctrine which one might have thought utterly

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 70.

² *Oxford University Herald*, Oct. 28, 1882.

remote from him. We know how by some Evangelical thinkers right down to our own times unbelief was regarded as a phase of immorality. The sceptic and the free-thinker were probably men of doubtful lives. Many will remember the magnificent castigation which is administered to this doctrine by George Eliot in her essay on Dr. Cumming. With any such form of it Jowett would obviously have had no sympathy whatever. But he does appear to have thought that, for many of us at any rate, doubts and anxieties as regards the fundamentals of religion and morality do reside, at least to some extent, in what he calls "the infirmity of the will." Preaching in 1888 on the text, "He went about doing good," he, as his manner was, soon comes to dwell upon the simplicity of true religion. He quotes, according to his wont, great and simple sayings from the Old and New Testaments. Then he urges, as in the previous quotation, that these sayings are easy and certain. "Is there any difficulty in understanding them? or does the heart and conscience of any one disapprove of them? Does not Greek philosophy, or rather all philosophy and all religion from time to time bear witness to them?" He again asserts that "there is no reason why at any moment of our lives we should be uncertain what is the rule of duty or the will of God." Then, shortly after, he proceeds to say:

"The real difficulty is not here, but we transfer to the reason what is really the infirmity of the will. All men to some extent, under some name or other, know the laws of God and nature, but they do not make them the laws of their own life. It is not the perplexities of the age in which we live, but the lusts of the flesh, the desire of approbation, the pride of life, childishness, vanity, egotism, self-love, which are the real hindrances to our progress in the Christian life. Most of us have been conscious of struggles within us, in which the lower has tried to get the better of the higher self. The conscience of some has gone to sleep, but may remember such struggles in the past. There are many voices sounding in the ears of men everywhere, but they do not hear with their ears or understand with their minds the words which now as of old Christ is speaking to them. They do not consider the one thing needful—how they may become better¹."

Elsewhere he says:

"If you begin by seeking to do the will of God, more and more of his will shall be revealed to you. You shall live more and more in the light of his presence. You shall see him as he is, not disfigured by the traditions of men: and his grace shall be perfected in you²."

Some of us might say: That is all very well so far as morality is concerned, but the difficulties about believing in God (in

¹ *Collegiate Sermons*, p. 315.

² *Oxford University Herald*, Oct. 28, 1882.

any adequate sense of the word "God") stand on a very different footing. A man may be as good as you please, and yet be unable to believe in the existence of Deity. I imagine that to Jowett religion and morality were so inextricably combined that to "believe" in goodness was to "believe" in God. I do not find him expressly discussing the problem: Suppose that "goodness" is the mere creation of man after long aeons of change; suppose that there is no "goodness" anywhere else in the universe except in man. How in that case can a belief in goodness be equivalent to a belief in God? But I think we may infer that his view was that human goodness is inexplicable without a divine or universal "goodness" as its condition, archetype, or cause.

Lest the last two quotations may give a false impression of the Master's position, we have to remember that truth was to him one of the greatest of the virtues, whether human or divine. Holiness on the one side, truth and justice (which is a form of truth) on the other—only of these can there never be "exaggeration or excess."

"These are the only true basis on which to raise a church, a society, a nation. These are the two aspects under which we can most nearly approach the nature of God. . . . He who in his conception of God departs from them, who allows the mirror of divine perfection to be tarnished or discoloured by the breath of earthly passion, will insensibly set up his own party or church in the place of God, and will end by putting himself in the place of his church¹."

In several passages Jowett points out the interconnexion between what in Aristotelian language may be called the moral and the intellectual virtues. Thus in the *Essays and Reviews* we have the striking words:

"Even in this life, there are numberless links which unite moral good with intellectual truth. It is hardly too much to say that the one is but a narrower form of the other. Truth is to the world what holiness of life is to the individual—to man collectively the source of justice and peace and good²."

And to this we may add those noble words about the liberal student of religion with which the essay concludes:

"He may depart hence before the natural term, worn out with intellectual toil; regarded with suspicion by many of his contemporaries; yet not without a sure hope that the love of truth, which men of saintly lives often seem to slight, is, nevertheless, accepted before God³."

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 40.

² *Essays and Reviews*, p. 423.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

Over and over again does he urge us all to seek to see things as they really are. In the first edition of the book on St. Paul, he writes:

"The first rule of all life and conduct must ever be, whether in business or religion, in dealing with ourselves or others, to see how we really stand—to look at things as they really are¹."

He gives this principle a moral and practical application:

"The evils of life would be greatly diminished if we could see them as they truly are, and if when we have recognized their true nature we could cast them all upon God. . . . We need to see ourselves as we truly are in all our relations to God and our fellow men. . . . We need, above all, to recognize that our lives are not the sport of chance, but they have their deep foundation in the laws of nature and in the will of God²."

In the sermon on Bunyan and Spinoza, which was originally preached at Edinburgh in 1871, and was repeated with little change in Westminster Abbey in 1893, he dwells at some length upon the hurtful separation of knowledge and faith. The first part—describing faith without knowledge—will be easily accepted as characteristic of Jowett, yet the second part—the description of knowledge without faith—is no less so. It is only the two in combination which adequately represent him:

"Faith without knowledge is a wilful and unmeaning thing, which can never guide men into light and truth. It will pervert their notions of God; it will transfer them from one religion to another; it may and often has undermined their sense of right and wrong. It has no experience of light or of history, no power of understanding or foreseeing the nature of the struggle which is going on in the human heart, or the movements which affect Churches, and which, as ecclesiastical history shows, always have been and will be again. It is apt to rest on some misapplied quotation from Scripture, and to claim for its own creed, theories, and fancies the authority of inspiration. It is ready to assent to anything, or at least to anything which is in accordance with its own religious feeling, and it has no sense of falsehood and truth. It is fatal to the bringing up of children, because it never takes the right means to its ends, and has never learned to discern differences of character. It never perceives where it is in this world. It is narrowed to its own faith and the articles of its creed, and has no power of embracing all men in the arms of love, or in the purposes of God. It is an element of division among mankind, and not of union. It might be compared to a fire, which gives warmth but not life or growth—which instead of training or cherishing the tender plants, dries them up, and takes away their spring of youth.

"But then, again, knowledge without faith is feeble and powerless, unsuited to our condition in this world, supplying no sufficient motive

¹ *St. Paul*, II, p. 419 (ed. 1).

² *College Sermons*, p. 98.

of human action. It is apt to sink into isolation and selfishness, and seem rather to detach us from God and our fellow men than to unite us to them. It is likely to pass into a cold and sceptical temper of mind, which sees only the difficulties that surround us, and thinks that one thing is as good as another, and that nothing in this world signifies. This is a temper of mind which is the ruin of the head as well as of the heart; for no man can pursue knowledge with success who has not some sense of the higher purposes of knowledge, some faith in the future, some hope that the far-off result of his labours will be the good of man, and the fulfilment of the will of God in the world ¹."

In an earlier passage of the same sermon on Bunyan and Spinoza, Jowett observes that the "highest qualities of either seem to be also the characteristics of the other."

"Humility, simplicity, disinterestedness, the absence of envy or malice, the temper of a little child, are the attitudes of the philosopher as well as of the Christian; for moral qualities, when they rise to a certain height, seem to involve intellectual qualities; and intellectual qualities, when viewed in their highest aspect, become moral ones. No man can be perfectly good who is not also wise; no man can walk safely amid the temptations of the world who has no knowledge of the world; no man can act rightly who is incapable of foreseeing the consequences of his actions; and there are many more links than at first sight appears by which reason and faith are bound together, righteousness and truth meet one another ²."

With these opinions it is not surprising that Jowett desired, that the intellect should, as it were, combine with the heart in the work of religion. Already in 1863 we find him writing:

"I cannot help anticipating that increased freedom of opinion may lead to a real amendment of life. Hitherto, religion seems to have become more and more powerless among the educated classes. Do we not want a Gospel for the educated—not because it is more blessed to preach to the educated than to the poor, but because the faith of the educated is permanent, and ultimately affects the faith of the poor?"

But the many-sidedness of Jowett is shown on the one hand by his clear perception that there is such a thing as relative truth, which must also be observed, and, on the other hand, by his sympathy with and appreciation of the lowliest and most unintellectual forms of goodness and of piety. To illustrate the first point I will only quote a single passage to be found in a sermon preached in 1885:

"We may argue that truth kept back is the greatest source of doubt and suspicion; that faith cannot survive without inquiry, and that the

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³ *Life*, I, p. 362.

doubt which is raised may be the step upwards to a higher faith. And so we arrive at the conclusion, that truth is good, and to be received thankfully and fearlessly by all who are capable of receiving it. But on the other hand it is not always to be imparted in its entirety to those who cannot understand it, and whose minds would be puzzled and overwhelmed by it. What use would there be in discussing with a cottager the chronological difficulties of the Old Testament history, or in explaining to a child that the story of Joseph and his coat of many colours, which conveys so vivid a picture to his mind, partakes of the nature of an Eastern fiction? In human life there is an absolute principle of truth, and happy is he who seeks it out and finds it. But there is also truth and right, relative to the circumstances of men, to differences of age and sex and intelligence. And in their best form these two views will be found to coincide. While in the apostle's phrase, 'strong meat is reserved for them of full age,' a wise man knows instinctively what he should say in different companies and to different persons¹."

Jowett's appreciative admiration of lowly goodness and of simple piety may be partly accounted for by his width of sympathy and penetrative insight, and partly by his Evangelical upbringing and associations. In a sermon preached in 1870 at Westminster Abbey, he touches on the three parties or spirits in the Church, and speaks of the Evangelicals and of what we owe to them. "Many of us may remember with gratitude that to good and simple-minded persons of this school of opinion we owe our earliest religious impressions." "Many an one in pious stillness and humility has led a life of absolute self-devotion, of heavenly resignation, sustained on what appear to some of us to be exaggerated and narrow views of religion²." He objects to any uncritical judgment of religious revivals. Such "movements ought not to be ridiculed or sneered at by persons of education, though there may be ridiculous circumstances connected with them. . . . We cannot expect all persons to receive the Gospel in the same quiet, rational manner³." Before God the difference between the wise and the ignorant is infinitesimal. In his "Essay on the Immortality of the Soul," he says:

"Sometimes we are led by our feelings, rather than by our reason, to think of the good and wise only as existing in another life. Why should the mean, the weak, the idiot, the infant, the herd of men who have never in any proper sense the use of reason, reappear with blinking eyes in the light of another world? But our second thought is that the hope of humanity is a common one, and that all or none will be partakers of immortality. Reason does not allow us to suppose that we have any greater claims than others, and experience may often reveal to us unexpected flashes of the higher nature in those whom we had despised⁴."

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 230.

² *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 262.

³ *College Sermons*, p. 121.

⁴ *Plato*, II, p. 173.

This last passage is on the same lines as the conclusion of the "Essay on Conversion and Changes of Character" in the *St. Paul* :

"Reason, and reflection, and education, and the experience of age, and the force of manly sense are not the links which bind us to the communion of the body of Christ; it is rather to those qualities which we have, or may have, in common with our fellow men, that the Gospel is promised; it is with the weak, the poor, the babes in Christ,—not with the strong-minded, the resolute, the consistent—that we shall sit down in the kingdom of heaven¹."

There was no form of useful work with which the Master had not sympathy; none concerning which he would not have those who are occupied in it understand that it can be ennobled by the spirit in which it is carried on. How admirable for instance is what he says about domestic service and the respective duties of master and servant. For example :

"The duties of servants are for the most part a daily routine of little things, but these little things make up life, and they are ennobled by the manner in which they are performed, as 'unto the Lord and not unto man,'—'as unto the Lord, but also unto men'; for it is natural that they should become attached to their masters and mistresses; that they should be glad to see him, and he to see them, when he returns after an absence; that the house should seem pleasanter, brighter, warmer, while he is with them. They are part of the family, and also, if they deserve to be so, in a measure the friends of his friends. They are not serving for him; but for the sense of duty, for the love of God²."

So in the sermon upon "the Completion of a Life's Work," he says :

"Many of us must have known of servants who have devoted themselves to the bringing up of a family, the very type of good sense and high principle in a limited sphere, faithful in good or evil fortune, the pillar, the example of the house in which they lived. They too have finished the work which was given them to do; they have 'gone home and taken their wages.' And we sometimes wish that we in our sphere of life could offer up to God anything as good as that faithful service³."

It is characteristic of the man that in leaving by will a legacy to his two housemaids, Jowett adds: "I hope that they will lead good and useful lives⁴."

There were other lives which he appreciated as well, lives cut off when their work had scarce begun, or lives so situated that work in the ordinary sense of the word could hardly be done by them at all.

¹ *St. Paul*, II, p. 249 (ed. 2).

² *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 353.

³ *College Sermons*, p. 340.

⁴ *Life*, II, p. 478.

Of the first the Master speaks touchingly in his sermon on Pascal, where he used a favourite text: "He being made perfect in a short time fulfilled a long time."

"Time cannot measure the value or fullness of human life. There have been young persons dying in their teens who have left behind them a memory and an example to those older as well as younger than themselves. We hardly wished them to have lived longer: like some fair plant they grew up at once to perfection. Their ways were so gentle and gracious that they seemed almost too good for this world. . . . We look back upon them as they were at fifteen, eighteen, nineteen; the image of them may sometimes come between us and selfishness or sin¹."

Few who had the good fortune to hear it can forget the close of the sermon on "the Completion of a Life's Work":

"Yes, we acknowledge that there are broken lives, pieces of lives which have begun in this world to be completed, as we believe, in another state of being. And some of them have been like fragments of ancient art which we prize not for their completeness but for their quality, and because they seem to give us a type of something which we can hardly see anywhere upon earth. Of such lives we must judge, not by what the person said or wrote or did in the short span of human existence, but by what they were: if they exercised some peculiar influence on society and on friends, if they had some rare grace of humility, or simplicity, or resignation, or love of truth, or self-devotion, which was not to be met with in others. God does not measure men's lives only by the amount of work which is accomplished in them. He who gave the power to work may also withhold the power. And some of these broken lives may have a value in his sight which no bustle or activity of ordinary goodness could have attained. There have been persons confined to a bed of sickness, blind, palsied, tormented with pain and want, who yet may be said to have led an almost perfect life. Such persons afford examples to us, not indeed of a work carried out to the end (for their circumstances did not admit of this), but of a work, whether finished or unfinished, which at any moment is acceptable to God. And we desire to learn of them, and to have an end like theirs when the work of active life is over and we sit patiently waiting for the will of God²."

These are the words of the man who was supposed to have set too great a value upon "outward success." The supposition is false, and not the less false, because in a note-book of 1883 he accuses himself of not having had a nobler ideal in his youth than that of "success in life³." Jowett was intensely keen that every one should achieve and do all that was in their power. He was afraid lest young men should waste their time in idleness, or in dreams,

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 86.

² *College Sermons*, p. 344.

³ *Life*, II, p. 242.

or in illusions, or in empty aspirations after unattainable good. He wanted to break down the wall of separation between the secular and the religious, and to show that the true success was in work done as unto God, and not unto men. Conversely he also held that the most business-like adaptation of means to ends, or the most commonsense survey of consequences, was the most religious way in which work could be carried on. Not only must we be ready to die, but ready also to live. Preachers often speak of the terrible uncertainty of life; he would speak about its "comparative certainty," an aspect of the subject "which is quite as religious and more practical, and has not so often been dwelt upon in sermons."

The word success may be used in a higher and a lower sense, and Jowett often distinguishes between them. There is the matter, and there is the manner. Some forms of work are in themselves higher than others, but there is scarcely any which cannot be ennobled by the spirit in which it is done. It is this spirit which, superadded to the "material" results, constitutes the true success. Or again, there is a "success of the mind," in which a man rises above his profession, and instead of being overpowered by circumstances, is the lord of them. And above all these, there is the success which has in it an element of eternity, when a man "in the ordinary business of life finds a higher business," and seeks to live according to the will of God.

"The small affairs of life, and the things which we hardly name in connexion with religion, if they are done in a true and simple manner, partake of this higher, this divine character¹."

"There is an eternal element even in worldly success, when, amid all the rivalries of this world, a man has sought to live according to the will of God, and not according to the opinion of men. Whatever there was of justice, or purity, or disinterestedness in him, or Christlike virtue or resignation, or love of the truth, shall never pass away. When a man feels that earthly rewards are but for a moment, and that his true self and true life have yet to appear: when he recognizes that the education of the individual beginning here is continued hereafter, and, like the education of the human race, is ever going on: when he is conscious that he is part of a whole, and himself and all other creatures are in the hands of God; then his mind may be at rest: he has nothing more to fear: he has attained to peace and is equally fit to live or die²."

How admirably the two aspects of human life are combined, with due justice done to each, in the following:

"The best part of human actions is the spirit in which they are performed; the spirit which bears witness with God's spirit and unites

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 153.

² *College Sermons*, p. 263 (1879).

us to him. And secondly, the highest use of the means involves the recognition of the end: in politics, for example, of some final triumph of righteousness which by gradual steps we hope to approach more nearly, of some increased diffusion of enlightenment or happiness which we know to be the will of God. There is no presence of God in the higher sense in the operations of war or business, in the skill of the engineer, in the art of the painter, in the trivial round of life, any more than in the greater aims of earthly ambition. But when in war or business, or the fulfilment of their daily duties, men begin to be animated by higher motives, and feel that they are living, not for themselves or for their own individual good, but for others, working together for God and his laws, then they may think of God building the house, of God keeping the city. When they have acted as if all depended on themselves, they may feel that everything depends on God and returns to him¹."

In the sermon on "the Completion of a Life's Work," he again takes up the idea of a man working for or together with God.

"We may think of this work of whatever kind as the work of God upon earth, which is carried on independently of us, and in which we are allowed to bear a part. It wonderfully clears a man's head and simplifies his life when he has learned to rest not on himself but on God, when he sees his daily life and his daily work with a kind of intensity in the light of God's presence. He is not divided between this world and another, or trying to make the best of both. He has one single question which he puts to himself, one aim which he is seeking to fulfil—the will of God. He wants to know what is true or right in the sight of God. He does not care about the compliments of friends or the applause of the world, the breath of popular air or favour. He desires to work, not for the sake of any of these things, but for the sake of the work only. He wants to be rid of self in all its many deceitful, ever-recurring forms, that he may be united to God and the truth²."

In his College sermons the Master was wont to speak to his hearers of quite ordinary, commonplace subjects—the duty of keeping accounts, shyness, conversation, eating and drinking, and so on. His advice and counsel were stimulating, suggestive, sagacious; but perhaps the finest feature was the way in which he showed how these ordinary and commonplace subjects could be transfigured with a religious light. As an instance of this I will quote a passage taken from the end of the sermon on "Conversation":

"The apostle St. Paul, after attempting to make rules and to draw distinctions about meats and drinks, finally sums up the conclusion in the following words: 'Whether we eat or drink, let us do all to the glory of God.' And so, leaving the niceties of self-observation, we too may say, 'Whatever we utter, whether in jest or earnest, let us speak

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 341.

only to the glory of God ; let our tongue still be employed in his service.' We cannot always have the thought of God present to us, but we may feel in our intercourse with others some restraining influence, some inspiring power, coming we know not whence. When we repress the egotistical remark, the ill-natured story, the weak comparison of ourselves with others, the impure imagination, although we do not expressly refer our words to him, we may be truly said to speak unto the Lord and not to man. When we regard truth more than the entertainment of the company, when we seek to do justice to others and feel kindly towards them, then, although in a limited and imperfect manner, we reflect his attributes. When there is peace and good-will in a society, there he is in the midst of them ; when there is joy on earth, then in a figure there is joy too in heaven¹."

On a higher plane, but yet in the same spirit, are the Master's reflections upon study, and how that too, in all its forms, may be made a service unto God. Beginning from a determination to "love knowledge for its own sake, not for any earthly interest, but from the simple desire to know"; working hard, not merely "with a view to obtain honours in an examination," but "because it is a duty to make the most of our lives and cultivate the talents which God has given us," we may mount up to a true "consecration of study," to "presenting" ourselves as "a 'living sacrifice' to the service of God²." The close of the sermon on "Study" may be quoted in full :

"Study is a service, perhaps the highest service that we can render to God : it teaches us his purposes ; it reconciles us with his laws ; it enables us to see the truth more nearly as he sees it ; it shows us the revelation of his spirit, in the lives of great and good men . . . At the foundation of all true study there lie moral and religious qualities, such as honesty, including accuracy, the disinterested love of truth, the desire to impart knowledge to all and to make it minister to the wants of our fellow men. Is there anything superstitious in beginning our studies with a prayer to God, either spoken or silent, that he would enlighten and strengthen our minds, because we are not seeking our own fame or success, but only his glory ; that he would give us peace and truth, and allow us to cast the burdens of study upon him ; that he would enable us to keep the mind above the body in all the fretful nervous trials of disease, in the sad hours when our faculties are distracted ? As Milton says—

'So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate ; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse.'

So we too may pray God to deliver us from the darkness of prejudice, from the false colours of sentiment, from the veil of self-conceit which so easily envelopes us ; that our eyes may truly see him and our minds

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 222.

² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

perceive him in history, in nature, in man. Let us pray that the knowledge which we acquire may assist us in fulfilling his work ; in lessening the sufferings and helping the needs of our fellow men ; and lead us through the things of sense up to that perfect idea of goodness and truth which he himself is¹."

Passing from a field of service which can only apply to a few, to one which has a universal interest to us, we can note how Jowett takes the same line in regard to sorrow as to study. Sorrow too must be consecrated to God. He often urges this point in his noble letters of condolence to friends who had suffered the bereavement of death :

"Rest assured, my dear friend, that there is a divine love as well as a human love which encompasses us, the dead and the living together, which leads us through deserts and solitudes for a time to make us extend the sphere of our affections beyond living relatives to other men, to himself and to the unseen world²."

Or again :

"I venture to ask you whether sorrow should not work in some other way—in raising us to a higher level of life—in a diffused care and love of all, taking the place of an absorbing affection for one—in an absolute trust in God though he has left us so very dark ? According to each person's character, should they not try to heal their sorrow for the sake of others ?" "What we should desire is not by excitement to keep alive a passionate sorrow, but that this discipline of sorrow may pass into our minds and lives³."

In one of his sermons he bids us remember that :

"Our only comfort and truest hope is to make out of our sorrow a stepping-stone to some higher self ; if the love of a friend or companion, without losing the recollection of the part, can be transfigured into the love of God and of all good, and the desire to heal the broken-hearted when we ourselves are broken in heart⁴."

The close of another sermon alludes to the same subject, and presents the same high teaching :

"Thus at every turn of life we may go out of ourselves to rest in God. He is the true centre of all human things, in whom all the varieties of human character meet and are satisfied, in whom only the greater passions of mankind, seeking in vain for something which they know not, can safely find their object ; from whom, too, men's passing emotions receive their true law—all of them to be diffused again over our fellow men, like rain falling upon the earth. For whatever we give to God he gives back again to us in another form, refined, hallowed, strengthened. The

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 200.

² *Life*, I, p. 359.

³ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 20, 280.

⁴ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 175.

sorrow which would have been fruitless if suffered to run wild, when consecrated to him may teach us truths of which we had not previously thought, penetrating and sanctifying our lives. The trials of mind through which we pass may develop powers and interests in us of which we never dreamed; regarded as a part of the order of the world, which God has appointed that they may discipline and strengthen us¹."

That which Jowett meant by the word "God" was, as we have seen, a tremendous reality to him. "When we feel ourselves weakest," he writes, "it is a new strength to think of the unchangeableness of God²." It is touching to find how he strove with all his might to practise the lessons which he taught. He did verily try to make his life a service. His reflections in a note-book of 1883 are almost too sacred and personal to print. "May every hour of the day, and every pound that I have to spend, be given to God." "I have no idea except that of fulfilling my duty to the University" (he was then Vice-Chancellor) "and of devoting the remaining years to the service of God³." Constantly too comes out in these note-books, as in his letters, the deep humility of the man—a humility all the more inspiring when one remembers his position and greatness. If one turns from such passages to the sermons, their sincerity becomes the more apparent, and their cogency the greater. In his sermon on "Going to Church" he speaks about the "Confession" in the Book of Common Prayer, and alludes to the current criticisms upon it:

"Others are displeased at the repetition of the same confession day after day—for why, if we confess that we are miserable sinners, do we not cease to be miserable sinners? or why, when we are unconscious of any sin committed or any duty unfulfilled, should we still repeat, 'We have done those things which we ought not to have done, and we have left undone those things which we ought to have done'?"

In the light of Jowett's own personal humility, it is with a quickened sense of shame that we read his reply:

"With reference to the Confession, though it might be better that such solemn words were not repeated day after day until they are apt to become formal, yet there is a truth of feeling in them which comes home to the religious mind: 'The best of us are doing so little and that so ill, in comparison of the requirements of God.' Our lives are poor and unsatisfactory, and the daily wish of our hearts is that they may become purer, holier, better. At times when we feel how we are under the influence of interested motives or of the opinions of others, how little we have of nobility or independence, we are tempted to say, 'Lord, there is no health in us.' Certainly we do not value anything that we do: the better we are, the more conscious we become of our own defects; the

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 307.

² *Life*, II, p. 456.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

wiser we are, the more sensible we grow of our own ignorance. We know that every good gift has come from him, and that he alone 'has made us to differ from others'; and our only desire is that we may give back to him what he has given to us¹."

With this genuine humility, Jowett combines in his teaching the sagest common sense. He bids us look to the essentials, and not to worry ourselves about the details. The one vital question is: "Are men becoming better?"

"That is the shortest, the simplest, and the most vital question, which any man can ask about himself, or about his church, about the society in which he lives, or about the country of which he is a citizen."²

Let young men not worry their heads too much about religious differences and difficulties:

"Admitting that we are disagreed about many questions of doctrine and many historical facts, including the great question of miracles, are we not agreed about the first principles of truth and right, about the nature of God, about a future life, about the teaching of Christ? Have we not enough in common to carry on the war against evil? The question that a young man has really to answer is not 'What is the true doctrine of the Sacrament?' but how he shall make the best use of his time, how he shall order his expenses, how he shall control his passions (that they may not, like harpies, be pursuing him all through life), how he can live to God and the truth instead of living to pleasure and to himself³."

In morals and in religion the current proverb about expenditure must be reversed. Here it is: "Take care of the pounds, and the pence will take care of themselves." Some of Jowett's reflections on this subject in the *Epistles of St. Paul* are very effective. The following is from the "Essay on Conversion and Changes of Character":

"Many a person will tease himself by counting minutes and providing small rules for his life, who would have found the task an easier and a nobler one, had he viewed it in its whole extent, and gone to God in a 'large and liberal spirit,' to offer up his life to him. To have no *arrière pensée* in the service of God and virtue is the great source of peace and happiness. Make clean that which is within, and you have no need to purify that which is without. Take care of the little things of life, and the great ones will take care of themselves, is the maxim of the trader, which is sometimes, and with a certain degree of truth, applied to the service of God. But much more true is it in religion that we should take care of the great things, and the trifles of life will take care of themselves. 'If thine eye be single, thy whole body will be full of light.'⁴"

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 289.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ *St. Paul*, II, p. 236.

In the same spirit is conceived another passage on the same subject in the famous "Essay on Casuistry," which has sometimes been regarded as one of the very finest bits of work which the Master ever did :

"Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that scruples about lesser matters almost always involve some dereliction of duty in greater and more obvious ones. A tender conscience is a conscience unequal to the struggles of life. At first sight it seems as if, when lesser duties were cared for, the greater would take care of themselves. But this is not the lesson which experience teaches. In our moral as in our physical nature, we are finite beings, capable only of a certain degree of tension, ever liable to suffer disorder and derangement, to be over-exercised in one part and weakened in another. No one can fix his mind intently on a trifling scruple or become absorbed in an eccentric fancy, without finding the great principles of truth and justice insensibly depart from him. He has been looking through a microscope at life, and cannot take in its general scope. The moral proportions of things are lost to him ; the question of a new moon or a Sabbath has taken the place of diligence or of honesty. There is no limit to the illusions which he may practise on himself. There are those, all whose interests and prejudices at once take the form of duties and scruples, partly from dishonesty, but also from weakness, and because that is the form in which they can with the best grace maintain them against other men, and conceal their true nature from themselves¹."

Twenty-six years later we hear the same warning voice ; the truth which it utters is at least as applicable to Judaism as to Christianity :

"Too strict a religion may be as harmful as too lax a one. For scruples may grow upon scruples until the unimportant takes the place of the important, and the whole gospel of Christ, the gospel of charity, of freedom, of truth, becomes absorbed in some question of vestments, or of position, or of the meaning of unintelligible words. We often talk of being on the safe side ; but there is a danger on both sides. We say it is better to believe too much than too little ; but the only safety is in the truth²."

In the same large and liberal spirit with which we are to order our own life, must we also judge the lives of others. The following passage from the sermon on "Going to Church," preached twenty-five years ago, still retains its truth :

"We do not mean to think better of ourselves because we attend the public worship of God, nor to divide men into good and bad according as they go to church or not. There are many in the present day who seem to be religious, and yet have no strong sense of right ; and there are many who have a strong sense of right, and yet have hardly any feeling of religion. We who meet here believe that we have a blessing and a good ; but we do not mean to condemn them, or to divide ourselves from them more than we are necessarily divided from them. We are not

¹ *St. Paul*, II, p. 394.

² *College Sermons*, p. 228.

certain that their lives, their love of truth, their disinterestedness, their desire to do good to others, may not condemn us in the sight of God. There is no man who is leading a good life who is far from the kingdom of heaven. And we must allow for differences of character, for dislike of forms and conventionalities, for reaction against early education, and not demand of every one that they should conform to the same pattern. He who has the love of God and man inherent in his soul has the root of the matter in him; he who has any true love of man is not far from the love of God¹."

One other more general passage may be quoted in which Jowett speaks as the wise counsellor to young men, and in which he shows how large, and joyous, and ideal was the religion which his teaching set before them. It is the conclusion to a sermon on "the Joys and Aspirations of Youth," of which the text had been the familiar verse in Ecclesiastes :

"And now for the words 'Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth,' I will venture to substitute other words, 'Rejoice, whether young or old, in the service of God'; rejoice in the beauty of this world, in its fair scenes, in its great interests, in the hope and promise of knowledge. Rejoice in the thought of another life to which as we grow older we are drawing nearer. Rejoice in the companionship and affection of others, in the home to which no place can compare, in the friends whom nothing but death can part. Rejoice in the dead, more happy than the living, not as the Preacher says because they are without sense, but because 'they are in the hands of God, and there shall no evil touch them.' Rejoice in the work which God has given us to do here, knowing that it is his work, and the preparation for a higher, which we shall carry on far beyond what we are capable of thinking or imagining at present. Rejoice that we have got rid of the burden of selfishness, and egotism, and conceit, and those littlenesses and meannesses, which drag us down to earth, that our consciences are as the noonday clear, that we do not willingly allow ourselves in any sin. Rejoice that we are at peace, and can be resigned to the will of God, whatever it may have in store for us. Rejoice that we can live no longer for ourselves, but for God and our fellow men. Rejoice, too, in the truth, whatever that may be, which is slowly unveiling itself before our eyes, for God is truth, and every addition to truth is an addition to our knowledge of him. He will purge away the mists that environ us, and give us clearness, and 'the mind through all her powers irradiate.' Rejoice last of all in the love of Christ, who gave himself for us, and in the love of all other men who, bearing his image, have sacrificed themselves for the good of others. And, to sum up all, in the language of the apostle, 'Rejoice in the Lord always: and again I say, Rejoice².'"

One asks with interest whether this summons to rejoice implies that the Master was optimistically inclined as regards the future of

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 291.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

religion. On the whole it would seem that he was so; he believed in God too fervently not to believe that God's "kingdom" was "coming." But he was very cautious in prediction, for, as he was wont to say, "we cannot anticipate religious any more than political changes." The character of the future can only be imagined in general outline by the qualities and signs of the present. These qualities and signs comprise both evil and good. Throughout his life Jowett was keenly alive to both. With regard to the evil, it is curious to find him writing as early as 1849 in the following strain to Lord Lingen:

"It would be a strange thing to collect together all the evils that have sprung from religion, not merely from downright persecution, but from the prejudices and narrownesses which in the mass of men seem inseparable from it. How seldom you meet with a religious man who is quite sensible also—as politicians, most are almost insane. When anything touches the very name of religion, *εἰς* *μάχεται* and becomes so stupefied and isolated in his prejudices, that it is impossible for him to understand the real state of the case. One cannot give up the hope of better things, but there is small sign of them at present¹."

In the sermon on Bunyan and Spinoza, he complains that we are too wont to "revert to the follies of the past" instead of extracting its wisdom, "returning to antiquated practices and disused symbols" instead of attempting to translate the "higher purpose" of bygone centuries into the language and customs of our own. For:

"In religion we are always returning to the past, instead of starting from the past; learning nothing, forgetting nothing; trying to force back modern thought into the old conditions instead of breathing anew the spirit of Christ into an altered world²."

Occasionally he pours out his scorn upon Epicureanism and superstition together, and warns us that the human mind seems unable permanently to rid itself of either evil:

"We too have our popular Epicureanism, which would allow the world to go on as if there were no God. When the belief in him, whether of ancient or modern times, begins to fade away, men relegate him, either in theory or practice, into a distant heaven. They do not like expressly to deny God when it is more convenient to forget him; and so the theory of the Epicurean becomes the practice of mankind in general. Nor can we be said to be free from that which Plato justly considers to be the worst unbelief—of those who put superstition in the place of true religion. For the larger half of Christians continue to assert that the justice of God may be turned aside by gifts, and, if not by 'the odour of fat, and the sacrifice steaming to heaven,' still by another kind of sacrifice placed upon the altar—by masses for the quick and dead,

¹ *Life*, I, p. 165.

² *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 52.

by dispensations, by building churches, by rites and ceremonies—by the same means which the heathen used, taking other names and shapes. And the indifference of Epicureanism and unbelief is in two ways the parent of superstition, partly because it permits, and also because it creates, a necessity for its development in religious and enthusiastic temperaments. If men cannot have a rational belief, they will have an irrational. And hence the most superstitious countries are also at a certain point of civilization the most unbelieving, and the revolution which takes one direction is quickly followed by a reaction in the other¹."

Different aspects of the question float before his mind. Thus from a note-book of 1874 we get the following :

"In the present day there is not much to be done in getting rid of superstition ; everything to be done in the revival or construction of religion.

"Fifty years ago people, or at least some people, cared about their souls ; now they hardly know whether they have souls or not²."

Such reflections must be read with the caution about which I spoke at the first. More frequently the Master touches on the hopeful signs of present-day religion. Even in 1855 and in 1860 he alludes to the dying down of controversy, to the softening of party spirit, to the decay of interest in minutiae or subtleties of dogma³. Again, people are beginning to look at religious differences from a more historical or psychological point of view :

"The characters of individuals and nations differ, and these differences enter into their religious beliefs. When men read history they find often that their position is the result of some accident or misfortune of the past, and this has a softening influence. And when they think of themselves and their brethren, as they are in the sight of God, they know that they are not really distinguished by the names which they bear in this world, but that in every nation and in every church he that doeth righteousness is accepted of him⁴."

Again, he finds that "there is not so much party spirit" in religion "as formerly" (1878). "Men are beginning to get tired of it, and the world is rising up and protesting against the violence of the churches."

"Christians are beginning to think of themselves more as they are in the sight of God, and less with reference to those envious lines of demarcation or external notes of difference which intersect Christian countries. . . . Men are beginning to feel as they put aside outward differences that nothing but a change of life and heart can make us acceptable to God⁵."

¹ *Plato*, V, p. covii. ² *Letters*, p. 243. ³ *Cp. Essays and Reviews*, p. 421.

⁴ *College Sermons*, p. 75. *Cp.* p. 97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Finally, as it seemed to Jowett, the antagonism between science and religion is passing away. "No man of sense can ever imagine" nowadays "that the inquiry into truth can be displeasing to the God of truth."

"The progress of science and knowledge (although this too, owing to the disproportion of the parts of knowledge, may have a temporary evil effect) has been an aid and support of the religion of Christ, and is gradually becoming incorporated with it, and more than any other cause has tended to purify it from narrowing and hurtful superstitions, which we easily recognize in other religions or in other forms of the Christian religion, not so easily in our own¹."

So too, as we have already heard, the stumbling-block of miracles was, he believed, being gradually removed, and critical questions about the date and origin of Scripture, or about the truth of facts related in it, "are now regarded in a very different manner from formerly."

He is therefore led to anticipate that in the next generation—

"An historical age will have succeeded to a controversial one. Religious life will no longer be liable to be upset by small earthquakes, but will have a wider and deeper foundation. Good men of all parties will more and more see that so far as they had the spirit of God at all, they meant the same thing far more than they supposed²."

But Jowett was far from thinking that because a church or a religion may be more tolerant or more liberal, it is therefore necessarily better all round. "A church which is liberal may be also indifferent; having attained the form of truth, it may have lost the power of it. It may be sunk in rationalism and indifferentism, and never lift a hand for the improvement of mankind³." "In the love of truth" men may lose "sight of goodness⁴." Sometimes, as is natural to many men as they draw near old age, Jowett has his mood of anxiety and doubt:

"There is more toleration, more knowledge, than formerly; but is there the same heroism, the same self-sacrifice, the same intensity, the same elevation of character, the same aspiration after an ideal life, the same death to the world, the same continued struggle for the good of man? People ask, 'Who would be a martyr nowadays?' and the sting of the jest lies in the truth of it. For, indeed, we can scarcely imagine such a power of faith in our own age as would enable a man to give up not only his own preferment or means of livelihood, but life itself, in defence of some doctrine or principle. Nor do we see

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 311 (1888).

³ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 296.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

around us that intense perception of the miseries of others which makes happiness impossible while they remain unrelieved. There is more good sense in the world, and greater material prosperity, and less of great evil, than formerly. But those higher types of character, which in former ages have guided and enlightened whole countries and communities, seem to us now further and further off, and with a diminished brightness, like the lights on the shore to the departing mariner¹."

Still, on the whole, Jowett looks forward in some confidence to the future. In 1865 he writes to a friend :

"So far as religion has any dwelling-place on earth, I suppose we should rather, like the Jewish prophets, get the habit of looking onwards to the future and not backwards to the past. This would be a new kind of Millenarianism founded on fact and not on the interpretation of prophecy. All countries and all individuals hang to the past, but they seem hardly to think of the future; and the tendency of the popular religion is to make us imagine that it will be at least as bad, if not worse than the present, and to be cured by the same fictitious remedies. The world are always being told that they are to make no progress in religion, and therefore they never do make any progress²."

Twenty-one years later he is still convinced of the future of *faith* :

"There is an immense place for faith in human life, but only for a faith which does not fight against experience: there is a faith in goodness, a faith in progress, in a Supreme Being, in the infinite longings and hopes which rise up in the human breast, which still remain and will remain as long as man exists upon the earth³."

Sometimes, in the manner of his favourite Baxter, he speaks under the guise of an old man who looks back and looks forward with equal moderation. "The older I get," he makes such a one say, "the more inclined I am to cling to a simple faith," and the less inclined to controversy.

"I know that in another world there can be no differences of parties in a church, no oppositions of theology and science, such as have separated us in this. When I think of these things, I sometimes feel that if I could have my life over again, I would join no party, enter into no controversy, but would seek only to awaken in members of the same church, or in different churches, and in all men everywhere, the love of truth for its own sake, the spirit of charity and mutual understanding⁴."

For :

"To follow Christ, to speak the truth in love, to do to others as you would they should do to you, these are the eternal elements of religion which can never pass away, and he who lives in these lives in God⁵."

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 46.

² *Life*, I, p. 372.

³ *Letters*, p. 247.

⁴ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Or as he had already expressed it in the grand close to the "Essay on Atonement and Satisfaction" in the second edition of his book on St. Paul, a passage which is the more significant in view of the violent abuse which the first edition of the book had brought upon him :

"Who, as he draws near to Christ, will not feel himself drawn towards his theological opponents? At the end of life, when a man looks back calmly, he is most likely to find that he exaggerated in some things; that he mistook party spirit for a love of truth. Perhaps, he had not sufficient consideration for others, or stated the truth itself in a manner which was calculated to give offence. In the heat of the struggle, let us at least pause to imagine polemical disputes as they will appear a year, two years, three years hence; it may be, dead and gone—certainly more truly seen than in the hour of controversy. For the truths about which we are disputing cannot partake of the passing stir; they do not change even with the greater revolutions of human things. They are in eternity; and the image of them on earth is not the movement on the surface of the waters, but the depths of the silent sea. Lastly, as a measure of the value of such disputes, which above all other interests seem to have for a time the power of absorbing men's minds and rousing their passions, we may carry our thoughts onwards to the invisible world, and there behold, as in a glass, the great theological teachers of past ages, who have anathematized each other in their lives, resting together in the communion of the same Lord¹."

Thus in its highest form religion will continue as long as man continues, and moreover of religion thus purified there can never be too much. This section of the *florilegium* may be concluded by a fine quotation from the introduction to the *Philebus*, in which the last idea is taken up and expanded :

"Religion, like happiness, is a word which has great influence apart from any consideration of its content; it may be for great good or for great evil. But true religion is the synthesis of religion and morality, beginning with divine perfection in which all human perfection is embodied. It moves among ideas of holiness, justice, love, wisdom, truth; these are to God, in whom they are personified, what the Platonic ideas are to the Idea of Good. It is the consciousness of the will of God that all men should be as he is. It lives in this world, and is known to us only through the phenomena of this world, but it extends to worlds beyond. Ordinary religion which is alloyed with motives of this world may easily be in excess, may be fanatical, may be interested, may be the mask of ambition, may be perverted in a thousand ways. But of that religion which combines the will of God with our highest ideas of truth and right there can never be too much. This impossibility of excess is the note of divine moderation²."

¹ St. Paul, II, p. 594.

² Plato, IV, p. 569.

I said at the beginning of these selections that one of the most striking and attractive features of Jowett's teaching was his combination of practical common sense with religious fervour. Urgent too as he was that his pupils should not lose themselves in idle dreaming, but that, resolutely learning to know themselves and the world, they should actually do the largest possible amount of useful work and actually live the best possible lives, he did not fail to point out that "common sense" has its limits, and that there exists a realm of value which the practical understanding could neither enter into nor deny.

It is curious to find the Master himself wondering whether he could do anything for the combination of piety and sense. Like the great man that he was, he did not realize that he could do, or had done, much.

Thus in a note of 1879 we get the following reflections :

"It is doubtful whether exaggerated books of piety, resting upon no knowledge of human life, can really do good. They neither enlarge, nor elevate, nor liberalize men's views of religion. They demand a perpetual strain upon the mind. A man is never to say, 'Thank God for guiding me in innocence through the day,' but, 'Forgive me for all my best deeds.' This tends to obliterate all distinction between right and wrong¹.

"Would it be possible to combine in a manual of piety religious fervour with perfect good sense and knowledge of the world? This has never been attempted, and would be a work worthy of a great religious genius. . . .

"The debasement of the individual before the Divine Being is really a sort of Pantheism, so far that in the moral world God is everything and man nothing. But man thus debased before God is no proper or rational worshipper of him. There is a want of proportion in this sort of religion. God who is everything is not really so much as if he allowed the most exalted free agencies to exist side by side with him. The greater the beings under him, the greater he is.

"Is it possible for me, perhaps ten years hence, to write a new Thomas à Kempis, going as deeply into the foundations of human life, and yet not revolting the common sense of the nineteenth century by his violent contrast between this world and another?"

So too in his sermon on Wesley he suggests the thought that "there is religion enough in the world and good sense enough in the world, but that there has never been in the highest degree a union of the two²." While bidding his hearers beware of eccentricity, which has been "the ruin of many, and is the more dangerous for this very reason that no moral guilt attaches to it," he goes on to say :

"On the other hand it must be admitted that if a great religious movement were always governed by what educated men call good sense, if it

¹ This should be compared with the passage quoted on p. 347, giving the other side of the question.

² *Life*, II, p. 151.

³ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 118.

waited for good sense and the approbation of sensible men, the world would have remained as it was from the beginning to the end."

This is a striking assertion, and perhaps not less striking is the thought that "it sometimes seems, even amid many follies, as if the good sense of religion were the only part of religion which survives in many of us." Noteworthy too are these serious questions and their replies:

"Was it eccentricity in Wesley to deprive himself of food that he might give to the poor? I dare not say yes, remembering who it was who taught, 'Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor.' Was it eccentricity, again, to sacrifice his whole life to the salvation of his soul? Neither can this be maintained by any one who acknowledges as the author of his faith him who said, 'What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?'"

From his earlier to his latest days the Master realized that human progress is not always on ordinary lines of gradual improvement; the student of human nature and the moralist must alike allow room for the facts of sudden changes and "conversion." Those who look on Jowett as the apostle of common sense and of nothing more should read the "Essay on Conversion and Changes of Character" in the *Epistles of St. Paul*. The following words are taken from it:

"No one with a heart open to human feelings, loving not man the less, but God more, sensitive to the happiness of this world, yet aiming at a higher—no man of such a nature ever made a great sacrifice, or performed a great act of self-denial, without impressing a change on his character, which lasted to his latest breath. No man ever took his besetting sin, it may be lust, or pride, or love of rank and position, and, as it were, cut it out by voluntarily placing himself where to gratify it was impossible, without sensibly receiving a new strength of character. In one day, almost in an hour, he may become an altered man; he may stand, as it were, on a different stage of moral and religious life; he may feel himself in new relations to an altered world¹."

This was written in the fifties. Long afterwards, in the last year of his life, we find the following "note":

"It cannot be denied that at any minute of a man's life he may have the most exalted inspiration—that he may be willing to give all that he has and is, to sacrifice reputation, love, ambition, prospects of all kinds, to die without repining if it be the will of God, and that in this frame of mind he may continue for a considerable time with great satisfaction to himself. This is probably the experience of many, if not of all, good men. The moments in which we thus taste of the heavenly gift are the most precious of our lives, because they may be made permanent, and lead to everlasting consequences, although, like other feelings usually called love,

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 117.

² *St. Paul*, II, p. 240.

they are apt to subside into commonplace. Yet it may very well be in either case, whether in the love which is spiritual or that which is sentimental, that the feeling is also lasting, and either lives always or is always reviving¹."

Just as Jowett's own life was both practical and ideal, so also was his philosophy. His mistrust of any form of sensationalism or utilitarianism was largely influenced by its possible effects upon the actual lives of men. His own idealism comes out in his vivid appreciation of the idealism of others. There was no character in modern history for which he had a profounder appreciation than that of General Gordon. In a sermon on "War" preached in 1885 he devotes a few minutes to a fine portrayal of the Duke of Wellington, the "simplest and most truthful of men, in whom common sense was a kind of genius or inspiration." Then he goes on to speak of one "of whom all here are still thinking, the hero whose death has pierced the heart of a nation as if he had been personally known to every one of us."

"His character was of another sort, and his life was attuned to another and yet higher strain. The term 'good sense' could not with propriety be applied to him; rather he was like a prophet, newly inspired to give deliverance to the slave and the captive, and to reform the oppressions upon the earth. No one in our own day has ever set such an example of devotion to duty, to his country, and to God. He being dead, yet speaks to us; his life has been a help to many; and it may be that the remembrance of his name will restore peace and happiness to an oppressed country. The world thought him mad because he was not of the world. Men of his class, like the prophets and saints of old, are considered extravagant, partly because they take no thought for the morrow, what they shall eat or what they shall drink, or wherewithal they shall be clothed: living in the presence of the Eternal, they are really different from other men, and have their own ways of speaking and acting; partly because there is some weakness in human nature which at these heights seems incapable of sustaining itself, and mingles the fancies of the hour with everlasting truths²."

Jowett's idealism, though sometimes as with Plato veiled by a kind of irony³, finds noble utterance in the following passage from the introduction to the *Gorgias*. It was added in the third edition (1892):

"The martyr or sufferer in the cause of right or truth is often supposed to die in raptures, having his eye fixed on a city which is in heaven. But if there were no future, might he not still be happy in the performance of an action which was attended only by a painful death? He himself may be ready to thank God that he was thought worthy to do him

¹ *Letters*, p. 248.

² *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 317.

³ *Plato*, II, p. 302.

the least service, without looking for a reward; the joys of another life may not have been present to his mind at all. Do we suppose that the mediaeval saint, St. Bernard, St. Francis, St. Catharine of Sienna, or the Catholic priest who lately devoted himself to death by a lingering disease that he might solace and help others, was thinking of the 'sweets' of heaven? No; the work was already heaven to him and enough. Much less will the dying patriot be dreaming of the praises of man or of an immortality of fame: the sense of duty, of right, and trust in God will be sufficient, and as far as the mind can reach, in that hour. If he were certain that there were no life to come, he would not have wished to speak or act otherwise than he did in the cause of truth or of humanity. Neither, on the other hand, will he suppose that God has forsaken him or that the future is to be a mere blank to him. The greatest act of faith, the only faith which cannot pass away, is his who has not known, but yet has believed. A very few among the sons of men have made themselves independent of circumstances, past, present, or to come. He who has attained to such a temper of mind has already present with him eternal life; he needs no arguments to convince him of immortality; he has in him already a principle stronger than death. He who serves man without the thought of reward is deemed to be a more faithful servant than he who works for hire. May not the service of God, which is the more disinterested, be in like manner the higher? And although only a very few in the course of the world's history—Christ himself being one of them—have attained to such a noble conception of God and of the human soul, yet the ideal of them may be present to us, and the remembrance of them be an example to us, and their lives may shed a light on many dark places both of philosophy and theology¹."

On the same lines is the following short passage from the introduction to the *Republic*:

"The ideal must always be a paradox when compared with the ordinary conditions of human life. Neither the Stoical ideal nor the Christian ideal is true as a fact, but they may serve as a basis of education, and may exercise an ennobling influence. An ideal is none the worse because 'some one has made the discovery' that no such ideal was ever realized. And in a few exceptional individuals who are raised above the ordinary level of humanity, the ideal of happiness may be realized in death and misery. This may be the state which the reason deliberately approves, and which the utilitarian as well as every other moralist may be bound in certain cases to prefer."

Though the following extract from the introduction to the *Theaetetus* belongs more properly to Jowett's ethical than to his religious teaching, it is so valuable in helping us to realize his idealistic point of view that I am tempted to transcribe it in full:

"As a lower philosophy is easier to apprehend than a higher, so a lower way of life is easier to follow; and therefore such a philosophy seems to derive

¹ *Plato*, II, p. 315.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. xxix.

a support from the general practice of mankind. It appeals to principles which they all know and recognize: it gives back to them in a generalized form the results of their own experience. To the man of the world they are the quintessence of his own reflections upon life. To follow custom, to have no new ideas or opinions, not to be straining after impossibilities, to enjoy to-day with just so much forethought as is necessary to provide for the morrow, this is regarded by the greater part of the world as the natural way of passing through existence. And many who have lived thus have attained to a lower kind of happiness or equanimity. They have possessed their souls in peace without ever allowing them to wander into the regions of religious or political controversy, and without any care for the higher interests of man. But nearly all the good (as well as some of the evil) which has ever been done in this world has been the work of another spirit, the work of enthusiasts and idealists, of apostles and martyrs. The leaders of mankind have not been of the gentle Epicurean type: they have personified ideas; they have sometimes also been the victims of them. But they have always been seeking after a truth or ideal of which they fell short; and have died in a manner disappointed of their hopes that they might lift the human race out of the slough in which they found them. They have done little compared with their own visions and aspirations; but they have done that little, only because they sought to do, and once perhaps thought that they were doing, a great deal more¹.

There is another aspect of idealism with which Jowett was in sympathy: his leanings towards it would have to be carefully considered in any adequate estimate of his religious position. By that other aspect I mean—mysticism. We have already heard the passage from the 'Essay on Conversion' in which he says that "in prayer, as in all religion, there is something that it is impossible to describe," which can be felt but cannot be analysed, which is a "mystery that we do not need to fathom²." We remember his last thoughts on Plato, in which he expresses his conviction that "there are many more things in philosophy than can be expressed in words³." It is in the last edition of the *Plato*, moreover, that he says: "No one can duly appreciate the dialogues of Plato, especially the *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, and portions of the *Republic*, who has not a sympathy with mysticism." It is there that he defines mysticism to be "not the extravagance of an erring fancy, but the concentration of reason in feeling, the enthusiastic love of the good, the true, the one, the sense of the infinity of knowledge and of the marvel of the human faculties." "When feeding upon such thoughts," he adds—

"the 'wing of the soul' is renewed and gains strength; she is raised above 'the manikins of earth' and their opinions, waiting in wonder to

¹ *Plato*, IV, p. 174.

² Above, p. 321.

³ *Plato*, V, p. cccxxviii.

know, and working with reverence to find out what God in this or another life may reveal to her¹."

Jowett seems to be expressing his own passionate belief that "this world is not all," as the familiar phrase runs, or more positively his belief in that ideal which most men call God (as well as in the impossibility of defining it more closely), when he elsewhere says:

"There are regions of speculation in which the negative is hardly separable from the positive, and even seems to pass into it. Not only Buddhism, but Greek as well as Christian philosophy, show that it is quite possible that the human mind should retain an enthusiasm for mere negations. In different ages and countries there have been forms of light in which nothing could be discerned and which have nevertheless exercised a life-giving and illumining power. For the higher intelligence of man seems to require, not only something above sense, but above knowledge, which can only be described as Mind or Being or Truth or God or the unchangeable and eternal element, in the expression of which all predicates fail and fall short. Eternity or the eternal is not merely the unlimited in time but the truest of all Being, the most real of all realities, the most certain of all knowledge, which we nevertheless only see through a glass darkly²."

The mystical element in Jowett's religious belief comes out clearly in this last passage. It must be reckoned with in considering the character and extent of his scepticism. A distinguished clergyman of the English Church who had several conversations with Jowett in the last two or three years of his life said to a friend of mine that the Master never seemed to allow his scepticism to extend to the "foundations of things"; he was sceptical about miracles and the specific dogmas of Christianity: but when this friend of my friend attempted to argue that it was logical to push scepticism still further, and to undermine Theism by the same methods as had been used for Christianity, then Jowett seemed to "shut up"; mankind could not endure a scepticism of that sort; God must remain. I doubt whether this is an accurate representation of Jowett's mind or point of view. The specific dogmas of Christianity rest upon the accuracy of a narrative in a book; this is not the case with the arguments for Theism. Moreover, the dogmas of Christianity depend upon miracles, but it cannot be said that with miracles Theism must stand and fall.

It is, however, true that Jowett has nowhere left us a reasoned defence of Theism. We have to remember that he never wrote any regular book or treatise upon theological matters after 1860. Again, as his biographer Dr. Evelyn Abbott has said, "his way of thinking was essentially unsystematic: he grasped truth intuitively, rather than discursively, vividly apprehending one aspect of it after another, but

¹ *Plato*, I, p. 423.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 398.

hardly making any effort to trace their logical connexion. . . . In his mind all systems of moral philosophy were but partial glimpses of the truth ; all were true, and all were imperfect, for each needed to be corrected and expanded by the other¹." "He did not attempt to correlate his own ideas and bring them into a system." But it would be untrue to say that he did not face to the full the deepest problems of life. Above all he constantly sought to free himself from the dominion of words. He sought to use metaphysics to get rid of metaphysics, and was justly intolerant of those who thought that they could obtain the result without themselves going through the metaphysical mill. As Dr. Abbott says :

"His criticism was also a philosophy. It was not merely that he criticized systems and their founders ; he went deeper still, reaching down to the relation of language to thought, and of both to experience. He was wont to argue that any philosophy which neglects the study of language and the history of the mind is unsatisfactory. Words tend to outrun facts and become the symbols of ideas, which in their turn transcend experience. These dominate the mind and prevent it from seeing facts as they are²."

He saw not only that words such as "God" or "personality" mean different things or stand for different ideals to different persons, but that words which to some were cold and meaningless were to others full of significance and of power. I remember once in my undergraduate days reading an essay to him in which I said something rather foolish or slapdash about the absurdity or meaninglessness of an "unconscious God." Jowett at once interrupted me ; "Those words may have no meaning to you," he said, "they may mean a great deal to another."

There is a deeply interesting passage in his *Plato* which illustrates a good deal of what has here been said. There is also a long extract from a note-book of 1886 given in the *Life* which shows how calmly he faced and probed the deeper religious problems of the hour. It is necessary to quote this extract, but I think it must be read with caution. We must not suppose that, if Jowett did not believe in the personality of God in the old child-like sense, he therefore did not believe in the existence of goodness and reason over above and outside of man. In his picture of the "new Christianity" he is seeking to go as far as possible in religious development, and then to find out what remains and what is the difference. We must not pin him down to every single phrase as adequately representing his own complete and absolute belief.

"What is the possible limit of changes in the Christian religion ?

"1. The conception of miracles may become impossible and absurd.

¹ *Life*, II, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

"2. The hope of immortality may be only the present consciousness of goodness and of God.

"3. The personality of God, like the immortality of men, may pass into an idea.

"4. Every moral act may be acknowledged to have a physical antecedent.

"5. Doctrines may become unmeaning words.

"Yet the essence of religion may still be self-sacrifice, self-denial, a death unto life, having for its rule an absolute morality, a law of God and nature—a doctrine common to Plato and to the Gospel.

"The question arises, whether there can be any intellectual forms, in which this new Christianity will be presented:—

"1. The idea of God as goodness and wisdom, tending ever to realize itself in the world.

"2. The idea of the unity of man ever realizing itself more and more.

"3. The idea of law in the world answering (α) to resignation, (β) to co-operation in the human mind.

"4. The abatement of self-assertion, and the acknowledgement that in some way there will be or has been a partaking of Christ's Kingdom.

"5. The sense that we know as much as Christ did, or might know, if we had given ourselves for men: *παθήματα παθήματα*.

"6. Though we seem to be giving up a great deal, yet the orthodox view, when examined, contains no more than ours. Its God, and immortality, and human soul separated from the body are equally a negation, and equally a reality. Its only advantage is that it is in possession of a number of sacred names, which are also partly a hindrance to the true nature of religion.

"7. According to H. Spencer, religion has to do with the unknown. But this is only partly true: (α) the subject of religion is known as well as unknown, it is the ideal or aspiration of morality and politics; (β) it is most important in relation to man, and in this field or region is perfectly well known; (γ) it is not merely of the unknown, it is the upward, uncontrollable passion of human nature.

"8. The orthodox does not believe more than the unorthodox—the difference between them is one of temper and spirit. Neither St. Paul, nor Christ, really saw into a seventh heaven, or had any knowledge of a truth which can be described under the conditions of space and time different from our own. But they had a deeper and more intense conviction that all was well with them; that all things were working together for good; that mankind, if united to God and to one another, had the promise of the future in both worlds.

"9. The most instructive lesson of Buddhism and Taoism is that the negative may become positive; the smallness of the truth on which religion rests does not at all interfere with its infinite power.

"10. The nature of all religion is to be a growth from a small seed in the human heart, and in the world. Every one has this seed of immortality in himself, and can give it as much development as he pleases. And perhaps the more adverse his circumstances are, the more opportunity there is of this internal growth. . . .

"The Two Great Forms of Religion."

"I. The sense and practice of the presence of God, the sight of him, and the knowledge of him as the great overruling law of progress in the world, whether personal or impersonal; the sympathy and the harmony of the physical and the moral, and of something unknown which is greater than either; the God of truth in the dealings of men with one another, and in the universe, the ideal to which all men are growing.

"The best of humanity is the most perfect reflection of God; humanity as it might be, not as it is; and the way up to him is to be found in the lives of the best and greatest men; of saints and legislators and philosophers, the founders of states, and the founders of religions—allowing for, and seeking to correct their necessary onesidedness. These heroes, or demi-gods, or benefactors, as they would have been called by the ancients, are the mediators between God and man. Whither they went we also are going, and may be content to follow in their footsteps.

"We are always thinking of ourselves, hardly ever of God, or of great and good men who are his image. This egotism requires to be abated before we can have any real idea of his true nature. The 'I' is our God—What we shall eat? What we shall drink? What we shall do? How we shall have a flattering consciousness of our own importance? There is no room left for the idea of God, and law, and duty.

"II. The second great truth of religion is resignation to the great facts of the world and of life. In Christianity we live, but Christianity is fast becoming one religion among many. We believe in a risen Christ, not risen, however, in the sense in which a drowning man is restored to life, nor even in the sense in which a ghost is supposed to walk the earth, nor in any sense which we can define or explain. We pray to God as a person, a larger self; but there must always be a *subintelligitur* that he is not a person. Our forms of worship, public and private, imply some interference with the course of nature. We know that the empire of law permeates all things.

"'You impose upon us with words; you deprive us of all our hopes, joys, motives; you undermine the foundations of morality.'

"No! there is no greater comfort, no stronger motive than the knowledge of things as they truly are, apart from illusions and pretences, and conventions, and theological formulas. 'Be not deceived,' God is not other than he is seen to be in this world, if we rightly understand the indications which he gives of himself. Highest among these indications is the moral law, which exists everywhere and among all men in some degree; and to which there is no limit, nor ever will be, while the world lasts; the least seed of moral truth possessing an infinite potentiality, and this inspiration for the idea is strengthened and cherished by the efforts of a holy and devoted life, which appears to be the greatest moral power in the world.

"Anybody who gives himself up for the good of others, who takes up his cross, will find heaven on this earth, and will trust God for all the rest.

"Anybody who accepts facts as they truly are, and in proportion to his knowledge of them, will have no more doubts and difficulties, and reconciliations of science and religion, or inquiries about the date and authorship of the Gospels. To him the historical character of these and other ancient writings sinks into insignificance in comparison with their moral value¹."

The passage in the *Plato* to which I have alluded occurs in the introduction to the *Parmenides*, and forms part of what may be described as a little essay on the relation of language to thought. Jowett there shows how both "common sense" and philosophy (and "common sense" more than philosophy) have often become the slaves of words, the various meanings and history of which they have not adequately investigated. Terms such as "development, evolution, law, and the like are constantly put in the place of facts, even by writers who profess to base truth entirely upon fact." Thinkers are partly deceived by their mental creations:

"Theology, again, is full of undefined terms which have distracted the human mind for ages. Mankind have reasoned from them, but not to them; they have drawn out the conclusions without examining the terms. The passions of religious parties have been roused to the utmost about words of which they could have given no explanation, and which had really no distinct meaning. One sort of them, faith, grace, justification, have been the symbols of one class of disputes; as the words substance, nature, person, of another; revelation, inspiration, and the like, of a third. All of them have been the subject of endless reasonings and inferences; but a spell has hung over the minds of theologians or philosophers which has prevented them from examining the words themselves. Either the effort to rise above and beyond their own first ideas was too great for them, or there might, perhaps, have seemed to be an irreverence in doing so. About the Divine Being himself, in whom all true theological ideas live and move, men have spoken and reasoned much, and have fancied that they instinctively know him. But they hardly suspect that under the name of God even Christians have included two characters or natures as much opposed as the good and evil principle of the Persians²."

But just as Plato even while criticizing his own doctrine of "universals" is not a sceptic, so it was also with Jowett. Because he knew "that the powers of language are very unequal to the subtlety of nature or of mind," he did not therefore "renounce the use of them." Because words cannot fully represent realities, we do not therefore deny the existence of these realities themselves. Because we do not understand or grasp them fully, that does not show that they have less reality than we had before supposed, but rather that they have more. If God is not self-conscious, in our human sense, it is not because he is

¹ *Life*, II, p. 311-314.

² *Plato*, IV, p. 41.

less than conscious, but because he is more. Such seems to be the ruling idea of the next two paragraphs, in which, more than in any other passage, Jowett's deepest ideas about the nature of the Divine Being are adequately and clearly conveyed to us:

"So the human mind makes the reflection that God is not a person like ourselves—is not a cause like the material causes in nature, nor even an intelligent cause like a human agent—nor an individual, for he is universal; and that every possible conception which we can form of him is limited by the human faculties. We cannot by any effort of thought or exertion of faith be in and out of our minds at the same instant. How can we conceive him under the forms of time and space, who is out of time and space? How get rid of such forms and see him as he is? How can we imagine his relation to the world or to ourselves? Innumerable contradictions follow from either of the two alternatives, that God is or that he is not. Yet we are far from saying that we know nothing of him, because all that we know is subject to the conditions of human thought. To the old belief in him we return, but with corrections. He is a person, but not like ourselves; a mind, but not a human mind; a cause, but not a material cause, nor yet a maker or artificer. The words which we use are imperfect expressions of his true nature; but we do not therefore lose faith in what is best and highest in ourselves and in the world.

"A little philosophy takes us away from God; a great deal brings us back to him.' When we begin to reflect, our first thoughts respecting him and ourselves are apt to be sceptical. For we can analyse our religious as well as our other ideas; we can trace their history; we can criticize their perversion; we see that they are relative to the human mind and to one another. But when we have carried our criticism to the furthest point, they still remain, a necessity of our moral nature, better known and understood by us, and less liable to be shaken, because we are more aware of their necessary imperfection. They come to us with 'better opinion, better confirmation,' not merely as the inspirations either of ourselves or of another, but deeply rooted in history and in the human mind¹."

It is not the object of this *florilegium* to attempt to set forth the complete religious position which is to be elicited from these and other extracts: rather are the extracts to be allowed to speak for themselves. If they possess a meaning and a value to the reader at all comparable to what they possess to the collector of them in this place, it would be wholly unnecessary to say a word more in their elucidation or their praise. I will, therefore, pass on at once to the last subject with which I propose to deal, and will give some quotations in respect to the Master's views upon the Immortality of the Soul.

¹ Plato, IV, p. 43.

His mature belief is aptly summed by Dr. Abbott when he says of him :

"To some it might seem a contradiction that one who refused to 'envisage' a future life in any form conceivable to man should maintain, with an almost passionate intensity of belief that the souls of the departed 'are with God,' 'that this world cannot be all'; but such was Jowett's nature¹."

No saying was more frequently in his mind and on his lips than the great verse in the Wisdom of Solomon: "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God: there shall no evil touch them." The exquisite letters of condolence which he wrote to friends in their bereavement usually contained the words: "He is with God, where we too soon shall be." The dead are nearer God than we are, so he believed, and all is well with them, in some higher and better sense than that they sleep for ever. Nevertheless, inconsistent as it may seem to many, in any "reunion," in a meeting again and in a recognition, he personally did not believe. And yet in some sense or other the "I" is to continue.

Let me start the quotations by the following passage from a notebook, of which the date is given as 1878:

"The future life.

"The difficulty is how to describe this as indefinite but as real.

"At sixty years of age how do I feel about it, not only with respect to myself, but with respect to the uneducated, my old servant—the other good old man who waits on me here at Malvern?

"I want to finish three works besides those which I have in hand:—

"1. Introductory volume on Greek Philosophy.

"2. Commentary on three first Gospels and Epistles.

"3. Treatise on Moral Philosophy.

"But I would not like to think that this, even if I accomplish it all, is my whole work in life. Yet I can imagine nothing beyond. Still I believe (1) that here my work will be carried on by others; (2) that there I shall myself carry on another work.

"A future life has hitherto been a sham or a convention, shocking to doubt, but having no real basis. Who can wonder that such a sham cannot maintain itself against the influence of the nineteenth century?

"Two things have been unfavourable to a belief in a future life:—

"1. The want of inductive evidence for it, which there neither is nor ever will be.

"2. The want of modes in which it may be conceived; these there neither are nor ever will be.

"The belief in a future life arises out of our belief in ideas, especially in moral ideas. It can only have its roots in morality, and must therefore be chiefly asserted by character. Without the belief in a future life moral ideas vanish and disappear²."

¹ *Life*, II, p. 439.

² *Letters*, p. 245.

The general lines of his belief are here clearly laid down. I will next take a few references in his letters. Thus for instance in 1874 he writes to an intimate friend :

"The two brothers are at rest now. Whether they recognize one another or whether we shall recognize others in another life we cannot tell. I cannot believe myself in consolations of this sort. They are removed from our sight, and are in the hands of God, where we shall soon be. We must leave them with him, though often recalling their gracious and noble ways when they were with us¹."

In 1886 he alludes to the many great losses he himself had recently undergone :

"They are such friends as cannot be replaced. They are with the unseen, in the hands of God, and I shall soon be with them. I do not expect ever to meet them again ; that may afford comfort to some, but not to me, though I trust in God that with me, as with them, it may be well²."

In 1890 he writes :

"We cannot see into another life, but we believe with an inextinguishable hope that there is something still reserved for us³."

In 1892 he writes about friends who have "gone before" :

"They have gone where we shall go, and, as we hope, we shall still be in the hands of God, as they are, in another state of being⁴."

From a note-book of 1882 we are given the following :—

"The more we think of reason as the highest thing in the world, and of man as a rational being, the more disposed we shall be to think of human beings as immortal. We cannot set limits to this, nor say : 'What human beings?' or 'What immortality?' Whether in another life the servant shall be equal to the master, the child to the grown-up man, the fool to the philosopher, the Hottentot to the Englishman ; whether animals will have a share in the happiness of men ; whether the common moral qualities of men shall be the essence of future existence ; whether any of us will know one another—of all this we have no means of judging or speaking⁵."

It was natural that in the sermons in which Jowett spoke about his departed friends—such as those on Henry Smith, on T. H. Green, on Hugh Pearson, or on Lewis Nettleship—he should touch again and again on this same solemn and fascinating subject. For instance :

"He is with God, where we too shall be, some of us, in no long time—most of us are still young and have the work of life before them. There is no need to enlarge further on the circumstances of our dear friend's

¹ *Life*, II, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

end. All death is sad, but the time and the manner of it do not make much difference. All death is rest and peace, deliverance from sin and sorrow—yes, and from our own selves, or from the worst part of us, that the better may remain. ‘The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no evil touch them’¹.”

This was about Nettleship. No less beautiful are two passages in the sermons on Green and Henry Smith. The first runs thus:

“We see indeed a great light, but objects are not discernible in it. We cannot say what our friends are doing; what thoughts are passing through their minds; what realities are present to them. We do not wish to rest in external facts, or to put together figures of speech. The life of Christ, the lives of saints and prophets, the lives of all seekers after God and the truth, the higher witness of our own souls,—these all testify to us of a world beyond, and we leave the rest with Him².”

This is the close of the sermon on Henry Smith, the great mathematician:

“And so we say farewell to him who was the dear friend of some here present. He has passed into the unseen world, where we can no longer follow: ‘We shall go to him, but he shall not return to us.’ Yet we may be allowed to think of him as in the presence of God, with whom is the fountain of light, and in whom the parts of knowledge which we see through a glass darkly, the laws of nature, the truths of figures and numbers, the ideas of justice, love, and truth, which are his attributes, are beheld face to face. But there is no tongue of man or of angels in which such things can be expressed. We meditate on the infinite possibilities of another life, and are silent³.”

The most systematic and elaborate writing which Jowett ever put forth on the Immortality of the Soul is contained in his introduction to the *Phaedo*. There we have what is virtually a long essay on the subject. Before coming to that essay there are two short passages elsewhere in the *Plato* which demand our attention. Both are the more noteworthy as they form part of the additions to the book in the third edition, published a year before the Master's death. The first of these two passages occurs in the added reflections upon Psychology appended to the introduction to the *Theaetetus*. He is speaking of the various subjects or divisions of Psychology, and ends thus:

“At the other end of the ‘globus intellectualis,’ nearest, not to earth and sense, but to heaven and God, is the personality of man, by which he holds communion with the unseen world. Somehow, he knows not how, somewhere, he knows not where, under this higher aspect of his being he grasps the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality; he sees

¹ *College Sermons*, p. 271.

² *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

the forms of truth, holiness, and love, and is satisfied with them. No account of the mind can be complete which does not admit the reality or the possibility of another life. Whether regarded as an ideal or as a fact, the highest part of man's nature, and that in which it seems most nearly to approach the divine, is a phenomenon which exists, and must therefore be included within the domain of psychology¹."

The other passage looks at the matter from an ethical or practical point of view, and connects the hope of individual immortality with the ideal of the future of the human race upon the earth. It runs thus:

"Two other ideals, which never appeared above the horizon in Greek Philosophy, float before the minds of men in our own day: one seen more clearly than formerly, as though each year and each generation brought us nearer to some great change; the other almost in the same degree retiring from view behind the laws of nature, as if oppressed by them, but still remaining a silent hope of we know not what hidden in the heart of man. The first ideal is the future of the human race in this world; the second, the future of the individual in another. The first is the more perfect realization of our own present life; the second, the abnegation of it: the one, limited by experience, the other, transcending it. Both of them have been and are powerful motives of action; there are a few in whom they have taken the place of all earthly interests. The hope of a future for the human race at first sight seems to be the more disinterested, the hope of individual existence the more egotistical, of the two motives. But when men have learnt to resolve their hope of a future either for themselves or for the world into the will of God—"not my will but Thine," the difference between them falls away; and they may be allowed to make either of them the basis of their lives, according to their own individual character or temperament. There is as much faith in the willingness to work for an unseen future in this world as in another. Neither is it inconceivable that some rare nature may feel his duty to another generation, or to another century, almost as strongly as to his own, or that living always in the presence of God, he may realize another world as vividly as he does this²."

The essay on "the Immortality of the Soul," which forms a part of the introduction to the *Phædo*, occupies thirteen pages of small print and obviously cannot here be given in full. I can only attempt a short analysis, together with a few selected quotations.

The essay begins with an acknowledgement that many bad arguments have been used to "prove" Immortality. Moreover "the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul has sunk deep into the heart of the human race; and men are apt to rebel against an examination of the nature or grounds of their belief." Nevertheless we must not refuse to examine the subject anew. We must be willing to realize

¹ Plato, IV, p. 189.

² Ibid., III, p. ccxxx.

that this idea, like the idea of God, "has a history in time," and "we must not become misologists because arguments are apt to be deceivers." No wonder indeed that "modern philosophy is perplexed at the whole question" or that it is inclined to give it up and hand it over "to the realm of faith." What idea can we have of the soul apart from the body? Endless variations of the problem can be suggested. If there is immortality, what is that which is immortal? Is it any personal element? is it a "principle of knowledge or of goodness, or the union of the two"? Moral questions also crop up. What about evil? "The annihilation of evil at death, or the eternal duration of it, seem to involve great difficulties in the moral government of the world." Will only the wise and good survive? That cannot be: "all or none will be partakers of immortality." The bad need another life more than the good; "not that they may be punished, but that they may be educated." Then there is the puzzle about the animals. "Have we not seen dogs more faithful and intelligent than men, and men who are more stupid and brutal than any animals?" But these and similar questions are brushed away. We must not seek to carry logic too far; when we reason on these subtleties, "almost at once we degenerate into nonsense."

Again, what do we mean by the word immortality? We can form no idea of "endless time," and the common conceptions of "heaven" and "hell" are mere rhetoric. The essayist has a few biting sarcasms upon theories of eternal damnation, invented by "so-called Christian teachers." He does not believe in the influence of the joys of heaven or the terrors of hell over the lives of men. "Another life must be described, if at all, in forms of thought and not of sense." "The truest conception which we can form of a future life is a state of progress or education—a progress from evil to good, from ignorance to knowledge." There is a reasonable argument from analogy of the present life and of the probable future of human life upon the earth. If God rules this world on the lines of law and of gradual progress, we may argue that law and progress will be the "governing principles of another¹." And if it be said that we cannot reason from the seen to the unseen, and that we must not, by seductive analogy, create another world after the image of this, then, like Plato, we can adduce other arguments as well:

"For we feel that the soul partakes of the ideal and invisible; and can never fall into the error of confusing the external circumstances of man with his higher self; or his origin with his nature. It is as repugnant to us as it was to Plato to imagine that our moral ideas are to be attributed only to cerebral forces. The value of a human soul, like the value of a man's life to himself, is inestimable, and cannot be reckoned in earthly or material things. The human being alone has the conscious-

ness of truth and justice and love, which is the consciousness of God. And the soul becoming more conscious of these, becomes more conscious of her own immortality."

Hence we rest in this: "The last ground of our belief in immortality, and the strongest, is the perfection of the divine nature." If God is "perfect he must will that all rational beings should partake of that perfection, which he himself is. In the words of the *Timaeus*, he is good, and therefore he desires that all other things should be as like himself as possible. And the manner in which he accomplishes this is by permitting evil, or rather degrees of good, which are otherwise called evil. For all progress is good relatively to the past, and yet may be comparatively evil when regarded in the light of the future. Good and evil are relative terms, and degrees of evil are merely the negative aspect of degrees of good."

In its first published form the essay concluded with these words :

"Thus the belief in the immortality of the soul rests at last on the belief in God. If there is a good and wise God, then there is a progress of mankind towards perfection ; and if there is no progress of men towards perfection, then there is no good and wise God. We cannot suppose that the moral government of God of which we see the beginnings in the world and in ourselves will cease when we pass out of life."

Jowett, as we have seen, was continually pondering upon the subject of immortality. Immersed as he was in "mundane" affairs, his mind was constantly moving in the realms of the ideal. So in the third edition of the *Plato*, he not only added suggestive sentences to his essay here and there (all well worthy of study), but appended to it five new paragraphs, in which, as it seems to me, his deepest and maturest thoughts upon immortality are most adequately conveyed. I will venture to quote them in full :

"Considering the 'feebleness of the human faculties and the uncertainty of the subject,' we are inclined to believe that the fewer our words the better. At the approach of death there is not much said ; good men are too honest to go out of the world professing more than they know. There is perhaps no important subject about which, at any time, even religious people speak so little to one another. In the fullness of life the thought of death is mostly awakened by the sight or recollection of the death of others rather than by the prospect of our own. We must also acknowledge that there are degrees of the belief in immortality, and many forms in which it presents itself to the mind. Some persons will say no more than that they trust in God, and that they leave all to him. It is a great part of true religion not to pretend to know more than we do. Others when they quit this world are comforted with the hope 'that they will see and know their friends in heaven.' But it is better to leave them in the hands of God, and to be assured that 'no evil shall

touch them.' There are others again to whom the belief in a divine personality has ceased to have any longer a meaning; yet they are satisfied that the end of all is not here, but that something still remains to us, 'and some better thing for the good than for the evil.' They are persuaded, in spite of their theological nihilism, that the ideas of justice and truth and holiness and love are realities. They cherish an enthusiastic devotion to the first principles of morality. Through these they see, or seem to see, darkly, and in a figure, that the soul is immortal.

"But besides differences of theological opinion, which must ever prevail about things unseen, the hope of immortality is weaker or stronger in men at one time of life than at another; it even varies from day to day. It comes and goes; the mind, like the sky, is apt to be overclouded. Other generations of men have sometimes lived under an 'eclipse of faith'; to us the total disappearance of it might be compared to the 'sun falling from heaven.' And we may sometimes have to begin again and acquire the belief for ourselves; or to win it back again when it is lost. It is really weakest in the hour of death. For Nature, like a kind mother or nurse, lays us to sleep without frightening us; physicians, who are the witnesses of such scenes, say that under ordinary circumstances there is no fear of the future. Often, as Plato tells us, death is accompanied 'with pleasure.' When the end is still uncertain, the cry of many a one has been, 'Pray that I may be taken.' The last thoughts even of the best men depend chiefly on the accidents of their bodily state. Pain soon overpowers the desire of life; old age, like the child, is laid to sleep almost in a moment. The long experience of life will often destroy the interest which mankind have in it. So various are the feelings with which different persons draw near to death, and still more various the forms in which imagination clothes it.

"When we think of God and of man in his relation to God; of the imperfection of our present state and yet of the progress which is observable in the history of the world and of the human mind; of the depth and power of our moral ideas, which seem to partake of the very nature of God himself; when we consider the contrast between the physical laws to which we are subject, and the higher law which raises us above them and is yet a part of them; when we reflect on our capacity of becoming the 'spectators of all time and all existence,' and of framing in our own minds the ideal of a perfect Being; when we see how the human mind in all the higher religions of the world, including Buddhism, notwithstanding aberrations, has tended towards such a belief—we have reason to think that our destiny is different from that of animals; and though we cannot altogether shut out the childish fear that the soul upon leaving the body may 'vanish into thin air,' we have still, so far as the nature of the subject admits, a hope of immortality with which we comfort ourselves on sufficient grounds. The denial of the belief takes the heart out of human life; it lowers men to the level of the material. As Goethe also says, 'He is dead even in this world who has no belief in another.'

"It is well also that we should sometimes think of the forms of thought under which the idea of immortality is most naturally presented to us.

It is clear that to our minds the risen soul can no longer be described, as in a picture, by the symbol of a creature half-bird, half-human, nor in any other form of sense. The multitude of angels, as in Milton, singing the Almighty's praises, are a noble image, and may furnish a theme for the poet or the painter, but they are no longer an adequate expression of the kingdom of God which is within us. Neither is there any mansion, in this world or another, in which the departed can be imagined to dwell and carry on their occupations. When this earthly tabernacle is dissolved, no other habitation or building can take them in; it is in the language of ideas only that we speak of them.

"First of all there is the thought of rest and freedom from pain; they have gone home, as the common saying is, and the cares of this world touch them no more. Secondly, we may imagine them as they were at their best and brightest, humbly fulfilling their daily round of duties—selfless, childlike, unaffected by the world; when the eye was single and the whole body seemed to be full of light; when the mind was clear and saw into the purposes of God. Thirdly, we may think of them as possessed by a great love of God and man, working out his will at a further stage in the heavenly pilgrimage. And yet we acknowledge that these are the things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and therefore it hath not entered into the heart of man in any sensible manner to conceive them. Fourthly, there may have been some moments in our own lives when we have risen above ourselves, or been conscious of our truer selves, in which the will of God has superseded our wills, and we have entered into communion with him, and been partakers for a brief season of the divine truth and love, in which like Christ we have been inspired to utter the prayer, 'I in them, and thou in me, that we may be all made perfect in one.' These precious moments, if we have ever known them, are the nearest approach which we can make to the idea of immortality¹."

I do not propose to sum up or discuss these utterances. Let them speak for themselves. So too about the entire number of extracts in this whole *florilegium*: let them speak for themselves. Perhaps they cannot produce quite the same effect upon those who have not felt the power of the Master's personality, who have not seen him, and heard him, and talked with him about religion and life. That is inevitable, but even these mere extracts may enable some persons to understand what the force of this personality must actually have been. I will not discuss the question whether the Master was or was not a Christian in any stricter sense of the word. Whether he was or was not, it may in either case be argued that the main tenor of his teaching was in harmony and agreement with a progressive and enlightened Judaism. It can be translated, and it needs to be translated, into Jewish. Very imperfectly and stumblingly I have sought to do this from time to time.

It may be asked, what did Jowett himself think of Judaism and of

¹ Plato, II, pp. 170-182.

its chances in the modern and western World? In the fifties we can see from the book on St. Paul that he still shared many of the prejudices which his Evangelical associations and education had brought with them. He clearly knew nothing about modern Judaism, and had never talked with educated and liberal Jews. But these limitations entirely passed away. He made many Jewish friends, and learnt more about what Judaism really stood for. He often spoke to me on the subject; we talked about the chances of Reform, about the best way of liberalizing the synagogue, about the right attitude of Judaism to the New Testament, and so on. I have still by me a few rough notes of some of these conversations, but I hesitate to quote from them, lest I should have inadequately expressed the Master's words. His line usually was that one of the best methods of Reform was to soften people's prejudices in as gentle a way as possible. Show, for instance, "that Judaism is not the only religion; each religion has its function and truth, and the one may be a complement for the other." National limitations in the Jewish religion may in many persons be intimately connected with the moral and religious truths which a reformer would most wish to maintain. Hence, one must deal with them gently. For religions cannot easily be tribal in any objectionable sense nowadays. "There is gradually forming a common stock of religious truth for all of us, composed of what is best in all religions—a common ideal of purity and goodness." "It may sometimes be necessary," he said, "to show people that their opinions are wrong," but it is usually "a mistake to quarrel." All people, whether Jews or Christians, dislike being rationalized. You can only lead them to higher conceptions, to prefer truth to tradition, the spirit to the letter, by appealing to their better feelings, and to the highest side of their nature. Best of all is the self-devoted life, which makes itself felt, and gradually influences, by doing good. In this age we cannot easily separate religious good from secular good, nor the religious life from the secular life. Doing good to Jews does good to Judaism. Silent work where there is least opposition is the best work.

Sometimes also, in rare and treasured letters, the Master would jot down his opinions about Judaism and kindred matters. The following was written to me in 1882, and perhaps illustrates the almost exaggerated value which Jowett attached to organization and system:

"The difficulty of Reformers is how to attach themselves rightly to the Old. In some imaginary dream of liberty they cut the cord and find themselves helpless and isolated. The Jewish problem is not really different from that of other religions: they all belong to a former age, and they have separated themselves from one another by outward tradition. But that is no reason why they should not have the same reformed

spiritual and moral faith, while in lesser matters they are determined by country, habit, or education. The power of any man to do good in the Christian or Jewish Church depends upon his reconciliation of these two elements."

With these words we may compare the close of a sermon preached in the following year in the Abbey :

"We may be sure of this, that without organization, without system, without a local habitation, any Christian effort, however disinterested or noble, will soon pass away and leave no trace. And on the other hand mere organization, the outward and visible Church or other institution, continues indeed, but has only a mechanical and unmeaning existence. It is vain to expect that men can be made better, unless we can speak to them heart to heart; giving to them higher conceptions of God and of the truth, and a deeper sense of their duties to one another. It is vain to suppose that they will listen to a religion of which any part is at variance with their own conscience, or with common sense, or with the morality of the age in which they live. They need something higher, holier, better; and this better thing for which they ask is the revelation of a divine perfection in which all the elements of earthly goodness are realized and fulfilled¹."

The last letter which I ever received from Jowett was written in January, 1893—he died in the following October—and relates to my Hibbert Lectures, which had just come out. It is a highly characteristic letter; one part of it seems almost painfully prophetic :

"I write to thank you for your book, of which I have read a considerable part. . . . I doubt whether you and others can have sufficient data for determining the times of books and events, but I have no right to raise questions, because I am ignorant of the subject. Yet I think that we must ultimately be satisfied with a much greater degree of uncertainty which no further investigation can ever really dispel. . . .

"It appears to me that there is a great work to be done in Judaism. Christianity has gone forward : ought not Judaism to make a similar progress from the letter to the spirit, from the national and the historical to the ideal? The Jews need not renounce the religion of their fathers, but they ought not to fall short of the highest, whether gathered from the teaching of Jesus or from Greek philosophy.

"Did you ever think of devoting yourself to the Jewish race as the task of your life? First as a student, bringing before them and impressing upon them the best of what they have, either in the Scriptures or among the Rabbis and other great Hebrew teachers. Secondly, by endeavouring to raise the manners and ways of their preachers and education. Their condition in Europe is at present a very sad one, and may become a very terrible one, at least on the continent.

"I hope you will come and see me from time to time and talk about such matters which interest me very greatly. I should never attempt

¹ *Sermons, Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 298.

to convert a Jew from one form of religion to another. But I think that all persons are greatly the better for having a universal form of religion as well as a national and particular one."

If the teaching of Jowett can be adapted to Judaism as well as to Christianity, and can be adopted by both, the gain is clear. In any case it forms a link between the two, and it may induce the disciples of one faith the better to appreciate the other. If, on the other hand, it cannot finally consort with dogmatic Christianity or with dogmatic Judaism, it may nevertheless indicate the lines of a liberal form of either creed, or it may point forward to a more comprehensive religion of the future, which, under whatever name or label, may include an increasing number of seekers after God.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

STROPHIC FORMS IN ISAIAH XLVII.

DR. PAUL RUBEN has published in this REVIEW (XI, pp. 431-479) an inquiry on "Strophic Forms in the Bible," in connexion with my book on *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*. I have no intention of entering here upon a criticism of that essay. The points of difference between us were put by Dr. Ruben in a full light. On the whole, I take up the same standpoint as before; I do not care, at present, to discuss the matter, and refute myself objections that were expressed in rather too strong terms. But I cannot refrain from observing that I often made conjectures in my book, and also accepted such as were made by others, but certainly not to the extent that this was done by Dr. Ruben; further, I can admit only in a very few cases that the conjectures as a whole, and especially those of Dr. Ruben, were "an outcry of common sense." Besides, Dr. Ruben might have made more use of my new essay on *Strophenbau und Responsion* than he has done.

If however we differ much on points of detail, he has yet, avowedly, based his remarks upon my work, and simply accepted a number of my propositions; and I admit having myself also received many useful hints from his essay. I will show this by an instance from Isaiah xlvi. As a whole, I adhere to my former division of the passage; but, on various minor points, I partly accept Dr. Ruben's suggestions, and partly propose some fresh ones, induced thereto by Dr. Ruben's remarks.

I have, in my book, divided that poetical speech into five strophes of $(8 + 8) + 7 + (8 + 8)$ lines. Dr. Ruben proposes three pairs of strophes of $(7 + 7) + (6 + 6) + (5 + 5)$ lines, which considerably shifts the Response. I now assume five strophes, but of seven lines each. In other words, the poem consists of two pairs of strophes, of seven lines each, which accord with each other, and of a single concluding strophe. The three propositions differ very little in regard to the number of lines (39, 36, 35).

In the division of the two first strophes I now agree with Dr. Ruben by assuming them to consist of seven lines, and not of eight lines each; nor have I any objection to raise against the conjectures to read אמתך for צמתך and אפרע for אפנע (ver. 3), although I consider them by no means sufficiently certain, and the reading of the Massoretic text can be upheld.

The reading פתאם for כתאם (ver. 9), in accordance with LXX, derives a great amount of probability from the fact that it is confirmed by the Response. On the other hand, I am surprised that Dr. Ruben retains the unintelligible word ברעתך (for ברעתך). In order to uphold the kinna-strophe, which, however, appears in this piece in a very irregular manner, or in order to have at least five words in the verse, we must read חכמתך ודעתך [במחתך ב], which produces a Response and a Concatenation. Since Dr. Ruben is so fond of conjectures, I will suggest a few more, without, however, much changing the text. We see in the Sirach MS. that *variae lectiones* are given on the margin; I believe myself able to point out some here.

Ver. 12. אולי תועיל is identical with אולי תועיל, and one of these expressions is superfluous. I see here two different readings, which are perhaps both those of the prophet himself, for תועיל is connected with וישעון, and instead of תועיל I would read תועצ, "thou receivest, perhaps, a good counsel," and this would be in connexion with עצתך.

There is a marginal note in החיים בכוכבים; the words החיים בכוכבים are an explanatory note to the obscure expression שמים הכרי; but here the question arises whether הכרי should not read חכרי.

In ver. 15 a I accept Dr. Ruben's transposition, כן היו לך סחרין | כן היו לך אשר ינעת סחרין מנעורך for כן היו לך אשר ינעת סחרין מנעורך, but I read סח[ריך] for סח[ריך].

The progress in the knowledge of the subject will be best understood by a comparison of the following text with the text given in *Die Propheten*, i. 178, ii. 16, by Dr. Ruben, *supra* 497.

D. H. MÜLLER.

- 1 רדי ושבי על עמר | בתולת בת בבל
שבי לארץ אין כסא | בת כשדים
 כי לא תוסיפי יקראו לך | רכה ועננה
 2 קחי רחים וטחני קמח | גלי צמתך¹
 חשפי שבל גלי שוק | עברי נהרות
 3 תגל ערותך | גם תראה חרפתך
 נקם אקח | ולא אפגע² אדם |
- 4 נאלנו יהוה צבאות שמו | קדוש ישראל
 5 שבי דומם ובאי בחשך | בת כשדים
 כי לא תוסיפי יקראו לך | גברת ממלכות
 6 קצפתי על עמי חללתי נחלתי | ואתנם בידך
 לא שמת להם רחמים | על זקן הכבדת עלך (מאר)³
 7 ותאמרי לעולם אהיה | גברת עד
 לא שמת אלה על לבך | לא זכרת אחריתך |

- 8 ועתה שמעי זאת עדינה | הושבת לבטח
האמרה בלבבה | אני ואפסי עוד
 לא אשב אלמנה | ולא אדע שכול
 9 ותבאנה לך שתי אלה | רגע ביום אחד
 שכול ואלמן כתמם² | באו עליך
ברכ כשפין | בעצמת חבריך מאר
 10 ותבטחי בדעתך⁴ | אמרת אין ראני
- 11 ובא עליך רעה | לא תדעי שחרה
 ותפל עליך הוה | לא תוכלי כפרה
 ותבא עליך פתאם | שאה לא תדעי
 12 עמדי נא בחבריך | וברכ כשפין
 באשר ינעת מנעוריך | אולי תוכלי הועיל⁵

- 13 נלאית ברב עצתך | יעמדו נא ויושיעוך
 חברי שמים⁷ מודיעים לחרשים | מאשר יבאו עליך
 14 הנה היו כקש | אש שרפתם
 לא יצילו את נפשם | מיד להבה
 אין נחלת לחמם | אור לשבת נגדם
 15 כן היו לך [חב]ריך⁶ | באשר ינעת מנעוריך
 איש לעברו תעו | אין מושיעך

¹ R. אמך "thy arm."² R. אמר "he will not spare."³ R. after G. חתום.⁴ Mass. ברשך.⁵ I would expunge מאר as being superfluous.⁶ Mass. adds חרצי.⁷ Mass. adds נוכבים.⁸ Mass. סחריך.

CANTICLES V. 13 AND VII. 1.

Cant. v. 13. AV. "His cheeks are as a bed of spices, (as) sweet flowers." RV. "... (as) banks of sweet herbs." ערונת and מנרלות are both suspicious. A Hebrew root ערנ "to ascend," is very doubtful; ערונה can hardly, in spite of lexicographers, mean "a flower-bed in the form of a terrace." Nor can "banks of sweet herbs" be the meaning of מנרלות. מנ' מנרלות means "a tower," and if any part of the body were compared to a tower it would be the neck (Cant. vii. 4). The passage is corrupt. Ⓢ had, for ערונת, some word corresponding to φάλαι, i. e. either נביעות or (since a fem. plur. of נביע is not in use) קבעות. Comparing Cant. vii. 3 (2), I would restore the text thus, להיו קבעות הבשם מנן לה מרקחים, "his cheeks are as a fragrant cup, which holds wine mixed with spices" (cf. הַרְקָח, Cant. viii. 2, the same idiom).

Cant. vii. 1 (vi. 4). The "dance of Mahanaim" has puzzled many interpreters. Wetzstein's communication respecting the sword-dance at Syrian weddings induced me, twenty years ago (following Rabbi Kohler), to see in Cant. vii. 1 a reference to this sword-dance, and Budde has lately made this so plausible that probably fresh converts will be won to this view. In this case it will be best to read, with Siegfried, במחלת המננים for כמחלת, which Budde retains, is difficult. But the sense produced is still not quite natural; the passage does not read quite smoothly. There is deep corruption in the text, as indeed we might suspect from the corruptions of the context, which I have already dealt with in this REVIEW and in the *Expositor*. Almost certainly we should correct כמחלת המננים into חבצלת העמקים "a narcissus of the valleys." I would compare the correction proposed by myself for Cant. vi. 4, viz. כתוצה for כחבצלת, and כשושנת כירושלם עימה for עימה "Beautiful art thou, my friend, like the narcissus (?), charming as the lily of the valleys." Cf. Cant. ii. 1. (כנרלות is an interpolation from vi. 11.)

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THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL, 1900

THE ORIGINS OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

THE process of mental cultivation, at the close of the nineteenth century, offers few more perplexing problems than *What to do with Herbert Spencer?* "Does anybody read that man now?" said a friend to me the other day. "At Oxford there is a complete change. The young men;—and it is the young who read;—read Rudyard Kipling instead of George Eliot." "Good!" said another, to whom this dictum was repeated, "but at Oxford they are dreadfully provincial. I mentioned *G. B. S.* in our Common Room, and they did not know whom I meant." The standpoint, it will be seen, is that of the journalist. Yet even so thoughtful a writer as Mr. Joseph Jacobs makes, as it seems to me, the same mistake. "Darwinism has come, and has conquered, and as a vital influence in the spiritual life, has gone¹." As if fashion were the test of truth, and the novelty of a doctrine the criterion of its value. I cannot think that Mr. Spencer's life-work has lost its significance because it is at last achieved.

In certain quarters there has long existed a tendency to treat "Science" and "Herbert Spencer" as equivalent

¹ George Eliot, &c., *Introd.*, p. xx (1891).

terms, a tendency equally to be observed among Mr. Spencer's disciples and among his opponents. They who know what Science is know that it is greater than any one man, however great; wider in its outlook, more varied in its activities, more flexible and more receptive than any single mind. Above all, Science is essentially progressive, never completely unified, because never complete, never resting in the abstraction, but always pressing on to closer contact with the living reality:—

Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world,
And measure every wandering planet's course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
And always moving as the restless spheres¹.

Such minds entertain a certain distrust of philosophical systems. The philosopher who engages to construct a continuous interpretation of the *totum scibile*, is under the necessity of filling up the gaps of science by means of speculation, of making deduction do the work of induction, of occupying himself with the abstractions of his own mind rather than the concrete objects of knowledge, of selecting such data as afford real or apparent support to his hypotheses, while minimizing or ignoring those whose meaning is less easily apprehended from his standpoint. It would be too much to affirm that Mr. Spencer has always escaped these dangers. The best tribute to his work would consist in an edition of the *Synthetic Philosophy* in which the several volumes should be furnished with Introductions, Notes, and Appendices, by experts in the different subjects of which he has treated, so as to test or to confirm, to supplement or to correct, the conclusions which he has reached and the evidence by which he has supported them; and thus help the reader to distinguish between the permanent and the transitory in this vast fabric of thought. At present there are those who make a bogey of Mr. Spencer,

¹ Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, part I, act ii, sc. 7.

and those who make a pope of him; who accept his generalizations merely on authority, and turn his formulæ into shibboleths, or else consider themselves at liberty to reject his arguments without examination. For my part, *je cherche en gémissant*. Mr. Spencer, like Mr. Ruskin, is admirably stimulating and instructive, provided you do not believe in him. Take nothing on trust, test all that you read, as far as ability and opportunity allow;—you will have learned much, you will have gained thought, and food for thought; but you will finally leave your author to the judgment of posterity. Yet no one can help seeing that Mr. Spencer possesses a mind of singular power, and of limitations almost equally singular; a mind in which the personal equation is too strongly marked for him to serve as an impartial representative of abstract science, a mind capable of crudities, even of absurdities¹; in certain important respects, an uncultivated mind. And, speaking always from the standpoint of the dwarf on the giant's shoulders, I cannot conceal a doubt whether Mr. Spencer has ever *quite* assimilated the doctrine of Evolution. I mean, of course, that there survive in his philosophy elements, assumptions, habits of thought, which are derived from the pre-evolutionary era, and are incompatible with the mental position in which he has done so much to place us. Of these, that which most concerns us here is his attitude of antagonism to the great historical religions, which it is surely the business of science not to attack but to explain.

A different kind of importance attaches to the earlier and the later stages, respectively, of any process, natural or artificial. There is the importance of the primary condition, the indispensable means, and there is that which attaches to the finished result, which, in the case of intelligent agency, is also the end in view. For instance, in

¹ Such, for instance, as the petulant reference to Warren Hastings (*Data of Sociology*, 3rd ed., p. 811) or the ludicrous interpretation of the story of Abraham (*ibid.*, pp. 406 seq. and 817).

building a house it is indispensable to procure the site and the materials, but these have no utility in themselves, and do not fulfil their proper function until the house is complete and ready for habitation. Conversely, while the building cannot be used until the roof and the windows, the fittings and the furniture are all in their places, these parts depend for their utility upon the previous construction of the walls and the foundations. Something like this takes place in the processes of nature. There is the importance of the acorn, and there is that of the oak. It may be true that the latter is implicit in the former, that there is a perfect continuity between them, and that so far the two are identical. But it is not true to say that one is as good as the other, that the acorn is the oak, that the embryo possesses the same importance as the adult, the infant as the hero or the saint. And the evolutionist at large is often so absorbed in the investigation of origins as to forget the significance of results. Moreover the earlier stages in the process of evolution extend over a wider area, and a longer period of time, than the later and more special developments. The almost inconceivable magnitudes, involving correlative duration, of the objects of astronomical science, are thus contrasted with the geological history of the earth's surface; or the history of life in general with that of its higher forms; or that of the class *Mammalia* with the evolution of the human race; or the antiquity and diffusion of the race with the comparatively recent, local, and transient growth of civilizations. Yet everywhere, as in Von Baer's law, the progress of development is from the general to the special, the species has a significance beyond that of the genus, and in the species it is the differentia with which the student is above all concerned. It is not that which Greek art, for instance, has in common with the art of the Maori, it is, on the contrary, the distinctive excellence of the former, which renders it a subject of special investigation; the work of Praxiteles rather than that of Daedalus.

And, broadly speaking, it is the political and social institutions, the life and manners, the arts and sciences, the languages and literatures, the philosophies and religions, of the higher races, the more advanced civilizations, the fine flower of humanity, which form the main subject of historical science. And it is precisely here that occurs the blind spot in the retina, the deficient sympathy in the mind, of our Synthetic Philosopher. In reading Mr. Spencer's works, we are continually made to feel that he has neither undergone the discipline, nor attained the standpoint, of the historical student¹.

I do not, of course, intend either to deny or to minimize the fundamental importance of the study of origins, or of the comparative method. What I mean to deny is that these possess the same kind of importance as the investigation of special developments; as if the general study of the *Mammalia* were to be accepted as a substitute for the Science of Man.

In dealing with the Religion of Israel, we may either consider the starting-point of its evolution, viz. that which it has in common with the religion of the ancient world, and trace this back in turn to the religion of savages; or, assuming such an origin, we may fix our attention upon the later stages, the higher developments of the process, those namely to which it owes its unique position and influence in the history of Mankind. Only, when you have explained the former, you have not accounted for the latter. Assume, if you like, with Mr. Grant Allen, what is required by the Spencerian theory of the Origin of Religion, although no evidence can be adduced in support of this particular application, viz. that the God of Israel was in ultimate origin the ghost of an ancestral warrior

¹ Mr. Freeman used to complain of the people who thought that all "the Anglo-Saxons" lived at the same time. Mr. Spencer seems to be under a similar delusion with regard to "the Jews" or "the Hebrews." See the references in the *Data of Sociology*, 3rd ed., pp. 136, 154, 171, 173, 174, 190, 191, 192, 194, 217, 221, 227, 229, 239, 240, 261, 371.

chief; you do not thus account for the conception of this deity entertained by the Hebrew Prophets. What have the two terms of the series in common with each other? A ghost "idealized," you say? But it is just the ideal element which is the characteristic feature of the religion, and which alone is of permanent importance. Nor if you can trace Theism in general to a beginning in the fancies of savages, in the childhood of the world, have you thereby afforded a test of its validity, any more than if you were to argue that the validity of chemical science depended on that of mediæval alchemy, the truth of astronomy upon the superstitions of the Chaldaean astrologer, or the worth of medicine upon that of witchcraft¹? The modest proposition of Hume, *That the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to human intelligence*; the obvious and insuperable difficulty of deriving consciousness from anything not capable of consciousness; the consequent necessity of supposing with Tyndall that the promise and potency of Life and Mind were once latent in the sun's fires; the inevitable inference to the doctrine of Spinoza that Thought and Extension are but modes of a single substance; the problem of the relation between the ultimate reality, the unknown but infinite power of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, and the ideal capacities and aspirations of humanity: all these would, in the case supposed, remain exactly where they were.

And as with Theism so with Immortality. In either case the history of religion has to deal with the multiform modes in which the mind of man has shaped "the mystery from which it has emerged²," and to which it is destined to return. But the mystery abides unchanged.

Lo, his adventurous fancy coercing at once and provoking,
 Rise the unscalable walls, built with a word at the prime;
 Lo, immobile as statues, with pitiless faces of iron,
 Armed at each obstinate gate, stand the impassable guards³.

¹ See Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. II, chap. x *ad init.*

² Tyndall, *Belfast Address*.

³ William Watson, *Hymn to the Sea*.

The beginning of mental life is as obscure as its close, and the interdependence of Body and Mind remains equally certain and inscrutable. For Mr. Grant Allen, whose lamented and premature death has occurred since this paper was first commenced, the problems which have baffled the intellects of a Spencer, a Huxley, or a Tyndall, and have forced upon them the heroic recognition of the limits of our knowledge and the abyss which surrounds our transitory life, had no existence.

"We now know," he writes (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 46), "that consciousness is a function of the brain; that it is intermitted during sleep, when the brain rests, and also during times of grave derangement of the nervous or circulatory systems, as when we faint or assume the comatose condition, or are stunned by a blow, or fall into catalepsy or epilepsy. We also know that consciousness ceases altogether at death, when the brain no longer functions; and that the possibility of its further continuance is absolutely cut off by the fact of decomposition."

He knows now, or perhaps even he does not know. I gladly turn to the language of a more scientific thinker (Huxley, *Science and Morals*, Collected Essays, IX, 140):—

As physical science states this problem, it seems to stand thus: "Is there any means of knowing whether the series of states of consciousness, which has been causally¹ associated for threescore years and ten with the arrangement and movements of innumerable millions of successively different material molecules, can be continued, in like association, with some substance which has not the properties of matter and force?" As Kant said, on a like occasion, if anybody can answer that question, he is just the man I want to see. If he says that consciousness cannot exist, except in relation of cause and effect with certain organic molecules, I must ask how he knows that; and if he says it can, I must put the same question.

The work of Mr. Grant Allen (published in 1897), in spite of its bulk, was but a preliminary sketch of a far more extensive design, the "*avant-courrier* of a reasoned system," for which he had collected materials during more

¹ Misprinted "casually" in the Collected Edition.

than twenty years. In this respect it may not unfairly be compared to *The Origin of Species*. But here the resemblance ends. The admirable modesty of Darwin, his flawless candour, his painstaking thoroughness, are alike absent. Nor is a comparison with *The Data of Sociology* more favourable in its results. The ponderous chariot of Mr. Spencer is drawn onwards by two powerful steeds, the Love of System and the Love of Truth; and a looker-on may observe that the Love of System is a little given to pulling, and does more than his share of the work. But Mr. Grant Allen drives tandem, and drives it furiously, and if Love of Truth occupies the wheeler's place, the leader is Love of Effect, and lashed by his reckless charioteer, he prances all across the road to the alarm of the bystanders and the danger of the coach. To drop the metaphor, we may say that as Mr. Spencer is always a philosopher and sometimes a man of science, so Mr. Grant Allen was sometimes a man of science, but always, and at all costs, a journalist. And, alas! a journalist with the vulgar and puerile ambition of shocking the public whom presumably he addressed. The consequence is a volume which if it falls into the hands of the secularist will mislead him as to the present position of historical science, while in religious minds it is likely to create a prejudice against the whole investigation, and by the serious student to be neglected altogether. And yet this would be a pity. In spite of its glaring faults, the book has real merit. It is valuable as a supplement to the work of Mr. Spencer, and also to that of Mr. Frazer. An acute, original, and active intelligence, equipped with wide reading and observation, occupying itself during many years with the obscure and complex data of this vast subject and the problems which they present to the inquirer, could not but throw fresh light upon them, could not but afford the reader both stimulus and suggestion.

The general theory of the Origin of Religion held by Mr. Spencer and his disciples, it is well known, is that the

Worship of the Gods is in ultimate analysis a Worship of the Dead. Every god was once a dead man.

There is no exception then. Using the phrase ancestor-worship in its broadest sense as comprehending all worship of the dead, be they of the same blood or not, we conclude that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion (*Data of Sociology*, § 204, *ad fin.*).

I will add a few eloquent sentences from Mr. Grant Allen:—

Thus, in ultimate analysis, we see that all the sacred objects of the world are either dead men themselves, as corpse, mummy, ghost, or god; or else the tomb where such men are buried; or else the temple, shrine, or hut which covers the tomb; or else the tomb-stone, altar, image, or statue, standing over it and representing the ghost; or else the stake, idol, or household god which is fashioned as their deputy; or else the tree which grows above the barrow; or else the well, or tank, or spring, natural or artificial, by whose side the dead man has been laid to rest. In one form or another, from beginning to end, we find only, in Mr. William Simpson's graphic phrase, "the Worship of Death," as the basis and root of all human religion (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 153).

In short, from first to last, religion never gets far away from these its earliest and profoundest associations. "God and immortality," those two are its key-notes. And those two are one; for the god in the last resort is nothing more than the immortal ghost, etherealized and extended (*ibid.*, p. 432).

In the formal rhythm, the comprehensive precision, the melancholy dogmatism, the air of finality, by which these statements are characterized, there is something which recalls the Athanasian Creed, and Mr. Grant Allen's last word upon the fate of Man is *absque dubio peribit in aeternum*. It is curious to compare his view with that of Mr. Lang:—

On the hypothesis here offered to criticism there are two chief sources of religion, (1) the belief—how attained we know not—in a powerful, moral, eternal, omniscient Father and Judge of men; (2) the belief—probably developed out of experiences normal and supernormal—in somewhat of man which may survive the grave (*Making of Religion*, p. 331).

Mr. Lang alone among anthropologists has adduced evidence of the former class of beliefs as independent of the latter. All that is brought forward by Mr. Spencer or Mr. Allen belongs (with the exclusion of the "supernormal") to the second category. But the author of *The Evolution of the Idea of God* imported some serious relaxations into the Spencerian dogma. One of these is the proposition (ibid., p. 269) that "the great gods appear to be rather classes than individuals."

That there were many Nymphs and many Fauni, many Silvani and many Martes, has long been known; it is beginning to be clear that there were also many Saturns, many Jupiters, many Junones, many Vestae... There were many Hermae and many Termini, not in Greece and Italy alone, but throughout the world. Only much later did a generalized god, Hermes or Terminus, arise from the union into a single abstract concept of all these separate and individual deities (ibid., p. 270). Each Terminus and each Silvanus is thus the god or protecting ghost of each boundary stone or each sacred grove—not a proper name, but a class—not a particular god, but a *kind* of spirit. The generalized and abstract gods are later unifications of all the individuals included in each genus (ibid., pp. 371-2).

While the *עֲלִיּוֹת* of the Old Testament, whatever their origin, are just such a class of deities as here described, the existence of a generalized *עֲלִיּוֹת* appears problematical, and the question is complicated by the applicability of this title to any god, even the God of Israel. On the other hand it may be asked whether the singular use of the plural *אֱלֹהִים* may not be explained by the subsumption of particular gods into one general conception. And Mr. Lang (*Making of Religion*, p. 232) quotes from Macdonald's *Africana* a statement that Mulungu, or Mlungu, used as a proper name, "is said to be the great spirit, *msimu*, of all men, a spirit formed by adding all the departed spirits together."

In his attempt to trace the origin of the gods to the ghost of the human ancestor or victim, Mr. Allen encounters a difficulty:—

But how reconcile this idea with the existence of numerous petty functional deities—gods of the door and the hinge?—with the Cumina who guards the child in the cradle, and the Statina who takes care of him when he begins to stand? I answer, all these are but adjectival gods, mere ghosts or spirits, unknown in themselves, but conceived as exercising this particular function. “The god that does so-and-so” is just a convenient expression (*ibid.*, p. 371).

Yes, but the expression has a meaning and implies an assumption, the existence of personal, spiritual agents, not identified with any individual human being, nor explicitly conceived as human in origin. Again, when Mr. Grant Allen tells us, “The Jupiter or Jovis was a multiple wine-god, doubtless in every case the annual victim slain, Dionysus-wise, for the benefit of the vineyard . . . But his name shows that, as usual, he was also identified with that very ancient Sky-god who is common to all the Aryan race:” it is manifest that the Sky-god still remains to be accounted for. And here we approach the weakest part of the Spencerian theory—the endeavour to deduce the Worship of Nature in all its various aspects from that of the Spirit of Man. This part of the *Data of Sociology* is one long tissue of special pleading. Of course Mr. Spencer has no difficulty in showing that in some cases the spirits supposed to control or animate the phenomena of Nature are regarded as human both in character and origin. But that is not enough to satisfy him. He seeks to show that the Worship of Nature is everywhere a mere accidental consequence of ancestor-worship.

Here we have, in Mr. Spencer’s own words, “the unchecked application of an hypothesis which seems to explain everything” (*Data of Sociology*, p. 321). The synthetic philosopher is for ever “verifying *a priori* inference by *a posteriori* proof” (*ibid.*, p. 413), like the judges of a French court-martial. “Integration *must* be set up by the recognition of some conspicuous typical case. When, into a heap of detached observations, is introduced an observation akin to them in which a causal relation is discernible,

it forthwith commences assimilating to itself from this heap of observations, those which are congruous; *and tends even to coerce into union those of which the congruity is not manifest* (ibid., p. 121). The italics are not Mr. Spencer's. "Every hypothesis tends to assimilate facts yielding it support and to reject adverse facts" (ibid., p. 289). "Not only has hypothesis an effect conspicuous to all in perverting judgment, but it has an effect, less manifest but still decided, in perverting perception" (ibid., p. 766).

These passages help us to understand why Mr. Spencer must needs attribute the widely-diffused cult of the living personal Heaven, or of the spirit supposed to animate it, to the contingency of some hypothetical conquering chief, credited by a subject race with the magical power of causing or withholding rain and tempest, establishing himself in some mountain stronghold, and being on that account supposed to reside in Heaven (ibid., pp. 210-212, 805-807). The conception of a sky-god could never have been accepted, modified, and diffused, unless it had been congruous with the current mode of thought. And it is that mode of thought which we desire to explain. On the most favourable view the hypothesis may be regarded as offering what mathematicians call a singular solution, which is valid only for the special case supposed. And so with regard to the yet more superficial theory which attempts to trace the worship of animals, of plants, and of what we call inanimate nature (speaking from a point of view which is not that of man in the mythological stage) to mere verbal misunderstanding; a theory which doubtless owes its place in the philosophy of Mr. Spencer, with which it is otherwise sufficiently incongruous, to the mischievous influence of the philologists, with their preposterous assumption that language is prior to thought. The supposed misunderstanding could not have occurred unless the objects of nature were regarded as personal beings. For a rock to be thought of as a parent, it must first be thought of as alive. That the worship of the Sun

and Moon is to be traced to "misinterpretation of individual names" (*Data of Sociology*, p. 379); that "solar myths have arisen from misapprehensions of narratives respecting actual persons, or actual events in human history" (*ibid.*, p. 377); that "One source of these solar myths is the literal acceptance of figurative statements concerning the quarter whence the race came" (*ibid.*); that "emergence of a people from a forest, confounded in tradition with emergence from the trees forming it, has led to the worship of trees as ancestors" (*ibid.*); that "the story of migration from a distant mountain has become, through defect of language, changed into the story of descent from the mountain as a progenitor" (*ibid.*); and that clans named after the bear, the prairie-wolf, the rattlesnake and the hare (*ibid.*, p. 356) "have severally descended from men called after, and eventually identified with these animals": these are hypotheses which, to-day, are not likely to find favour with students of the mind of man. Accordingly, Mr. Grant Allen adopted a more tenable position:—

Once more, I do not wish to insist, either, that every particular and individual god, national or naturalistic, must necessarily represent a particular ghost—the dead spirit of a single definite once-living person. It is enough to show, as Mr. Spencer has shown, that the idea of the god, and the worship paid to a god, are directly derived from the idea of the ghost, and the offerings made to the ghost, without necessarily holding, as Mr. Spencer seems to hold, that every god is and must be, in ultimate analysis, the ghost of a particular human being. Once the conception of gods had been evolved by humanity, and had become a common part of every man's imagined universe—of the world as it presented itself to the mind of the percipient—then it was natural enough that new gods should be made from time to time out of abstractions or special aspects and powers of nature, and that the same worship should be paid to such new-made and purely imaginary gods as had previously been paid to the whole host of gods evolved from personal and tribal ancestors (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 36).

It seems to me indubitable, that after the idea of godhead had become fully fixed in the human mind, some gods at least began to be recognized who were directly framed either from abstract concep-

tions, from natural objects, or from pure outbursts of the mythopoeic faculty (ibid., p. 174).

But such a concession is the very enfranchisement of animism. You admit the conception of gods or spirits, analogous to the spirit of man, yet not human in origin, nor bounded by the limitations of human nature. In taking the step supposed, religion has passed the barrier which separates man and god. The "magnified and non-natural man" thus conceived by the human mind is an adumbration of the belief that, in the words of Mr. Spencer, "the Power manifested throughout the Universe distinguished as material, is the same power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness¹." And the being or beings thus conceived may possess not only a speculative significance as hypothetical causes of the phenomena of the universe, but also an ethical and poetic value as the embodiment of human ideals. By such a concession Mr. Grant Allen destroyed his demonstration of atheism. The only questions still at issue are whether this mode of thought is original or derivative, and whether a particular cult is to be referred to "ancestor-worship" or to "animism²." But I must remark that even on the strictest Spencerian view, a point is at last reached, at which the worship of an individual human spirit loses its original character and gives place to the purely ideal conception of a god. So the ideal of the Christ has replaced the historical personality of Jesus of Nazareth; so, on the theory of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Allen, the conception of the God of Israel has superseded the spirit of some far-off tribal ancestor.

In order to be quite fair to Mr. Spencer and his followers, we must bear in mind that while the author of *Primitive Culture* has been principally concerned to exhibit what we may call the Scheme of Animism, and the place in that

¹ "Religion: A Retrospect and Prospect," *Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1884.

² Mr. Lang would raise a third, viz. whether the notion of the anthropomorphic god was not prior to that of the separable soul.

scheme of various classes of belief and practice, it is rather the object of Mr. Spencer to account for the origin of Animism itself. So, too, Mr. Allen, towards the close of his *μῆτα βιβλίον* (ibid., p. 437), observes:—

I do not deny the actual existence of that profoundly animistic frame of mind which Mr. Im Thurn has so well depicted among the Indians of Guiana; nor that which exists among the Samoyeds of Siberia; nor that which meets us at every turn in historical accounts of the old Roman religion. I am quite ready to admit that to people at that stage of religious evolution, the world seems simply thronged with spirits on every side, each of whom has often his own special functions and peculiar prerogatives. But I fail to see that any one of these ideas is demonstrably primitive.

Few words have been so much abused as “primitive.” What is meant by Primitive Man? From the point of view of evolution the term can only mean, man during the undefined period of his gradual emergence from the condition of the ape. But no one except Dr. Westermarck ever seems to use it in this sense. Nor is any direct evidence available as to the psychology of man at this epoch. Just as in English History we have hardly any contemporary evidence bearing on the Saxon Conquest of Britain, and are left to form our ideas of that process from what we know of the prior conditions and the ultimate results, with some light from the analogy of the subsequent invasions of the Danes; so our conception of the state of primitive man must be formed by inference and conjecture from our knowledge of its antecedents and results, with some light from the later stages of his progress, and from the analogous evolution of the individual. If we speak of Primitive Religion or Primitive Animism, we can only mean the beginnings of Religion or of Animism respectively; and just as if we discuss the beginnings of Life, we are obliged to suppose a period before life existed, so in the parallel case we must suppose a stage of thought in which animism had its first beginnings. In § 67 of his *Data of Sociology*, Mr. Spencer states this question:—

"How, then, are we to explain his superstitions?" it will be asked. "That these habitually imply the ascription of life to things not alive, is undeniable. If the primitive man has no proclivity to this confusion, how is it possible to explain the extreme prevalence, if not the universality, of beliefs which give personalities, and tacitly ascribe animation, to multitudes of inanimate things?"

The reply is that these cannot be primary beliefs, but must be secondary beliefs into which the primitive man is betrayed during his early attempts to understand the surrounding world. The incipiently speculative stage must come after a stage in which there is no speculation . . . During this stage the primitive man no more tends to confound animate with inanimate than inferior creatures do.

Animism, then, is the product of reflection. And here we may cite Mr. Spencer's acute observation that "The implications of a doctrine do not occur to the utterly stupid; but they become obvious to those who begin to think" (*Data of Sociology*, p. 316). And in this process of thought the first step is the conception of the spirit of man; the ghost, as Mr. Spencer says, is the *type* (*ibid.*, p. 417). On a page already cited Mr. Grant Allen lays down that "only after the concept of a god had been formed from ancestor-cult, and only after worship had been evolved from the customary offerings to the mummy or spirit at the tomb, could any other object by any possibility be elevated to the godhead" (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 174). Animism, on this view, is derivative, posterior to ancestor-worship both in order of thought and in order of time. Is this necessarily the case? May not the conception of the human spirit and that of spirits analogous thereto, and the worship of both, have developed *pari passu*?

Let us consider this point more closely.

Of the various experiences which, according both to Dr. Tylor and Mr. Spencer, have combined to suggest and to define the notion of the Soul, the phenomena of shadows and reflections are common to man's body with all solid objects. The echo answers the cry of wild animals no less than the voice of man, and at this day it is said the bull on the Yorkshire moors is maddened by its response to his

own bellowings; a circumstance which reminds one of the amenities interchanged between the journals of rival nations. The experience of the dreamer has a double aspect. The dreaming subject wanders, in imagination, from the place where his body is cast in sleep, and though we may notice the indications of dream in the hound beside the hearth, man prior to the domestication of animals cannot so easily have made this observation. But among the objects which present themselves to the sleeper's fancy, animals must from the first have held a conspicuous place. The beasts from whom he had fled, equally with those which he had chased or snared, had killed, and perhaps devoured, must often have appeared to him side by side with his living or dead comrades, with the absent friend and the slain enemy. And if in the case of human phantasms such appearances suggested the conception of the separable Soul or Double, equally must they have done so in the case of animals. The experience of the day would confirm the inference. The contrast between sleep and waking, between life and death, and the dependence of life upon the integrity of the vital organs and functions, which in the case of man has led to the identification of the spirit with the breath or with the blood, with the head or with the heart; these were common to mankind with their fellow creatures. The conclusion was not to be avoided: "the animal has a ghost" (*Data of Sociology*, § 96. Compare, for dreams of animals pursuing and pursued, § 69 of the same work). And indeed there is abundant evidence to show that to early man animals are indeed *animalia*, animated, or as we should say, spiritual beings, no less than himself. He has no reason to draw, nor does he draw in fact, any distinction in kind between the spirit of man and that of the beast. But as his own personality alone is known to him from within, he must needs conceive the animal soul as human in character, and it must be admitted that he sometimes regards it as human also in origin. At this point the doctrine of transformation comes into importance.

It is enough for my purpose to point out that we are hardly entitled to say that the conception of the soul is, even in the first instance, exclusively, though it may be predominantly, human.

Nor can it have escaped man's observation that there is a kind of life in the tree and in the plant, and this life too might be conceived after the analogy of his own. It has been observed with much force, both by Mr. Spencer and Mr. Grant Allen, that the tree-spirit is not thought of as an image or phantasm of the tree, but is conceived as possessing human form (*Data of Sociology*, § 182).

Again it has been shown that the multitudinous spirits, whose agency is thought of as underlying the phenomena of external nature, are, at least in some instances, conceived as spirits of the dead (*Data of Sociology*, p. 216). And it is here no doubt that a disciple of Mr. Spencer must seek the transition from primitive "ancestor-worship" to derivative "animism." Fetishism here supplies the link required. Evidence is adduced (*ibid.*, §§ 160, 161, and App. A, p. 789) to show "that the fetich-worship is the worship of a special soul supposed to have taken up its abode in the fetich" (*ibid.*, p. 313), and that "Whether the fetich is a bundle of things belonging to a relative who has died, or an effigy of this deceased person, or an idol that has lost historic individuality, or some other object, the resident spirit is nothing but a modification of an ancestral ghost, deviating more or less according to circumstances" (*ibid.*, p. 314). "Beliefs thus originating are aided by the idea that shadows are souls. As we before saw (*ibid.*, § 96), this idea into which primitive men are naturally betrayed, they extend to other shadows than those cast by their own bodies." Here it may be observed that the notion that the shadow of a tree or stone is its soul, contradicts the conception which invests the indwelling spirit with human form and attributes. But the doctrine of transformation, which plays so large a part in mythology and folk-lore, is capable of reconciling the discrepancy. The soul, it may

be supposed, which ordinarily assumes the shape of stone or tree, or appears as its shadow or reflection, is equally capable of taking the form of man. A good instance of such a mode of thought occurs in the *Data of Sociology*, p. 766 (App. A). "Speaking of a distant stump mistaken for a man, an Australian said to Mr. Cameron—'That fellow was a gumatch [ghost], only when you came up he made himself like a stump'" (*J. A. S.*, XIV, 363).

So far then, it may appear that the belief in, and worship of, the Spirits of the Dead supply a *vera causa* for the animism described by Dr. Tylor. Ancestor-worship both exists and gives rise to *some* animism. The hypothesis is legitimate; but does it cover the whole field?

Perhaps the most questionable part of Mr. Spencer's treatment of this subject lies in his conception of the psychology of primitive man. It is impossible here to acquit Mr. Spencer of "automorphic interpretations" (*ibid.*, § 51). He constantly imputes himself. He attributes to primitive man his own literalism and his own rationalism. He thinks of him as forming his beliefs almost exclusively by reasoning from observed data (*ibid.*, § 52). He pictures him as reflecting on the occurrence of fossils, and drawing large inferences from the metamorphoses of insects; compiling, in short, from the sources open to him, his peculiar system of Synthetic Philosophy. Yet, when in "The Man *versus* The State" Mr. Spencer deals with the politics of civilization, he indulges in the cynical reflection, "The postulate that men are rational beings continually leads one to draw inferences which prove to be extremely wide of the mark" (*ibid.*, p. 69). If this is true of civilized and adult man, far more must it be true of the savage and the child. Are any of us perfectly rational, always governed by reason, and always reasoning correctly? Do the intellectual faculties of all men stand on the same level? Has the reasoning power no history? Is not its evolution still in progress? If we wish to form a probable conception of the workings of man's mind at an early stage of his development, we

must, I venture to think, assign a larger place to the influence of emotion, the suggestions of desire and fear, the creations of the imagination, the play of fancy, and even the love of make-believe than Mr. Spencer appears to admit. He denies to primitive man the possession either of speculative curiosity or of constructive imagination.

§ 39 *ad fin.* Such imagination as the primitive man has . . . is *reminiscent* only, not *constructive*.

§ 46 *ad init.* Along with absence of surprise there goes absence of curiosity. . . . Where curiosity exists we find it among races of not so low a grade. . . . The general fact thus exemplified is one quite at variance with current ideas respecting the thoughts of the primitive man. He is commonly pictured as theorizing about surrounding appearances, whereas in fact, the need for explanations of them does not occur to him.

§ 47. One more general trait must be named—I mean the lack of constructive imagination.

If the propositions here cited are meant to apply to that stage of man's development of which Mythology is the product and the monument, they are demonstrably erroneous. We need only refer to the large and well-known class of aetiological myths, of which the characteristic feature is, that in them the constructive imagination of early man is employed to satisfy his speculative curiosity. Many instances are given in Mr. Spencer's own work, especially in Appendix A. See in particular the section (pp. 767-72) on "Some Early Interpretations," and note that the mythical interpretation of eclipses is here expressly described as one that "arises naturally in *primitive* minds" (p. 770 *ad init.* Cp. 771, last par. "in *primitive* thought"). It is indeed possible that between the composition of the text and that of the appendix Mr. Spencer may have modified his views. But he still persists in regarding the mythical agents as "natural," even in the case of giants whose movements cause earthquakes (p. 770), beings "mightier than men" who are supposed to inhabit the craters of Alaska; or that delightful conception of the Lamas "that the Earth rests on a golden frog, and whenever

this prodigious frog had occasion to scratch its head, or stretch out its foot, that part of the earth immediately above was shaken" (ibid.). Providence, which assigns strange compensations to the various destinies of men, has bestowed upon the Lamas a sense of humour which it has denied to Mr. Spencer. The truth is, I conceive, that in dealing with these wild fancies, the distinction between natural and supernatural is wholly out of place, nor is it probable that it exists in the minds of the thinkers who entertain them. They are pure creatures of the imagination. But if this be admitted we are at once brought to consider the existence of gods (in Mr. Grant Allen's words) "purely imaginary," "pure outbursts of the mythopoeic faculty." Before entering on this part of our subject it may, however, be well to take notice of certain psychological admissions of Mr. Spencer, and their consequences.

"A child's vocabulary," writes Mr. Spencer (*Data of Sociology*, p. 361), "consists mainly of words referring to those living beings *which chiefly affect it*." May it not be equally true that a child's thoughts of existence and agency are framed on the same models? "The poorer a language the more metaphorical it is." Be it so; but does not this point to the prior employment of metaphor as a mode of thought? And what precisely is metaphor? There is, I venture to think, a profound difference between the conscious use of metaphor by civilized and educated man, and its employment by the less developed intellects of the ancient and the savage world. If Mr. Spencer, for instance, should condescend to the use of metaphor, we may be sure that he would carefully distinguish the terms of the comparison, and bear in mind that they probably agreed only in the special point in view. The uncivilized man, on the contrary, would be likely, for the purpose in hand, to identify the things compared and neglect their differences. But it appears to me improbable that "among primitive peoples speaking more figuratively than we do" (ibid., pp. 379, 380), and where figurative names are still in

common use, the literal misapprehension of such names and statements should be so general as to give rise to extensive departments of mythology. Such mistakes would be much more natural to Mr. Spencer than they would be, for instance, to a Samoan¹. Where "Rising Sun" is employed as a personal name, why in the world should it be supposed to mean anything else? And how could the Sun be regarded as an ancestor if he were not, in the first instance, thought of as alive?

Another point in Mr. Spencer's psychology which deserves attention is the importance attached to dreams. "Primitive men," we are told (*ibid.*, p. 773), "will inevitably confuse dream-thoughts and the thoughts of the waking state." But if this be so, then in discussing the latter we must allow for an element, at once fanciful and irrational, derived from the former. And last, but not least, we have to allow something for deliberate fiction, like the child's play alluded to at pp. 129, 130, or the make-believe of the savage described at pp. 788, 789.

Upon closing this imperfect examination of Mr. Spencer's views, it may be as well to take account of a singular fallacy of Mr. Grant Allen's, which, if admitted, would exclude from the purview of the student of religion all inquiry into the mental conceptions of the worshipper.

A god, as I understand the word, and as the vast mass of mankind has always understood it, is a supernatural being *to be revered and worshipped* (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 21).

If you were to ask almost any intelligent and unsophisticated child, "What is religion?" he would answer off hand, with the clear vision of youth, "Oh, it's saying your prayers, and reading your Bible, and singing hymns, and going to church or to chapel on Sundays." If you were to ask any intelligent and unsophisticated Hindu peasant the same question, he would answer in almost the self-same spirit, "Oh, it is doing poojah regularly, and paying your dues every day to Mahadeo." If you were to ask any simple-minded African savage, he would similarly reply, "It is giving the gods flour and oil, and native

¹ This seems to me a real difficulty in the hypothesis of Turner, cited *Data of Sociology*, pp. 796, 797.

beer, and goat mutton." And finally, if you were to ask a devout Italian contadino, he would instantly say, "It is offering up candles and prayers to the Madonna, attending mass, and remembering the saints on every festa."

And they would all be quite right (*ibid.*, pp. 21, 22).

In short, I maintain that religion is not mainly, as the mistaken analogy of Christian usage makes us erroneously call it, Faith or Creed, but simply and solely Ceremony, Custom, or Practice (*ibid.* p. 32).

Mr. Hartland's comment shall be cited (*Folk-Lore*, IX, 64): "Now be it observed, we may disagree with this definition; we may prefer to define religion for theological or philosophical purposes in a different manner; but we cannot profitably argue with a scientific writer unless we are agreed upon the use of terms." This seems to me an inadequate criticism. We are dealing with a real subject, which has an unity of its own, and includes various interdependent parts. Mr. Allen deliberately put forward a single province of this subject as equivalent to the whole, not only excluding from view all the higher aspects of religion, but ignoring the very basis on which ritual itself rests: the mental conceptions and habits of thought which prompt the ritual observance. This may be effective, if somewhat insolent, journalism, but it is not science and ought not to be called so. The passages which I have cited do in fact show a certain grasp of the concrete external data of the subject under investigation; but to *render these intelligible* you must go behind them. If Mr. Grant Allen were right, his book should have been called *The Evolution of Ritual*; for the Idea of God is just what his definition of religion leaves out of sight. Of course, therefore, the writer soon deserts his ostensible standpoint, and proceeds like everybody else to examine the beliefs and motives of the worshipper, and even when it suits him has recourse to the mythology which he affects to condemn (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 209, 307).

Probably other readers of Mr. Spencer besides myself have sometimes wondered whether he does not err in

a point fundamental to his philosophy—his conception of the nature of a *fact*. The word is very often on his lips; what does he mean by it? Mr. Spencer seems to think of a fact as of a thing separable from all other things, capable of being understood with little reference to its circumstances and antecedents, of being precisely ascertained and correctly transmitted by the observer, and colligated or interpreted by the philosopher who receives his testimony, without any consideration being given to the modes of thought habitual to one or the other, and the manner in which these may affect not only their judgment or opinion, but their apprehension and conception of the “fact” observed. When the facts in question are themselves the mental conceptions of peoples in a stage of development very unlike that of the witness; when they represent a mode of thought far as the poles asunder from that of the philosopher who seeks to explain them; such an assumption is likely to yield imperfect and erroneous results. Mr. Spencer’s lack of emotion, his lack of imagination, involve a defect of sympathy, which is at times equivalent to a defect of intelligence. His competence to appreciate the ideal elements of religion may be judged from the frigid remark (*Data of Sociology*, § 108), “The desire for approbation, which is a ruling passion here, is represented as being a ruling passion hereafter. The giving of praise and receiving of approval are figured as the chief sources of happiness.” The writer who penned that sentence is manifestly incapable of apprehending what is meant by the saying of Wordsworth:—

We live by admiration, hope, and love,

or by that of Mr. Ruskin, that “All great art is praise”; or yet again by the words of the parable of Jesus, “Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy lord.” It is as if a deaf-mute were to write a theory of music.

The evolutionist may perhaps reply that the ethical and

imaginative elements did not exist in the religion of primitive man. At what point then did they supervene, and from what cause? We want evidence to show, and it is here that we are under an obligation to Mr. Lang¹. If we may accept his data, and his interpretation of those data—and to estimate either requires a special knowledge of anthropological material which can hardly be expected from the student of the Old Testament—many among the lowest races of mankind have entertained the conception of a being, analogous indeed to man, but not of human origin, not a human ancestor, since these races do not practise ancestor-worship, not propitiated by sacrifice, not regarded as having died, but on the contrary as prior to the coming of Death; a Maker of all things, a Father of mankind, who is invoked at the mysteries, and under whose sanction are placed the obligations of tribal morality. Such a being, according to Mr. Lang, is not necessarily conceived as a spirit (*Making of Religion*, pp. 182, 183), that is, I suppose, as a separable soul, in terms of the theory of animism. "We shall show that he probably was not; that the question 'spirit or not spirit' was not raised at all." To illustrate this point Mr. Lang refers to the Banks Islanders (Melanesia) who "believe in ghosts, 'and in the existence of beings who were not, and never had been, human' . . . They never were men, 'the natives will always maintain that he (the *Vui*) was *something different*, and deny to him the fleshly body of a man,' while resolute that he was *not a ghost*." The importance of this point in Mr. Lang's view is that such a conception may be prior to the rise of animism or even ancestor-worship. If so, it must be regarded, I suppose, as an "outburst of the mythopoeic faculty," in which the imagination of early man answers to the best of its ability the

¹ *The Making of Religion*, 1898, chaps. ix-xvii. Cp. *Folk-Lore*, vol. IX, p. 290, "The 'High Gods' of Australia," by E. S. Hartland; vol. X, p. 1, "Reply," and p. 46, "Rejoinder"; *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, new ed., 1899, Preface, and chaps. xi, xii.

problem of speculative curiosity, Who made the world? A god so conceived is no doubt, in Mr. Grant Allen's words, "purely imaginary." But so is the Demeter of Cnidos, or the Farnese Hermes, the Sistine Madonna, or the Christ of Leonardo da Vinci. It is the ideal element in these conceptions which is of value. Mr. Lang does show us what Mr. Spencer and Mr. Allen have failed to show, the presence of this element in the early stages of the evolution of religion.

To maintain the ethical character of these "Supreme Beings" free from unworthy associations, Mr. Lang has to resort to the distinction between "Religion" and "Mythology," making good his point by reference to the gods of Homer: "Zeus protects Homeric morality despite his own mythology." He might have cited M. Maspero on the gods of Egypt (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 160):—

The raillery in which the Egyptians occasionally indulged with regard to them, the good-humoured and even ridiculous rôles ascribed to them in certain legends, do not prove that they were despised, or that zeal for them had cooled. The greater the respect of believers for the objects of their worship, the more easily do they tolerate the taking of such liberties; and the condescension of the members of the Ennead¹, far from lowering them in the eyes of generations who came too late to live with them upon familiar terms, only enhanced the love and reverence in which they were held.

Newman, I think, has said something analogous as to the irreverent familiarities of mediaeval and South-European Catholicism². But undoubtedly this play of fancy is incompatible with the noble seriousness which is common to Hebraism and Puritanism. And it is fair to ask with Mr. Hartland, what is the distinction between religious belief and myth? We need some criterion which

¹ The Nine Gods.

² The *Athenæum*, Dec. 2, 1899, p. 769, reviews, under "Drama," a recent edition of *The Towneley Plays*. I quote one sentence: "In the miracle-plays, the first forms of popular dramatic art, the free English humour played with its characteristic mediaeval non-reverence round the outlines of a fixed sacred story."

shall be not merely arbitrary. Perhaps it is sufficient for our purpose to recognize in these workings of the human imagination the beginnings of the ideal, and to distinguish it from what is merely fanciful or superstitious, humorous, grotesque, or obscene.

But whence is this ideal element derived? Mr. Lang suggests that a Maker of the world and men, and of all things necessary for human subsistence, a "Giver of all good gifts," in fact, is necessarily regarded as benevolent. It is tempting to go further, and seek in such a conception the idea, so familiar to ourselves, of a Father who loves, nourishes, protects, admonishes, and chastens his children ¹. But such an idea could not well arise under the matriarchal system, where paternity, it is supposed, was unrecognized or ignored. It might, however, be referred to the state of pretribal monogamy sketched by Westermarck ². For us the idea of Our Father in Heaven is the object of those aspirations and emotions which we especially intend by the name of religion, and into which, it may be remarked in passing, neither Mr. Spencer nor Mr. Allen has shown the faintest insight. But are we justified in attributing the germs of such feelings to the savage worshipper of Baïame or Daramulun?

On the other hand, the evolutionist may say: Morality is the nature of things, the condition of human well-being. Without some kind and degree of social ethics no tribe could continue to exist, much less could it overcome its enemies or increase in wealth and numbers. Where, as with early man, every part of human life has its religious aspect or counterpart, ethics, like everything else, will be associated with religion. And where social organization is

¹ *Making of Religion*, p. 183.

² Compare Mr. Spencer's deduction (*Data of Sociology*, p. 63), "that primitive men, who, before any arts of life were developed, necessarily lived on wild food, implying wide dispersion of small numbers, were . . . not much habituated to associated life." The remarks in the text apply equally to the verbal confusion between "begetting" and "making," attributed to early man.

imperfect, and political authority non-existent, or very limited in extent, a sanction for morality will be sought at the hands of the gods. Nay, even where such organization and authority have reached, as in the Rome of early times, a comparatively advanced stage, religion will still be invoked to supply the defects of law¹. And not only may ancestral spirits be called upon for this purpose², but in contravention to the expressed opinion of Mr. Lang³, recourse may be had to spirits confessedly malignant, such as the Bhutas of Western India, referred to by Mr. Spencer⁴: "Various disputes and litigated matters, especially when evidence and ordinary means of adjustment fail, are then brought forward and submitted to the decision of the Bhuta, and his award, pronounced through the Dhér, is generally, though not always, submitted to⁵." But a god invoked in the interest of peace and justice will come in time to be conceived as a righteous god. On this view the moral or at least judicial character of the deity will reflect the needs of social life and the ethical capacities of human nature in this stage of its evolution. But here, perhaps, we ought to distinguish between the benevolence ascribed to One who is conceived as Maker⁶ and the justice imputed to him who is invoked as Judge⁷.

Prof. Menzies, in his *History of Religion*, published in 1895, remarks (p. 108):—

"The objects of worship in the Chinese religion arrange

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Eng. trans., ed. 1894, vol. I, pp. 225, 226. Cf. Ex. xviii. 13-27, Deut. xvii. 8-13.

² *Data of Sociology*, § 144, and § 197, p. 390.

³ e. g. *Making of Religion*, p. 185; *Folk-Lore*, X, 45.

⁴ *Data of Sociology*, App. A, pp. 783, 784, citing M. J. Walhouse *J. A. I.*, vol. V, pp. 408-422.

⁵ We should, in such a case, "toss up," but by early man "luck" is ascribed to a supernatural decision, and the lot is, in origin, a religious institution. Prov. xvi. 33, וְהַחֲמֵץ לֹא יִשְׁמָר, "Every decision which it gives is from Jahveh." See Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, I, 78.

⁶ *Making of Religion*, p. 199. *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, new ed., pp. 330, 331.

⁷ *Making of Religion*, p. 193.

themselves in three classes. The Chinaman of old worshipped, and his descendant of to-day worships still—

1. Heaven.
2. Spirits of various kinds, other than human.
3. The spirits of dead ancestors."

A certain ambiguity attends the first of these conceptions, though perhaps the obscurity exists rather in the minds of European scholars than in those of the native Chinese. It is disputed which is prior, the "animistic" notion of Thien (Heaven) or the more personal idea of Shang Ti, the Supreme Lord. On this point Prof. Legge differs from Confucius, Dr. Tylor from Legge, Mr. Lang from Tylor¹. "The early Catholic missionaries argued that the Chinese Shang-ti was equivalent to the Christian 'God,' and signified a being other than the sky, the Supreme Power of the universe. The Chinese, however, denied that they had ever made any such distinction, and declared that they could not understand it²." For my part I sympathize with the Chinese. Why are we to separate, on their behalf, what they do not separate? It is clear that from their point of view Heaven is the Supreme God, and the Supreme God is identified with Heaven, as well as with the universal order, and the over-ruling providence which makes for righteousness and directs the destinies of Man. Above the host of Spirits, "ancestral" or "animistic" they discern the presence of a unique and moral World-Power. It is natural that Mr. Lang should seek to affiliate such a conception to those of which he has made himself the exponent, as Mr. Spencer has been the exponent, of ancestor-worship, and Dr. Tylor of animism. I am only here concerned to note the actual coexistence of these three orders

¹ *Prim. Cult.*, II, 352. *Making of Religion*, 318.

² Menzies, p. 109. Cf. Legge, *The Religions of China* (1880), p. 66. There is a further question as to the word "Ti," whether primarily applied to the Emperor (Hwang Ti) and derivatively to the Ruler above, or as Prof. Legge thinks, signifying primarily God and applied to the Emperor as *Divus*. (*S. B. E.*, III, xxvi).

of belief, and to ask to which of the three should we refer the origins of the religion of Israel?

I fear there exists no evidence adequate to decide the issue. Mr. Lang's "theory of Jehovah" rests almost wholly on analogy (*Making of Religion*, chap. xvi). He asks warmly:—

Have critics and manual-makers no knowledge of the science of comparative religion? Are they unaware that peoples infinitely more backward than Israel was at the date supposed have already moral Supreme Beings acknowledged over vast tracts of territory? Have they a tittle of positive evidence that early Israel was benighted beyond the darkness of Bushmen, Andamanese, Pawnees, Blackfeet, Hurons, Indians of British Guiana, Dinkas, Negroes, and so forth. Unless Israel had this rare ill-luck (which Israel denies) of course Israel must have had a secular tradition, however dim, of a Supreme Being (*ibid.*, pp. 312, 313).

Whence came the moral element in Jehovah? One may surmise that it was the survival of the primitive divinely sanctioned ethics of the ancient savage ancestors of the Israelite, known to them, as to the Kurnai, before they had a pot, or a bronze knife, or seed to sow, or sheep to herd, or even a tent over their heads (*ibid.*, p. 315).

If savage, nomadic Israel had the higher religious conceptions proved to exist among several of the lowest known races, these conceptions might be revived by a leader of genius. They might, in a crisis of tribal fortunes, become the rallying-point of a new national sentiment (*ibid.*, p. 316).

Such, freed from some superfluous polemics, is Mr. Lang's argument. And at least the hypothesis deserves quite as much attention as the suggestions of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Allen on the same topic. It is a point of some importance in favour of Mr. Lang's view, that in the first chapters of J, while the conception of Jahveh is strongly anthropomorphic, he is yet represented as the Maker, *not* the progenitor of the first man. It is not easy to trace such a conception either to ancestor-worship or to animism, while, as Mr. Lang has shown us, it has its parallels in the beliefs of savages respecting a Supreme Being, conceived in the image of man. Mr. Jacobs, however, in his article on Junior-Right in Genesis (*Archaeological Review*, I, 339,

340), after observing that his own hypothesis does not apply to any of the earlier narratives of Genesis, goes on to say :—

The reason for this is tolerably obvious. A nation has legends about its eponymous heroes long before it deals with cosmological problems. This is only one of many indications which serve to show that the Hebrews had traditions about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, long before they speculated about the origin of the world (i.), of man (ii.), of sin (iii.), of death (iv. 1-15), of the arts (iv. 20-22), and of the diversity of language (xi. 1-10). The absence of any reference to junior-right in these legends would seem to indicate that they arose after the nomad stage, and in Canaan probably under Assyrian influences.

This was published in 1888. (I have not seen the reprint.) Of course no one would now deny the Assyrian or Babylonian influence. But would any anthropologist allow that legends of the origin of the world, of man, or of death, only come into existence with the growth of civilization? The evidence seems the other way. In dealing with these ancient cosmogonies we have always to distinguish between the system, which is the product of reflection, and the mythical elements of which it is composed. One of the simplest of these is the idea of the divine yet anthropomorphic Maker. It may well be of very great antiquity.

"Father Le Jeune, S. J., went first among the Algonkins, a missionary pioneer, in 1633. . . . He writes [in the same year] . . . "They say that one exists whom they call Atahocan, who made the whole. Speaking of God in a wigwam one day, they asked me 'what is God?' I told them it was He who made all things, heaven and earth. They then began to cry out to each other, 'Atahocan! Atahocan! it is Atahocan!'"

What is very curious, they had a word *Nitatohokan*, meaning, "*I fable, I tell an old story*"²; in short, "I mythologize." But their cosmology did not come from Assyria. Nor does it seem safe to assume that that of

¹ *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, I, 323.

² *Ibid.*, 324.

Israel was borrowed thence in its entirety, as a thing wholly novel to their conceptions.

It is a part of Mr. Lang's case that the primitive worship of a Moral Supreme Being has been overlaid by the subsequent growth of animism; just as in the view of the Reformers, the pure Gospel of Christ was overlaid by the complex system of the church and the accretions of popular superstition. In particular, the introduction of sacrifice in the worship of the Supreme God is to be regarded as due to the assimilation of his cultus to that of the ancestral ghost or totem. But it must be admitted that ancestral spirits play an important part in the *beliefs* even of the natives of Australia, and though it is true that the Supreme Being does not receive offerings at their hands, yet neither do the spirits, so that here this criterion fails. Another distinction, and from our point of view a very curious one, is that while the Creator seems to be normally regarded as possessing the bodily form of man, the ancestral spirits are considered, even by the rude Arunta, as so far immaterial that they may enter imperceptibly into the womb of a woman passing by their haunts, and thus be born again¹. Perhaps the difference is that between the living and the dead. But here two of Mr. Lang's witnesses have broken down under cross-examination by Mr. Hartland. Curr gives testimony, with regard to the Gippsland tribes (cited *Folk-Lore*, IX, 313): "The Creator of all that has life on earth they believe to have been a gigantic black fellow, who lived in Gippsland many centuries ago, and dwells amongst the stars. Indeed, many of the stars are named after some of their people long since dead." "Curr's conclusions," adds Mr. Hartland, "are not always to be trusted, and his knowledge of the majority of the tribes was second-hand and imperfect; but his presentation of the god in these words is to be preferred to Mr. Lang's." No wonder that the latter "bounded on his chair"!

¹ Frazer, quoting Spencer and Gillen, *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1899, 649.

The evidence of the other witness is still more unfavourable. "Mr. Howitt (before he was initiated) wrote: 'Tharamulun, after teaching his people the art which they knew [know?] and establishing their social ordinances, died, and his spirit (*Bulabong*) went up to the sky, where he has since lived with the ghosts'" (*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, cited in Mr. Lang's reply, *Folk-Lore*, X, 16). "But (after he was initiated) Mr. Howitt wrote: 'There is clearly a belief in a Great Spirit, or rather an anthropomorphic Supernatural Being, the "Master" of all,' and so forth" (*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XIII, 458). Mr. Lang considers that the later statement is inconsistent with the earlier, and as *avocat de l'Être Suprême* demands an adjournment, pending the re-examination of the witness; after which it may be hoped that the Court will decree "the 'Existence of the Supreme Being,' and likewise '*ce principe consolateur* of the Immortality of the Soul.'" Ah, had but Robespierre possessed the *humanitas* of Mr. Lang, how different might have been the fortunes of Deism!

The student of religion is familiar with the fact that the conception of a great god usually combines elements derived from various sources, and often inconsistent with one another. It is very probable that the god of a Semitic confederation, who, according to their own traditions, had, in the course of migration, experienced the influences of the two great civilizations situated on the Euphrates and the Nile, may have thus united attributes which cannot be ascribed to any single origin.

If opportunity offers, I hope hereafter to examine the vestiges of Animism and of the Worship of the Dead in the Religion of Israel. In the meanwhile I will conclude this lengthy review of conflicting theories by an example of such syncretism drawn from the mighty deity who divides with Vishnu the adoration of modern Hinduism. As described by Monier-Williams, Śiva presents five distinct and seemingly irreconcilable characters. He is the destroying and dissolving power of nature; he is the eternal reproductive

power of nature, perpetually restoring and reproducing itself after dissolution; he is the great ascetic; he is (a modification of the first character) the terrible destroyer, delighting in destruction for its own sake, lord of spirits and demons; while his fifth character is the entire reverse of ascetical—that of a representative free liver, a wild jovial god, fond of dancing and drink (*Hinduism*, S. P. C. K., pp. 92–95).

The destructive energies of the atmosphere exhibited in wind and storm, and personified in the Veda as Vāyu, Rudra, and the Maruts; the all-consuming potency of time; the fertilizing properties present in dew and rain; the almighty agencies operating in creation, once personified as Brahmā; the same agencies operating in re-creation and reproduction; the power of asceticism once exhibited in the Buddha; the grace of perfect beauty supposed to be specially present in Śrī or Lakshmī; the mysterious efficacy of magic and illusion (*māyā*); the terrific agencies and operations of demons and spirits, and finally the all-pervading influence of the impersonal soul of the universe—all these have been collected and centralized in one god, whose chief name is the “Blessed One” (*Śiva*) (*ibid.*, pp. 95, 96).

GREY HUBERT SKIPWITH.

SOME RABBINIC PARALLELS TO THE NEW TESTAMENT¹.

It is now more than half a century since Renan put the question, "Has Jewish tradition anything to teach us concerning Jesus?" This question must be answered in the negative. As far as the contemporaneous Jewish literature goes, it does not contain a single reference to the founder of Christianity. All the so-called Anti-Christiana collected by mediaeval fanatics, and freshened up again by modern ignoramuses, belong to the later centuries, when history and biography had already given way to myth and speculation. Almost every Christian sect, every Christian community, created a Christ after its own image or dogma. The Jewish legend—a growth of these later centuries—gave him an aspect of its own, purely apocryphal in its character, neither meant nor ever taken by the Jews as real history.

But if the Rabbis have nothing to tell us about the personality of Jesus, Rabbinic literature has a good deal to teach us about the times in which he lived and laboured. And what is more important is that a thorough study of this literature might, with due discretion, help us towards a better understanding of the writings attributed to Jesus and his disciples. To prove this by a few instances will be the aim of my present lecture. It is intended as an invitation to fellow students to devote more attention to

¹ Paper read before the Hebrew class at University College, London, on October 19, 1899. The references to the authorities in the following notes are confined to a minimum.

a branch of literature, from the study of which the Christian divine might derive as much profit as the Jewish Rabbi.

In justice to bygone times, it should be pointed out that this fact had by no means escaped the searching eyes of Christian scholars of previous generations. They both recognized the importance of the Talmud for a better knowledge of the two Testaments, and applied themselves to an honest study of its contents. As the fruits of these studies, it is sufficient to mention here the *Porta Mosis* of Pocock, the *De Synedriis* of Selden, the *Horae Rabbinicae* of Lightfoot. The Cambridge Platonists also deserve honourable mention in this connexion. These great and hospitable minds extended the range of their literary acquaintances also to the Rabbis, and the *Select Discourses* of John Smith, and the *Discourse on the Lord's Supper* by Cudworth¹, show that this acquaintance was by no means a passing one.

All the names just given belong to this island, but the continent in no way remained behind England. The names of the continental students of Rabbinism are duly recorded in Zunz's *Zur Literatur und Geschichte* and in other bibliographical works. It is sufficient to mention in this place the name of Reuchlin, who saved the Talmud from the torch which a converted Jew was about to apply to it; the two Buxdorfs, whose works bearing on Rabbinic literature fill pages in the catalogues of the British Museum; and Vitringa, whose books on Rabbinic topics are considered by the best scholars as classical pieces of work.

However, these good things are (as already indicated) a matter of the past. The present shows a decided deterioration. Not only has the number of students devoting

¹ In connexion with this work I should like to call the attention of students to the *Das letzte Passahmahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes*, by Professor D. Chwolson (St. Petersburg, 1892), a work which, for the depth of its Rabbinic learning and the critical acumen displayed in it, has hardly its equal. It is indeed, as far as I know, the first attempt to treat what one may call the *Halachic* part of the New Testament with the thoroughness and devotion usually bestowed only on doctrinal points.

themselves to Rabbinic literature shrunk to a miserable minimum, but the quality of the work produced by these latter-day students is such as to show a distinct decay, among the very few praiseworthy exceptions being, for instance, the theological works of Dr. C. Taylor. No student who is interested in the constitution of the ancient Synagogue dare neglect Vitranga's *De Synagoga Vetere*, which appeared in the year 1696; but he would certainly lose nothing by omitting to read most of the productions of our own century on the same subject.

The causes of this decay are not to be sought for far off. There was first the influence of Schleiermacher, whose interpretation of Christianity formed, as far as its negative side was concerned, one long strained effort to divorce it from Judaism. "I hate historic relations of this sort," he exclaims in one place; and proceeds to say, "every religion is conditioned by itself, and forms an eternal necessity." Schleiermacher's theory of the origin of Christianity was, as is well known, mainly based on the Johannine Gospel to the disparagement of the Synoptics. The German Marcion had thus every reason to hate history. But as the Talmud still reminded the world of these historical relations, Schleiermacher and his school adopted the course of vulgar parvenus, and cut the Rabbis and their literary remains. The second cause of this decay is the suspicion thrown on all Jewish tradition by the higher criticism. Anybody who has ever read any modern Introductions to the Old Testament will remember that as a rule they open with a reference to the Rabbinic account of the rise of the canon, to be followed by a lengthy exposition showing its utter untrustworthiness. To make matters more complete, efforts were made to disqualify the Rabbis from bearing witness even to events which took place when the Synagogue was already a fully-established institution, administered by the ancestors of the Rabbis in their capacity as scribes and saints or Chassidim. I am referring to the controversy as to the existence of the so-called Great Synagogue, com-

mencing, according to tradition, with Ezra the scribe, and succeeded by a permanent court consisting of seventy-one members called Synhedrin; which court again was, according to tradition, presided over by two eligible members, the one called Nasi or Prince-President, whilst the other bore the title of Ab-Beth-Din, Father of the Court of Justice or Vice-President, both of whom were recruited for the most part from Pharisaic circles. Modern criticism, mainly on the strength of certain passages in Josephus and in the New Testament, maintains a negative attitude towards these accounts. The questions involved are too important and too complicated to be entered upon in a casual way. We need only notice the following fact. This is, that the doubts regarding the traditional account of the constitution of the Synhedrin were first raised in this century by Krochmal in the forties, taken up again by Kuenen in the sixties, to be followed by Wellhausen in the eighties. But when reading their works you will observe that, whilst Krochmal respectfully questions tradition, and Kuenen enters into elaborate examination of the documents, Wellhausen summarily dismisses them. Matters have now indeed come to such a pass that the principle has been laid down that it is not necessary to have a thorough knowledge of Rabbinic literature in order to express an opinion about its merits or demerits. It is probably thought that we may condemn it by mere intuition. It is impossible to argue with transcendental ignorance.

Trusting that none of those present have any reason to hate history, or to believe in the superior virtue of ignorance, I will now proceed to the subject of my lecture.

Let me first state the fact that the impression conveyed to the Rabbinic student by the perusal of the New Testament is in many parts like that gained by reading an old Rabbinic homily. On the very threshold of the New Testament he is confronted by a genealogical table¹, a feature

¹ Cf. *Morsh Neboche Hasselman*, p. 45, מרש.

not uncommon in the later Rabbinic versions of the Old Testament, which are rather fond of providing Biblical heroes with long pedigrees. They are not always accurate, but have as a rule some edifying purpose in view. The Rabbis even declare that the Book of Chronicles, with its long series of names, has no other purpose than that of being interpreted¹, that is to say, of enabling us to derive some lesson from them. In the fifth chapter of the sayings of the Jewish Fathers, dealing mostly with round numbers, we read: "There were ten generations from Noah to Abraham to make known how long-suffering God is."

In the second chapter of Matthew the Rabbinic student meets with many features known to him from the Rabbinic narratives about the birth of Abraham; the story of the Magi in particular impresses him as a homiletical illustration of Num. xxiv. 17, "There shall come a star out of Jacob," which star the interpretation of the Synagogue referred to the star of the Messiah². This impression grows stronger, the more we advance with the reading of the Apostles' writings. Take, for instance, Matt. iii. 9: "Bring forth fruit worthy of repentance." This verse, like so many others in the New Testament in which fruits or harvest are used as metaphors or similes in parables, gains both in intensity and in freshness when studied in connexion with so many allegorical interpretations of the Rabbis, in which the produce of the field and the vineyard play a similar part. One or two instances will not be uninteresting. Thus, with reference to Song of Songs, ii. 2, "As the lily among the thorns, so is my love among the daughters," a famous Rabbi says: There was a king who had a paradise (or garden), which he had laid out with rows of fig-trees, rows of vine, and rows of pomegranates. He put the paradise in the hands of a tenant, and left. In after days the king came to see what his tenant had accomplished. He found the garden neglected, and full of thorns and thistles. He then brought wood-cutters to

¹ *Lev. Rabbah*, I.

² See especially the Midrash, *Lekach Tob.*, ad loc.

cut it down. Suddenly he perceived a lily. The king plucked it, and smelled it, and his soul returned upon him. He turned and said, "For the sake of the lily the garden shall be saved." The lily is the congregation of Israel; intent on the strength of its devotion to the Torah, it saved the world from the destruction to which the generation of the deluge condemned it by their wicked deeds¹.

In another place, however, it is the individual who is compared to the lily. Thus, Song of Songs, vi. 2, "My beloved went down to his garden to gather the lilies," is applied to the death of the righteous, whose departure from this world is a gathering of flowers undertaken by God himself, who is the beloved one².

In this connexion we may mention here another Rabbinic parable, in which the wheat takes the place of the lily. It is given as an illustration of Song of Songs, vii. 3, and Psalm ii. 12. The scriptural words in the latter place are נִסְּךָ בָרֶכֶת, which the Rabbis explain to mean "Kiss the wheat," illustrating it by the following parable:—The straw and the chaff are arguing together. The straw maintained, that it is for its sake that the field was sown and ploughed, whilst the stem claimed that it was on its account that the work was undertaken. Thereupon the wheat said, "Wait until the harvest comes, and we shall know with what purpose the field was sown." When the harvest came and the work of threshing began, the chaff was scattered to the wind, the stem was given to the flames, whilst the wheat was carefully gathered on the floor. In a similar way the heathens say, "It is for our sake that the world was created," whilst Israel makes the same claim for itself. But wait for the Day of Judgment, when the chaff will be eliminated, and the wheat will be kissed. I need hardly remind you of the parable in Matt. xiii³.

¹ *Cant. Rabba*, ad loc.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Pesikta Rabbathi* (ed. Friedmann), p. 36, text and notes.

To return to chapter iii. I will quote verse 11 in which the Baptist in his testimony to Jesus says, "I indeed baptized you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." The baptism of course represents the טבילה or immersion of the Bible, enforced by the Rabbis in the case of proselytes. According to some authorities it was also customary with people entering on a course of repentance¹. The expression "whose shoes I am not worthy to bear," reminds one of the similar Talmudic phrase, running "He who will explain to me a certain word, I will carry his cloth after him to the bath²." That is to say, that he will show submission to his authority by performing for him menial work. As to the term "baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire," the latter has a parallel in the Talmudic dictum, that the main טבילה immersion, as a means of purification, is by fire³. The former term, "baptism by the Holy Ghost," is certainly obscure, and has given a good deal of trouble to the commentators; but it must have been readily understood by the Jews, who even spoke of drawing the Holy Spirit שואבין רוח הקודש, a term only applied to liquids⁴. Note also the following passage from a sermon by R. Akiba: "Blessed are ye Israelites. Before whom are ye purified, and who is he who purifies you? Ye are purified before your Father in Heaven, and it is he who purifies you," as it is said, "The Lord is the *Mikveh* of Israel⁵." The word מקוה is taken in the sense in which it occurs several times in the Pentateuch, meaning "a gathering of waters," or a ritual bath taken after various kinds of uncleanness. The Rabbi then derives from the words of Jeremiah xvii. 13 the lesson that as the *Mikveh* is the means of purification for defile-

¹ *Shibbole Halleket*, 145 a.

² B. T. *Baba Mesia*, 45 a, and parallel passages.

³ B. T. *Sanhedrin*, 39 a.

⁴ Jer. T. *Sukkah*, 55 a.

⁵ *Mishneh, Yoma*, VIII, 9.

ment (in the sense of the Levitical legislation), so God is the source of purity for Israel. It should be borne in mind, that according to the Rabbinic interpretation, the term טומאה, "defilement," applies to all sorts of sins, especially those of an immoral nature, whilst the process of purifying mostly concerns the heart. "Purify our hearts, that we serve thee in truth," is the constant prayer of the Synagogue.

טְהִרָה, or "purification," is, according to the mystic, R. Pinchas b. Yair, of the second century, one of the higher rungs in the ladder leading to the obtainment of the holy spirit¹. I do not know how far this conception may be connected with the gospel narrative, according to which the baptism of Jesus (or the Taahara of Jesus) was followed by the descent of the holy spirit. If R. Pinchas b. Yair could be taken, as some maintain, as one of the last representatives of the Essenes, there would indeed be no objection to see in the synoptic account an illustration of the principle laid down by these mystics. At any rate it may serve as a transition to the verses I am about to quote from Matt. iii. 16, 17, running thus: "And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway from the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove, and coming upon him: and lo, a voice out of the heavens saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." The symbolism of the Holy Ghost by a dove is a common notion in Rabbinic literature. The dove is considered as the most chaste among the birds, never forsaking her mate. The congregation of Israel, which never betrays its God, is therefore compared to the dove². "Once upon a time," so runs a Rabbinic legend, which I give here in substance, "King David went out for a hawking expedition. Whereupon Satan came and turned himself into a deer, which David tried to hit, but could not reach. Constantly pursuing the animal, David was thus carried from his suite,

¹ *Cant. Rabbah*, I, and parallel passages.

² *Ibid.*

owing to the machinations of Satan, into the land of the Philistines, where he was suddenly confronted by the relatives of Goliath, who were all thirsting for his blood. Thereupon a dove descended before Abishai, who had remained behind in the king's camp, and began to emit wailing tones. Abishai at once understood its meaning, saying, 'The congregation of Israel is compared to a dove, as it is said, Wings of a dove covered with silver' (Ps. lxxiii. 14), and thus interpreted the appearance of the dove as a sign that King David, the hope of Israel, was in danger of his life, and he set out to his rescue¹."

A closer parallel, however, is the following passage attributed to the well-known mystic, B. Soma, a younger contemporary of the Apostles. The passage runs thus:—R. Joshua b. Chananyah was standing upon the terrace of the temple-mountain. B. Soma saw him, but did not rise up before him (as he ought to have done, seeing that R. Joshua was his master). R. Joshua asked him "Whence and whither, Ben Soma?" The answer B. Soma gave him was, "I was looking at (or rather meditating upon) the upper waters (above the firmament) and the under waters (under the firmament). The space between the two waters is not broader than three fingers; as it is said, 'the Spirit of God was brooding upon the face of the waters,' like a dove brooding over her young, partly touching them and partly not touching them²."

I need hardly say that we have here to deal with a fragment of a Jewish Gnosis, and I must refer you to the works of Joel, Graetz, and Freudenthal, for more information upon this point, but it must be noted that some parallel passages read "eagle" instead of "dove." Deut. xxxii. 11 lends some countenance to this reading, but the parallels just quoted from the New Testament as well as the famous vision of R. Jose, in which the daughter-voice is complaining in a tender voice like a dove, saying "Woe unto the

¹ B. T. *Sanhedrin*, 95 a.

² B. T. *Chaggigah*, 15 a, and parallel passages.

father, whose children were expelled from his table¹," speak for the reading given first.

After the appearance of the Holy Ghost, Jesus is greeted, as we have seen, by a voice from the heavens, saying, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." These words represent, as rightly remarked by the commentators, a combined paraphrase of Ps. ii. 7 and Isa. xli. 1. The voice from heaven, as is well known, corresponds with the Rabbinic "Daughter of a voice" (בתקול) or daughter-voice, occupying the third place in the scale of revelation. I cannot enter here into the various aspects and functions of the daughter-voice, about which a good deal has been written, but I should like to note its following two peculiar features².

The first is, that in many cases the daughter-voice, when employed as a means of revelation, finds its expression not in a fresh message but in reproducing some verse or sentence from the Hebrew Bible. Thus it is recorded by the Rabbis that when they (the authorities) intended to include King Solomon in the number of those who forfeited their salvation, the daughter-voice put in the protest of heaven, in the words of Job xxxiv. 33, "Shall his recompense be as thou wilt, that thou refusest it?"³ The great reconciliation again of God with the house of David, as represented by the exile king Jeconiah, when the Babylonian captivity was nearing its end, was announced by the daughter-voice in the words of Jeremiah, "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings. Behold, we come unto thee: for thou art the Lord our God" (iii. 22)⁴. It should be noted, however, that the daughter-voice is not confined in its quotations to the canonical scriptures. Sometimes the daughter-voice even quotes sentences from the Apocrypha. This

¹ B. T. *Berachoth*, 3 a.

² See Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, p. 58, n. 1. A good essay on the subject is still a desideratum.

³ *Num. Rabbah*, XIV, and parallel passages.

⁴ *Lev. Rabbah*, XXI.

was the case in Jabneh, where the Synhedrin met after the destruction of the Temple. There a voice from heaven was heard reproducing a verse from the Wisdom of Ben Sira (iii. 22), "Ye have no need of the things that are secret¹." It is true that Ben Sira has "thou hast no need" (in the singular), but it would seem as if the voice from heaven is not always very exact in its quotations, adapting them in its own way to the message to be announced. Thus, for instance, on the occasion of Saul disobeying the commandment of God regarding the extermination of the Amalekites, there came the daughter-voice and said unto him, "Be not more righteous than thy Maker" אל תזקק ית². You will easily recognize in this warning the words of Ecclesiastes (vii. 16), "Be not righteous over much" אל תזקק הרבה, only that תזקק הרבה was altered into ית, required by the prefix of סקק, which word was apparently added by the voice from heaven.

Another important feature of the daughter-voice is, that in some cases it is only audible to those who are prepared to hear it. "Every day," says the rather mystically inclined R. Joshua b. Levi, "goes forth a voice from Mount Sinai, and makes proclamation and says, "Woe to the creatures for their contempt of the Torah." As rightly pointed out by the commentators, this voice is only heard by fine, sensitive natures, that are receptive of divine messages even after the discontinuance of prophecy³. In this case the daughter-voice becomes something quite subjective, and loses a great deal of its authoritative character. The renegade Elisha ben Abuyah, or as he is commonly called אחר, the "other one," in his despair of doing repentance, heard a voice coming straight from behind the throne of God, saying unto him, "Come back, ye backsliding children, except thou 'other one,'" and thus he abandoned himself to an immoral life⁴. Contrast this story with that

¹ Jer. T. *Sotah*, 22 a.

² *Chapters of R. Eliezer*, XLIV, but see also B. T. *Yoma*, 22 b.

³ See *Perek R. Meir*.

⁴ B. T. *Chaggigah*, 15 a.

of Manasseh, the worst sinner among the kings of Judah. It is to this effect. When the captains of the king of Assyria defeated Manasseh and put him among thorns, and inflicted upon him the most cruel tortures, he invoked all the strange gods he was in the habit of worshipping, but no relief came. Suddenly he said, "I remember my father once made me read the following verses (from Deut. iv. 30, 31), 'When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, . . . return thou to the Lord thy God. For the Lord thy God is a merciful God; he will not forsake thee nor destroy thee.'" He then began to address his prayers to God. The angels—in a most unangelic way, I am sorry to say—shut up the gates of heaven against his prayer, but the Holy One, blessed be he, said, "If I do not receive him I shut the gate in the face of repentance." And thus "he was entreated of him and heard his supplication¹." The moral of the two stories is, that the "other one" trusted to fresh messages, and went to perdition, while Manasseh fell back upon the family Bible and was saved. It is probable that it was such moral catastrophes as recorded in the case of the "other one" which brought the voice of heaven into disrepute. The verdict of the Rabbis in the second century was, that no attention is to be paid to it when arrogating to decide against the moral conviction of the majority. The Torah is not in heaven². Its interpretation is left to the conscience of catholic Israel.

Now it is this conscience of Israel which is not satisfied with the lesson to be derived from the Scriptures at the first glance, or rather the first hearing, but insists upon its expansion. Thus when interpreting Lev. xix. 36, the Rabbis somehow managed to derive from it the law of "let your speech be yea, yea; nay, nay³." Again, when commenting upon the seventh commandment, they interpreted it in such a way as to include the prohibition

¹ *Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 162 sq.

² B. T. *Baba Mesia*, 59 a.

³ *Torath Kohanim* (ed. Weiss), 91 b.

of even an unchaste look or immoral thought¹. The rules of interpretation by which such maxims were derived from the Scriptures would perhaps not satisfy the modern philologist. They indeed belong to the "second sense" of the Scriptures, the sense which is the heart and soul of all history and development. "God hath spoken once, twice I have heard this" (Ps. lxii. 12), which verse is interpreted by the Rabbis to mean that Scripture is capable of many interpretations or hearings². But it is interesting to find that these interpretations of the Scriptures tending to improve upon the "first sense" are sometimes introduced by the formula: "I might hear so-and-so, therefore there is a teaching to say that," &c. חלמור לומר . . . שומע אני. Put into modern language the formula means this: The words of the Scriptures might be at the first glance (or first hearing) conceived to have this or that meaning, but if we consider the context or the way in which the sentences are worded, we must arrive at a different conclusion. This parallel may perhaps throw some light on the expression *ἡκούσατε*, "you have heard that it was said . . . but I say unto you," a phrase frequent in the Sermon on the Mount. After the declaration made by Jesus of his attachment to the Torah, it is not likely that he would quote passages from it showing its inferiority. The only way to get over the difficulty is to assume that Jesus used some such phrase as the one just quoted, שומע אני, "I might hear," or "one might hear," that is to say, "one might be mistaken in pressing the literal sense of the verses in question too closely." Against such a narrow way of dealing with Scripture he warned his disciples by some formula, as חלמור לומר, "there is a teaching to say that the words must not be taken in such a sense." But the formula being a strictly Rabbinic idiom, it was not rendered quite accurately by the Greek translator. Hence the apparent contradiction between Matt. iii. 17, 20, and the

¹ See *Peṣikta Rabbathī*, p. 124 b.

² B. T. *Sanhedrin*, 34 a.

³ *Mechilla*, 3 a, 6 a, &c.

matter following upon these verses. I only wish to add that in Rabbinic literature, it is sometimes God himself who undertakes such rectifications. Thus we read in an ancient Midrash with reference to Jer. iv. 2, "And thou shalt swear as the Lord liveth, in truth and in judgment": "The Holy One, blessed be he, said unto Israel, 'Think not that you may swear by my name, even in truth.' You may not do so unless you have obtained that high degree of sanctity by which Abraham, Joseph, and Job were distinguished, who were called God-fearing men," *יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים*. This limitation of swearing, even in truth, is indicated according to the Rabbis in Deut. xx. 10, which verse is interpreted to mean, "If thou fear thy God, and art exclusively in his service, thou mayst swear by his name," not otherwise¹.

Having mentioned the name of the patriarch, I may perhaps state the fact that, besides the epithets "the God-fearing" Abraham, or Abraham "the friend of God," Abraham also bears in Rabbinic literature the title of Rock. The wording of the Rabbinical passage and the terms used in it will not be uninteresting to the student of the New Testament. In Matt. xvi. 18 we read: "And I also say unto thee, that thou art *Petros*, and upon this *petra* I will build my church." The Rabbinic passage forms an illustration of Num. xxiii. 9, "For from the top of the rocks I see him," and runs thus: There was a king who desired to build, and to lay foundations he dug constantly deeper, but found only a swamp. At last he dug and found a *petra* (this is the very word the Rabbi uses). He said, "On this spot I shall build and lay the foundations." So the Holy One, blessed be he, desired to create the world, but meditating upon the generations of Enoch and the deluge, he said, "How shall I create the world whilst those wicked men will only provoke me?" But as soon as God perceived that there would rise an Abraham, he said, "Behold, I have found the *petra* upon which to build and to lay foundations."

¹ *Tanchuma*, תנחומי.

Therefore he called Abraham Rock, as it is said, "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. Look unto Abraham, your father" (Is. li. 1, 2)¹.

The parallels given so far have been more according to the letter. I will now give one or two parallels according to the spirit.

I have already referred to the attempts made by various authors to describe the life and times of Jesus Christ. The best book of this class is undoubtedly Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. It is a very learned work, particularly as far as the Greek and Roman documents are concerned. Its treatment of such topics as the geography of Palestine, the topography of Jerusalem, the plan of the Temple, and kindred subjects is almost perfect. A most excellent feature in it is the completeness of its bibliography, there being hardly any dissertation or article in any of the learned periodicals, which is not duly registered by the author. But all these fine things are, to use a quaint Rabbinic phrase, only "after-courses of wisdom." Bibliography in particular is not even an after-course. It partakes more of the nature of the *menu* served sometimes by very ignorant waiters, possessing neither judgment nor discretion. The general vice attaching to this whole class of works is, that no attempt is made in them to gain acquaintance with the inner life of the Jewish nation at the period about which they write. Take for instance, the subject of prayer. Considering that pre-Christian Judaism gave to the world the Psalms, and that post-Christian Judaism produced one of the richest liturgies; considering again that among the various prayers which have come down to us through the medium of the Talmud, there is also one that forms a close parallel to the Lord's Prayer;—considering all this one might expect that also in the times of Jesus the Jews were able to pray, and in fact did pray. The contents of their prayers might be of the

¹ *Yalkut*, I, § 766. See Dr. Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. 2, p. 160.

greatest importance for the student, expressing as they probably did the religious sentiments of the age and the ideal aspirations of the nation. But what our theological waiters dish up is a minimum of prayer dressed up in a quantity of rubrics in such a fashion as to stigmatize their authors as miserable pedants. And no attempt is made to enter into the spirit of even this minimum. No explanation is given, for instance, of the meaning of the terms "the kingdom of heaven," the yoke of which the Rabbi was supposed to receive upon himself, the "Hear, O Israel," &c. The terms "sanctification of the name of God," "Father in heaven," and "renewed world" are also frequent in Jewish literature and in the Jewish Prayer-book, but no sufficient attention is given to them. To my knowledge Dalman is the only modern scholar who recognizes the importance of these terms, and similar ones, in their bearing upon a clearer understanding of the New Testament, and has at least made an attempt at their analysis in his book *Die Worte Jesu*.

Another important point, which has never been properly examined, is the unique position which the Kenesseth Israel, the congregation of Israel, or ideal Israel, occupies in Rabbinic theology. Yet it forms a striking parallel to that held by Jesus in Christian theology. The Kenesseth Israel was, like the Spirit of the Messiah, created before the world was called into existence. "She is the beloved of God, in whom he rejoices"; and there is no endearing epithet in the language, such as son, daughter, brother, sister, bride, mother, lamb, or eye, which is not, according to the Rabbis, applied by the Scriptures to express the intimate relation between God and the Kenesseth Israel. Not even the title of "god," of which God is otherwise so jealous, is denied to Israel, as it is written, "I have said ye are gods." Nay, God even says to Moses, "Exalt Israel as much as thou canst, for it is as if thou wert exalting me"; whilst he who denies Israel or rises against Israel is denying God. In fact, it is only through the witness of

Israel that God is God, and he would cease to be so were Israel to disappear, as it is written, "Ye are my witnesses, ... and I am God¹." But there is no fear of such a calamity. Israel is older than the universe and forms the rock on which the world was built. As a rock towering up in the sea, so the Keneseth Israel stands out in history, defying all tempests and temptations; for "many waters cannot quench the love" between God and the Keneseth Israel². She is indeed approached by the nations of the world with the seducing words, "What is thy beloved more than another? Beautiful and lovely thou art, if thou wilt mingle among us. Why dost thou permit thyself to go through fire for his sake, to be crucified for his name? Come unto us, where all the dignities in our power are awaiting thee." But Israel resists all temptations; they point to their connexion with God throughout their history, to his love unto them, shown by conferring upon them the gift of holiness, which even a Balaam envied, and to the promise held out to them of the Messianic times, when suffering will cease and Israel will revel in the glory of God³. These few quotations suffice to show what an interesting chapter might be added to our knowledge of comparative theology.

Again, our knowledge of the spiritual history of the Jews during the first centuries of our era might be enriched by a chapter on miracles. Starting from the principle that miracles can only be explained by more miracles, an attempt was made some years ago by a student to draw up a list of the wonder-workings of the Rabbis recorded in the Talmud and the Midrashim. He applied himself to the reading of these works, but his reading was only cursory. The list therefore is not complete. Still it yielded a harvest of not less than two hundred and fifty miracles. They

¹ See JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, VI, pp. 419 and 634, for references.

² *Yalkut*, *ibid.*; *Genesis Rabbah*, I, and *Cant. Rabbah*, VIII.

³ *Cant. Rabbah*, VII; *Num. Rabbah*, II; *Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 143 a; and *Rashi's Commentary to Cant. V*, 9.

cover all classes of supernatural workings recorded in the Bible, but occur with much greater frequency.

A repetition of these miracles would be tiresome. I will content myself with reproducing a story from Tractate Chagigah, which will illustrate to you how much even the individual Jew shared in the glories conferred upon the Keneseth Israel. I am speaking of course of that individual who is described by the Rabbis as one "who labours in the Torah for its own sake, who is called a lover of God and a lover of humanity. Unto him kingdom and authority are given. Unto him the secrets of the Torah are revealed." The term "authority," by the way, is given with the word *ממשלה*, suggested probably by Ben Sira xlv. 17, *וַיַּשְׁלִיחוּ בְּחֹק וּמִשְׁפָּט*, "and he made him have authority over statute and judgment"; whilst Matt. vii. 29, "and he taught them as one having authority," was probably suggested by Ben Sira iii. 10, *וְיִמְלֹךְ בָּהּ יִלְמְדֶנָּה*, "and he who has authority over it shall teach it." As a man of such authority we may consider R. Jochanan b. Zakkai, the hero of the story I am about to relate. He was the younger member of the "Eighty Club" of the school of Hillel, and thus a contemporary of the Apostles, though he survived them. He was an eye-witness of the terrible catastrophe of the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, an event which he prophesied forty years before it took place. He is best known by the school he established in Jabneh, where the Synhedrin, and with them the divine presence presiding over this assembly, emigrated after the fall of Jerusalem. There (in Jabneh) he died about 108 A. C.

It is related that Rabbi Jochanan b. Zakkai was riding upon his ass on the road, while his pupil, R. Eleazar b. Arach, was walking behind him. Said R. Eleazar to him, "Master, teach me a chapter about the matter relating to the chariot, that is, the vision in the first chapter of Ezekiel." The master declined, preferring to hear the pupil. R. Eleazar said again, "Wilt thou permit me to repeat in thy presence one thing which thou hast taught me?" to

which he gave his assent. R. Jochanan then dismounted from his ass, and wrapped himself up in his gown and seated himself upon a stone under an olive-tree. He said it was disrespectful that he should be riding on his beast whilst his pupil was lecturing on such awful mysteries and the Shechinah (the divine presence) and the Malache Hashareth (the angels-in-waiting) were accompanying them. Immediately R. Eleazar began his exposition. And there came down a fire from heaven and encircled them and the whole field. And the angels assembled and came to hearken, as the sons of men assemble and come to look on at the festivities of bride and bridegroom. And the trees in the field opened their mouths and uttered a song, "Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all deeps. . . . Fruitful trees and all cedars, . . . praise ye the Lord." And an angel answered from the fire and said, "This is the matter of the chariot." When he had finished, R. Jochanan b. Zakkai stood up and kissed him on his head, saying, "Praised be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who has given our father Abraham a wise son, who knows to discourse on the glory of our Father in heaven." So much for the story. I need hardly recall to your mind the parallels in the Book of Enoch and in the New Testament¹.

My lecture is at an end, not so the subject it treats. To accomplish the latter in a proper critical and scientific manner the aid of fellow workers is necessary. I have often heard the wish expressed that a Jew should write a history of the rise of Christianity, who could bring all his Rabbinic learning to bear upon the subject. I do not think that the time is as yet ripe for such an experiment. The best thing to be done at present is, that Christians should devote themselves to the study of Rabbinic literature. The history which would be written after such a study would certainly be more scientific and more critical.

S. SCHECHTER.

¹ B. T. *Chaggigah*, II, and the Jerusalem Talmud, *ibid*.

A STUDY IN BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

אֲשֶׁר־חִי

SINCE Oppert demonstrated that the numbers used in the Book of Genesis with regard to the generative ages of the first ten generations of mankind show exactly the proportions of ancient Babylonian systems for the same period, it seemed to me indubitable that the numbers of the Masoretic text are the only correct ones in comparison with the Septuagint and with the Samaritan text. The latter two, as it is known, greatly differ. For, whereas we find in the Hebrew text the number 1656, the Samaritan gives the number 1307 and the Septuagint 2242 (cod. Alex. 2262) as the year of the deluge. But although, as I have said, the proofs brought forward by Oppert appear self-evident, the two other texts have still their adherents. Dillmann and Budde prefer the Samaritan text, while P. Schanz¹ shows a leaning towards the Septuagint, or he, at least, thinks that not sufficient reasons are given for the preference of either of the texts.

I am, I think, able to prove, beyond refutation, by the Hebrew text itself, that the Masoretic numbers are correct. We shall, moreover, in the course of our evidence learn to interpret more correctly a number of very important

¹ "Das Alter des Menschengeschlechts," in *Biblische Studien*, herausgegeben von O. Bardenhewer I, 2, Freiburg, 1896, p. 22.

passages, and to doubt some of the methods of the modern "Quellen-kritik."

The genealogical account in Gen. v is given in a definite and invariable form.

"*A* lived x years and begat *B*. And *A* lived, after he begat *B*, y years and he begat sons and daughters. And all the days of *A* were z years, and he died."

There is but *one* exception made in this so strictly observed rule, viz. in the case of Adam. Here the text varies and is as follows: "And all the days that Adam lived," וְכָל יְמֵי אָדָם. To render these two little words in the translation by "that he lived" would be an insignificant repetition of the same meaning, which is totally superfluous. Besides, with but one exception, in Gen. xxv. 7, to which passage I shall return later on, these words are not again met with in the whole Bible, wherever a statement of a person's age is given. By this וְכָל יְמֵי, undoubtedly some other relation, which follows from the context, was intended to be expressed and thus special attention was to be called to it.

The following instance will serve as an instructive example: Lev. viii Moses is told to take Aaron and his sons with him, and the garments, and the anointing oil, and a bullock for the sin offering, and two rams and a basket of unleavened bread. Then follows a description of their consecration. Aaron and his sons are invested with the garments and are anointed with the oil, and the animals are sacrificed. Thereupon Moses takes out some loaves from the basket of unleavened bread, אֶשְׁרֵי לֶחֶם יֵהוָה, that was before the Lord. This additional sentence is not without import. For practical reasons, viz. those of cleanliness, the animals that were offered up were only brought into the fore-court before the altar immediately prior to their slaughter. But the basket of unleavened bread, which was also wanted close by the altar, had been brought there before the whole function had begun. For, in the latter case, such a precautionary measure as was taken in the former one was

not necessary. That is the meaning of *אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה*, that is to say, that which *up till then* stood (had stood already)¹ before God, viz. before the altar.

Thus also *אֲשֶׁר־חַי* (Gen. v. 5) is to be rendered: "The days of Adam, namely those that he had lived *up till then*, were nine hundred and thirty years"; that is to say, he has lived nine hundred and thirty years. We have to note this well and bear this fact in mind. But what can it be that is to be brought under the special notice of the reader? Is it to notify that Adam, though his death is already mentioned in this place, survived the births that followed, and is it because Adam is the first in the lineage that only in his case the information is given? This would presuppose the reader to be very impatient. For who would not know himself when he is told that Adam begets in the year 130, that Seth begets 105 years after that, that Adam is by a long way not yet dead, seeing that he lived 930 years.

By the little words *אֲשֶׁר־חַי* it is intended to expressly call attention to *how long* Adam lived, i.e. when he *died*, as there is a certain relation between the year of his death and another fact. And this can only be the birth of Noah, which occurred when Adam had already died. Thus Noah was the first descendant of Adam, in the direct and principal line, who was born after his death.

This leads us to understand what Lamech said, when he called his son by the name of Noah: "This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed," : *וְהָיָה יִנְחָמֵנו מִמְּעֹלָט וּמִעֲצָבוֹן יֵדִית מִן הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אָרְרָה יְהוָה*. For only for the lifetime of Adam had the ground been cursed. "Cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it *all the days of thy life*," : *אֲרִירָה הָאָרֶץ בְּעִבּוּרָךְ בְּעֲצָבוֹן אֲכִלָּהּ כָּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ* : (iii. 17).

One entirely misunderstands the punishments promised by God in iii. 14 if one believes them to refer to all the succeeding generations. God addresses only the individual

¹ See Wessely, *ib.*

persons present. Unto *the* serpent, unto *the* woman, unto *the* man he spoke. Only the serpent in the garden of Eden shall eat dust all the days of its life, כָּל יְמֵי חַיָּו, Nowadays the serpents will not dream of it. When, however, the condition of Paradise will be renewed in the Messianic age, then the serpent shall eat dust again (Isa. lxv. 25). Only Eve shall suffer *many* and painful pregnancies of births and shall, nevertheless, be possessed by a morbid desire for her husband. *Only Adam shall rule over his wife.* In the natural order of things it is the man who leaves his father and his mother in order to cleave to his wife. There shall be a unity in marriage, כִּשְׁרֵר אֶחָד, and the one is not to rule over the other (ii. 24). Husband and wife have, from the Biblical standpoint, perfectly equal rights before God, like all human beings. And not without reason does the Bible derive אִשָּׁה from אִישׁ. It is nothing but empty talk to speak of the "inferior position of woman in the Orient." The standard for eternal laws and everlasting regulations is not to be prescribed to the Bible by godless customs and bad habits. This is specially noted in the one point in God's speech, in which reference is also made to the descendants, "And I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed."

And what have dogmatics not attempted with this speech! The most natural conditions, which had already been predestined in the first order of creation (i. 28; ii. 5, 15), and which could not be dispensed with, even in the Messianic age, viz. pregnancy, birth, agriculture, have been stamped as being unnatural and a curse. The God of the Bible, who is a God of love and justice, has been made into a God of monstrous cruelty and injustice, who on account of the sin of the first man has doomed all unborn generations by an everlasting curse.

However this may be, it is clear that Adam must be dead before the curse pronounced upon him ceases. Now Lamech is born anno mundi 874, Adam dies 930, Noah is born 1056. When Adam, the chief of the family, dies

mankind breathes anew, in the hope that now the destined fate will cease, and this hope finds prophetic expression in the short prayer uttered by Lamech, when he named the first people born after this event. And he intentionally makes the appellation of his son accordant with his prayer, אֲנוֹכִי הָיִיתִי. However, this manifest relation between the death of Adam and the birth of Noah, which is also indicated by the choice of the same expressions in iii. 17 and v. 29, only exists in the numbers of the Masoretic text. This is shown by the following table of the birth-years, arranged according to MT., LXX, and Samaritan texts:—

			MT.	LXX	Sam.
Adam	dies	anno mundi	<u>930</u>	<u>930</u>	<u>930</u>
Seth	is born	"	130	230	130
Enos	"	"	235	435	235
Cainan	"	"	325	625	325
Mahalaleel	"	"	395	795	395
Jared	"	"	460	<u>960</u>	460
Enoch	"	"	622	1122	522
Methusela	"	"	687	1287	587
Lamech	"	"	874	1474	654
Noah	"	"	<u>1056</u>	1662	<u>707</u>

Hence it follows that according to the LXX Adam already died at the time of Mahalaleel, before Jared was born; and that, according to the Samaritan, Noah was already over 200 years old when Adam died. But as both nevertheless concede to Adam 930 years, they thereby betray falsification. To disguise it, it would have been necessary for them to let Adam be much older or younger. Having omitted to do so, they prove not to have understood at all the purpose of the Biblical reckoning. Moreover, the tendency of these falsifications is somewhat transparent. The interest of the Septuagint is directed toward the chronology. Its aim is to get at a higher number for the year of the deluge and, therefore, for the age of the

world, than is given in the Masoretic text. This is probably prompted by an apologetic desire to meet the assertions of some Greek or Egyptian chronologers. To this end the generative ages are increased, whilst the periods of the lives of the individual ancestors are ignored, and the progression of the respective numbers in the Masoretic text is left intact. There is only in regard to Lamech a slight variation in the present text of the Septuagint.

In the Samaritan text, on the other hand, a theological tendency seems to be pursued. Both the year of generation and the lifetime after the generation are decreased. Jared not 162-800, but 62-785; Methusela not 187-782, but 67-653. Lamech not 182-595, but 53-600, if the text can be relied on. Hence the number, representing the whole period of life, must be changed and reduced.

We can now understand why the formula in which the account is given is so circumstantial, the year of generation, the remainder of lifetime, the total period of life, and finally the apparently totally superfluous "and he died." The author wished to specially emphasize the fact that Adam died 930 anno mundi, and he therefore gives this number expressly, which notifies not so much his lifetime as the year of his death. And in order to make the formula uniform he does exactly the same in the accounts that follow. Moreover, by the word וָיָמָיו—and he died—is to be further indicated that the threat which had been declared in ii. 17 had been carried out: "For in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," כִּי בַיּוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִן הָעֵץ הַזֶּה מוֹת תָּמוּת. It has been unjustly argued that Adam should have died on the very same day that he ate of the fruit. For אַחֲרָיָה with an Inf. has simply the meaning of *after*. This is convincingly shown by such passages as Num. vii. 84, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (the anointing had taken place *twelve days* before); Jer. vii. 22¹; xi. 4, 7; xxxiv. 13 which happened *two months* after.

¹ "For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings

There is no need for the other genealogical account to be equally diffuse and, therefore, it is left to the reader to make out the total period of life by adding up the number of the year of generation and that of the years that followed it.

A series of other passages is thereby fully elucidated, Gen. iv. 26, "Then began men to proclaim the name of the Lord," אָז הָחָל לְקַרֵּא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה. Wherever this expression is found, it has the meaning "to utter a sound in which the word God is proclaimed"; hence to address to God a prayer, especially one of supplication. To render this sentence in translation: "Then men began to call (their names) after the name of the Lord" is grammatically admissible. But we do not hear of such names or, at least, such a conjecture would have its difficulties. It has been surmised that the author intended to give a casual notice of the beginning amongst mankind of the worship of God by prayer. But apart from the fact that we can always detect a special reason wherever in Genesis casual historical notices are given, we do not see why this special form of worshipping God should only have begun with Enoch and not already with Seth. The use of the passive form, which conspicuously conceals the subject, and the indefinite אִנִּי are also striking. Who called? And when?

The words are merely a preliminary indication. The or sacrifices." Hence it was conjectured that Jeremiah was not yet acquainted with the legislation of Leviticus regarding sacrifices. And this is one of the many proofs how hasty criticism is in its conclusions. By the words that follow it is clearly shown what the prophet wishes to express: "But this thing commanded I them, saying: Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."

The prophet clearly and literally refers to Exod. xix. 5, the mission of Israel, and wishes to say: "At that moment I did not ask for sacrifices as a condition of my choice,—I did not utter a single word about them,—but only for the moral obedience towards me and the faithful persistence in the (10) commandments, which I was then about to announce to you. But have you kept them?"

prayer of Lamech is meant, the first hopeful supplication to God, of which the sentence quoted was perhaps to be only the beginning. Or there is the word הָיָה to be supplied to the name לֵאמֶךְ , just as that of Cain is explained by an additional sentence with הָיָה , and that of Seth by one with Elohim, though their respective names do not contain these words. (The same is the case with the names of Reuben, Simeon, Jehudah, Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali.) To this, however, the name of Cain, in connexion with which הָיָה has already been mentioned, may be opposed, unless we presume that it only refers to the lineage of Seth and that, for that very reason, the word הָיָה is avoided in regard to Seth and the word Elohim used. But in any case, the statement refers to the sentence of Lamech, who was the first to proclaim הָיָה . But when Lamech uttered these words, Seth was no more amongst the living, just as Adam did not survive them. But Enos was the oldest still alive. For Adam died 930, Seth 1042, Enos 1140, and Noah was born 1056. In *that* year, הָיָה , one began, הָיָה , as the author indefinitely and but preliminarily here indicates, and, as we now learn, it was Lamech who began to proclaim the name of God. And in thus pointing out already in this place the proclamation of and the supplication to God, the author shows that he looks upon this fact, occurring at the birth of Noah, as the main point in the whole genealogy. The Cainites form the *worldly* lineage and are the representatives of the progressive human culture. Cain himself is the first who built a city, Jabal accumulates wealth by the possession of cattle, Jubal is the inventor of music, whilst Tubal-Cain invents weapons. But this kind of culture leads to destruction. It begins with murder and ends by praising a murder. On the other hand, the Sethites form the *spiritual* lineage. Their progress is an advance in the religious conception of Elohim (Seth) through Ha-elohim (Enoch) to Ihvh (Noah). Only relations to the Deity are reported of them, and, this being the chief consideration

of the author, he at the beginning already makes a reference to the final result.

And thus the following deviation is also elucidated.

Genesis contains ten *תולדות*, which form, so to speak, the skeleton of the whole account. As a rule the person, whose *תולדות*, generations, are to be enumerated, has already been previously mentioned and dealt with before the chapter, which begins with *אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת*. For by Toledoth of a person is always meant the account of his sons or descendants. Where there are several sons, and only the history of one is to be given in detail, the genealogical accounts of the others are previously dealt with, whilst the principal lineage is already mentioned along with them. But the latter is only carried on so far as is required by its connexion with the collateral lineages. To prove this invariable method it will be well to enumerate here the Toledoth (*תולדות*):—

Gen. vi. 9, : *אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת נֹחַ* The generations of Noah are: Shem, Ham, and Japheth, &c. But that these were the three sons of Noah we have already learned at the end of the genealogy in chap. v. 32.

Gen. x. 1, *אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת בְּנֵי נֹחַ* These are the generations of the sons of Noah. Here, in this case, the sons could not already have been previously mentioned, as this would have necessitated the anticipation of all the Toledoth (*תולדות*). But we know the *בְּנֵי נֹחַ* already.

Gen. xi. 10, *אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת שֵׁם* These are the generations of Shem. In this case we are already acquainted, not only with Arphaxad, but also with Shelah, Eber, and Peleg, because the collateral lineage had in Gen. x. 25 to be carried down to the descendant Joktan, *the brother of Peleg*. Joktan's great-grandfather, his grandfather and his father had, therefore, to be named along with his sons.

Gen. xi. 27, *אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת תֵּרַח* These are the generations of Terah: Abram, Nahor, and Haran, &c. But that these

were the three sons of Terah, we have learned already at the end of the genealogy in chap. xi. 10-26.

Gen. xxv. 12, **אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת יִשְׁמָעֵאל** The account of the Toledoth of Ishmael is purely genealogical.

Gen. xxv. 19, **אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת יַעֲקֹב**. There, in the account of the generations of Isaac, Jacob and Esau could not yet be mentioned, as their birth does not take the ordinary course.

Gen. xxxvii. 2, **אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת יוֹסֵף** These are the generations of Jacob, Joseph

To him, too, we have been already introduced ¹.

In comparing these accounts it must seem strange that the name of Enos is already mentioned previous to the genealogical account of Adam and his descendants by Seth. If Abel had been alive, Gen. iv. 17 should have read: "Adam had two sons, Cain and Abel." Then would have to follow the history of the Cainites (not their Toledoth; for in a collateral lineage, these invariably are purely genealogical) and then would come the Toledoth of Adam. Abel, however, had been murdered and, as the history of the Cainites follows immediately upon the account of the further fate of their ancestor, the birth of Seth is not announced, until their history has been dealt with. Immediately after the announcement of the birth of Seth, the Toledoth of Adam, viz. the history of the Sethites, ought to have followed. But, in order to signalize the fact **וְ**, so important for the proper understanding of v. 29, the name of Enos is already mentioned, in whose lifetime this occurred.

¹ For the criticism of Gen. ii. 4 the observation of these fixed principles is of the utmost importance. "These are the Toledoths of the heavens and of the earth." For it proves that ii. 4 belongs to *what follows*, but that it *pre-supposes* chap. i with all its portions, from the creation of the earth and of the heavens (**וְהָאָרֶץ**, **וְהַשָּׁמַיִם** only here) to the creation of man, the details of which are now to be narrated. Hereby alone the theory of *two distinctive accounts* of the creation, and with it a chief pillar of the distinction of the sources, is shaken.

And hereby, at the same time, a rest of hope, after the gloomy and hopeless end of the history of the Cainites, is held out in Scripture by a promise of a ray of light for a better future, which will return to God. Exactly the same is the case in vi. 17. This is a truly prophetic conception of history, in which, even after the most gloomy threats and prophecies, the ray of hope and of solace breaks through in the divine promise: "But I will not destroy Israel entirely."

In this connexion, as belonging thereto, must be mentioned a passage to which the greatest dogmatical importance has been given by dint of its having become the *locus classicus* of the doctrine of original sin. It is Gen. viii. 21, "And the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, בְּעִבּוֹר הָאָדָם, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth, כִּי יָצַר לֵב הָאָדָם, רָע מִנַּעֲרֹו; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done."

Thus, for instance, H. Schultz says in his *Alttestamentliche Theologie*⁴, p. 672: "Sin is here undoubtedly not confined within the limits of the single determinations of the will, but looked upon as an inclination which everybody has been given with human nature, as we know it from experience, as his hereditary portion, viz. as original sin." When we consider the whole context we shall find this opinion so utterly irrational, that only a dogmatical interest could have produced it, and, moreover, could finally insinuate it even to those who no longer have such an interest or never had it. For to speak of the incorrigibility of mankind was rational *before* the deluge and might have even been made the cause of it. But now, immediately after the deluge, these words are incomprehensible. For, one is bound to put the question, if man is by nature incorrigible, and this should be here the reason why no other deluge would be brought about, why then was the first one not omitted? Besides God deals at this moment only with the family of Noah, who

has been expressly designated as pious beyond question and has been saved on that account. Was it necessary to have personal merit to be saved, if even the most wicked are saved, later on, from general destruction because of the immutability of human corruption? What indeed has happened during the period, intervening between the deluge and this sentence, which could have, in any way, prompted this new conception of God? Moreover it is entirely contrary to the whole idea underlying the Old Testament. For nowhere in Scripture is it said that sin is something innate, destined by God. It is the general conviction that creation, as the work of God's hand, was looked upon by him as "good." And now the same God who has created man after his will¹ is supposed to recognize in the *innate* sinfulness of man a fact which it is beyond his power to alter, and which he must take into account! I have, moreover, not yet taken into consideration that כְּנִיעוּתוֹ cannot possibly mean something innate. נְעוּרִים is the period of maturity, viz. the time when man can decide for himself by his free will. Otherwise it should have read כִּבְנוֹ.

This passage has been thoroughly misunderstood. It does not at all refer to man in general, but to *the* man, viz. Adam, and it is to be rendered: "I will not again curse the ground any more *for Adam's sake*, for the imagination of the heart of *Adam* was evil from his awakening (from his maturity)"; הָאָדָם = Adam, ii. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23; iii. 8, 9, 12, 20; iv. 1. God declares that he will not repeat either of the two destinies, neither the curse of the ground, which was caused by Adam alone, nor the deluge. The latter would not happen again, because the self-acquired moral strength, such as Noah has shown in "his walking with God," and has proved himself to possess amidst all the temptations of a corrupt generation, could not be lost *entirely* in *all* the descendants. On the contrary, the

¹ I do not add: "in his own image" for בְּצַלְמוֹ and יְסוּדוֹ do not designate a moral quality.

words rather testify to the indestructibility of the inmost moral worth of human nature, as well as to the Love of God who is, with the proof given, ready to establish a permanent relation (a covenant) with man. By this promise of God the prayer of Lamech, and the prophetic hope which he had placed in his son Noah, is also fulfilled. We see it being realized in Gen. ix. 20, "And Noah began to be an husbandman," וַיִּחַל נֹחַ אִישׁ הָאָדָמָה, the peculiar wording of which, especially in הָאָדָמָה, certainly hints at Gen. iii. 17 and v. 29, while וַיִּחַל perhaps alludes to הוֹחֵל in iv. 26.

Thus the whole history from Adam to Noah is pervaded by a uniform idea, to recognize which the two apparently insignificant little words, אִשְׁרָחִי, have helped us.

This so highly significant expression occurs a second time in Gen. xxv. 7, where the statement of the age of Abraham is made: "And these are the days of the years of Abraham's life, which he lived *up till then*"—one should note this well, אִשְׁרָחִי, viz. 175 years. What is here to be indicated in anticipation? Of what other import is the statement?

The death of Abraham is also here already announced. At the birth of Esau and Jacob, which is only related *later* on, he could only have been 160 years old. For Abraham was 100 years older than Isaac; Isaac married at the age of forty and begat at the age of sixty. People, therefore, even in olden times, thought to be able to discover herein a contradiction, and Budde wished to improve upon the number 175 of the false Samaritan text by substituting the number 145 for it. This is not to be thought of. For, as we have already remarked above, it is the established editorial principle in Genesis to relate in anticipation the remainder of the history of an older lineage along with the collateral lineages, in order that the succeeding account should deal exclusively with the younger principal lineage, viz. Gen. iv. 16, the Cainites, before v; Gen. x, the Japhethites and Hamites, before xi. 10; xi. 26, the Terahites, before xii. 1; xxi. 20, Ishmael;

xxv. 25, the Keturahites and Ishmaelites, before xxvi. 19; Gen. xxxvi, the Esavides, before xxxvii.

For Genesis is not only arranged chronologically, but genealogically and chronologically. The Talmudical scholars of the Bible are perfectly justified in maintaining *אין מוקדם ומאחר בתורה*, and the Samaritan text proves again to be absurdly falsified.

Hence it could not have been the purport of the *אשר-חי* to indicate that Abraham was still alive whilst the succeeding events took place, though his death is here already summarily announced.

Evidently it was intended to point out that Abraham would again be referred to later on. This, however, can only be in xxv. 22, viz. "And the children struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, why am I thus? And she went to *inquire of the Lord*." In regard to this Dillmann remarks: "It is supposed that there were at that time already places for oracles (xiv. 7) [?] or prophets and priests of the true God (xiv. 8) [?] to whom one could go for inquiry upon such matters. If chap. xxvi formerly preceded xxv. 21, it would be apposite to look for the sanctuary that is here meant in Beersheba, xxvi. 23-25 (Wellhausen)." But this is far-fetched. Rebekah simply went to *Abraham*, who was then the only qualified interpreter of the true God. Care was, therefore, taken in the narrative to already indicate, in xxv. 7, that Abraham was then still living, in order to obviate the interrogation, where Rebekah could have made her inquiry. Thus Ibn Ezra, too, refers the words *וַתֵּלֶךְ לִרְשָׁתוֹ* to Abraham. But Shem and Eber were also still alive then. Were they not also worshippers of *יְהוָה*? Why, one would ask, could she not have gone to them to inquire? No. For, if we thoroughly consider this question, we shall see that, in this matter of moment, Rebekah could have consulted no one but Abraham, and therefore only Abraham's survival is specially indicated.

De Wette (*Beiträge*, II, 118) ridicules the literal inter-

pretation of the narratives by the following statement: "Concerning this struggling Rebekah could have been reassured by any midwife, and the movements of twins are not more surprising than those of one child." As far as the subject-matter is concerned, he may be right in the objection he raises, but it is not at all removed by his theory of myth. For even as a mythical person Rebekah must act somewhat reasonably. By the way we may here observe, that this is a criticism which can be regularly brought against De Wette. And Rebekah may appear to be a mythical person to De Wette; for the narrator she was undoubtedly a real and living woman, who knew as well as all married women of the whole world what pregnancy signified. We need, however, but supply the few, but sufficient indications of the Bible in their proper sense, and we shall have full light and a complete picture.

Rebekah is, of course, aware of the fact that it was by Abraham's wish that she was taken from her home, in order to bear Isaac, as his wife, an heir according to the Divine promise—one heir. Now, however, she feels herself enceinte with *twins*, and she foresees at once all the conflicts about the primogeniture. She, therefore, goes to Abraham. For it was to *him* that these promises were made; *he* it was who had her fetched from her parents; he alone can give her advice (the explanation required). She does not inquire about the cause of the "movements within her"—truly every midwife could have told her that—but what is to become of the promise, if she, as she feels, will give birth to twins. What reassures her are the *last* words of his answer, וְרֵבָקָה יַעֲבֹד אֶת־עֵשָׂו "And the elder shall serve the younger" (xxv. 23)—which is intentionally ambiguous: *One* will rule. He has the faithful confidence that God will set right this complication, and his words are spoken in exactly the same spirit as those addressed to Isaac (Gen. xxii. 8), אֱלֹהִים יִרְאֶה לִּי הֶשֶׁה לְעֹלָה בָּנִי "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering." It may be that Rebekah from the beginning bestowed a greater

love upon Jacob, because she thus interpreted the words of Abraham, "And the elder shall serve the younger"; she may have been confirmed therein by Jacob's character, by the similarity of the relation between Ishmael and Isaac, who, though younger, was still the chosen one, and, finally, by the example of Sarah. In any case, from the moment Esau had taken Hittite wives, i.e. Canaanites, Rebekah was convinced that he could not be the heir of the Abrahamic blessing, the starting-point of the chosen people, the race of which was to be strictly distinct from that of the Canaanites as well as that of the Egyptians. It is for this reason that the narration of Rebekah's endeavouring to procure the blessing of the father to Jacob is immediately following the notice that Esau took Hittite wives (xxvi. 34 ff.). In the same way, the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, which is demanded by Sarah, is preceded, as its reason, by a forward hint at a frivolous behaviour (פְּצִיזִי) of the son of the Egyptian servant. Her words (Gen. xxvii. 13), עָלַי קִלְלָהּ בְנִי "Upon me be thy curse, my son," clearly show that she is not prompted by *blind* love, but is guided by the conviction that she is acting in accordance with the divine plan, which she, in the face of Isaac's error, must carry out by all means. For the latter is blind in his prejudice in favour of the firstborn. But God almost *always* rejects the very firstborn, and clearly shows us, that the birth alone does not decide. Not Cain, but Abel is preferred. Not Shem, but Japheth seems the senior, neither Elam nor Asshur, but Arphaxad continue the lineage, not Ishmael but Isaac, not Esau but Jacob is chosen. Reuben is rejected and Judah obtains the dominion. Ephraim is by Jacob preferred to Manasseh. Not Aaron, but Moses becomes the leader. David is the youngest of his brothers. We must compare Rebekah's advice to Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 8), וְעָתָה בְנִי שָׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי "But thou, my son, obey my voice"; with God's instruction to Abraham, of which she certainly must have heard (Gen. xxi. 12), כֹּל אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהִים אֵלַיךְ שָׁמָּה שָׁמַע בְּקוֹלָהּ "In all that Sarah hath said unto thee,

hearken unto her voice." The mother's heart knows better.

Rebekah shows the same solicitude lest the realization of the promises, for whose sake she left her home and her country, might be frustrated, in a second exclamation of being weary of her life, Gen. xxvii. 46 "I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth. If Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?" There is the danger lest Jacob marry a Canaanite woman. For even the mother of the chosen one must belong to a select family. Hence we are purposely informed that Hagar was an Egyptian woman (xvi. 1, 3), and that Ishmael too married an Egyptian woman (xxi. 21), that the wives of Esau are Hittite women (xxviii. 34 f.), and that the sons of Jacob were born in Padan-Aram from Aramite women (xxx).

Thus Rebekah is represented as a woman who only lives in the spirit and for the sake of the divine promises, and who regards their promotion as the sole object of her life. She is worthy of the choice of Eleazer, which was destined by God, and is a worthy daughter of Abraham and Sarah.

If one would call my interpretation *Midrash*, I do not object. For only by such *Midrash* can we meet the intentions of the narrator who brings the Biblical persons before us as living beings. Their speeches, actions, and experiences he relates rationally and wishes them to be also rationally comprehended. Genesis will never be understood if one scent everywhere the mythical spectre, or expect from it nothing but the relation of insignificant historical notices; and still less so, if one takes up the standpoint of the *Criticism of the sources* (*Quellenkritik*), which appears to me the most perverse theory which has ever been established in Biblical science. It seems to me to give the death-blow to true Biblical exegesis. The perplexity into which it is thrown by the fact that, for

instance, iii. 17; iv. 26; v. 5; v. 29; viii. 21; ix. 20 could only have one author, suits my position very well indeed. Hitherto it had decreed iii. 17, J; iv. 26, J; v. 5, P; v. 29, J; viii. 21, J; ix. 20, J; x, J, P, J, P, J, P; xi. 10, P, J, P. It can only find its way out of this difficulty with the help of its famous editor ("Redactor").

But in the next study I shall endeavour to raise further doubts against the critical position by showing the distinction between *לך* and *הולך*. Besides the exegetic and theological results which have emanated incidentally from my present inquiry, I hold it of importance to have given reasons for believing that the numbers of the Masoretic text in the antediluvian chronology have proved to be the only correct ones. Herein we have one more proof of the trustworthiness of the Hebrew text in general, with which no clumsy "Redactor" has interfered.

B. JACOB.

Göttingen.

BEN ASHER'S RHYMES ON THE HEBREW ACCENTS.

PART OF A NEW INTRODUCTION TO A FORTHCOMING
RE-ISSUE¹ OF "THE HEBREW ACCENTS,"
BY ARTHUR DAVIS.

IT may be interesting to glance at the work assigned to Ben Asher, probably the first treatise on the special subject of the accents. Ben Asher's book is, for us, a sphinx: it mutters like an ancient oracle. To solve its riddles is difficult; the whole book is penned in rhythmic rhyme, the opening clause runs thus:—

סדר סוד הטעמים שנים עשר רשומים במאורות מקוימים מהם קטנים
ומהם רמים חרוזים ולא נעלמים בפי נבונים וחכמים בשום שכל חתומים:

The order of the symbols' secret lore,
The twelve designed
Like to fixed stars of yore,
These great, these small;
Each beautifully linked, nor hid at all.
Uttered by those of understanding mind;
Set in the way of wisdom, sealed withal.

Elsewhere a clause concludes thus:—

כל המקרא על זה מפי סופר וחזה הסמן הזה עוד לא ירחה:

Through Scripture writ clear
By Scribe and by Seer,
The symbol set here
Shall not disappear.

¹ Myers & Co., Booksellers' Row, Strand, London.

And thus throughout its weird, wild leaves. I will conclude this description with a snap-shot at the sphinx as she proposes her enigma of the "Twelve Stars"—or symbols—of the "Three Books" (Job, Proverbs, and Psalms).

שאר המעמים שמנה • אשר בשלשה ספרים תכונה • חתומים בשכל
ובינה: שמנה שרים נבורים • בנרן ולשון אמורים • וארבעה להם מחוברים •
קטנים ולא מנוברים: כללים שנים עשר נחקקים • ארבעה נגן מפיקים •
ושמנה מעמים ממתקים • והדברים עתיקים: ראשון מכונה חור • כנבור
בכה נאזר • בשלושה ספרים כלול ומפחר: שני לו רחק • בשפה ולשון
ירחק • לא במהרה ינתק: שלישי לו תרץ • לעולם עמו ירץ • לפניו נודר
פרץ: רביעי לו סלק • במעמים לא יחלק • ובשלשתם יש לו חלק: חמישי
לו נצח • ביד ואצבע נפצח מהודר ומנצח: ששי לו תקף • ממעל לו עולה
ושוקף • בשני דרכים מתקיף: שביעי לו טרף • באצבע עולה וטורף • בשלוש
ורביעית יצרף: שמיני לו גור • מקל ונקודה משור • בראש ואמצע מאחר:
שופר הרב • בכל טעם מעורב • פונה מזרח ומערב: ופסקה סדורה • מהם
לא עדורה • עמם תדורה: ומתח פונה ועונה • עם אחיו חונה • ובהרבה
מקומות ישחנה • והוא מהם נמנה: וניח רד ועולה • פעם בראש תיבה
יעלה • ופעם לימין יסולה: זה יסודם המעלה: היורד ועולה • והפונה ותולה:
בין והשכל ממולא • מי חכם וישמר אלה:

Those left of the accents be eight, revealed
Within three books of the Scripture's field,
By wisdom and understanding sealed.

Eight mighty princes, spoken all
With throat and tongue; and four in thrall,
Enlinked, not mighty men, but small.

Twelve by statute when all are told:
Four making music, and eight that unfold
Exceeding sweet singing; lo, these things, how old!

א

He, called Chizzèr, is set at the head,
Girt like a strong man with power inbred,
All through the three books scattered and spread.

ḥ
 ḥ

The second is Réthek; chained he
 Of lip and tongue; and it cannot be
 That he shall be broken hastily.

ḥ
 ḥ

The third is Thérets, with him for aye
 Doth pleasing harmony hold sway,
 Upbuilding the breaches on the way.

ḥ
 ḥ

The fourth Salèk¹; and lo, for this
 Among the accents no part there is,
 Yet amid three is a portion his.

ḥ
 ḥ

The fifth is Natzéach, set in state,
 With a hand upheld and a finger straight,
 Mighty and honourable and great.

ḥ
 ḥ

The sixth is Tókef, that riseth high,
 And looketh forth with a watchful eye,
 In two ways powerful to espy.

ḥ
 ḥ

The seventh Torèf with an upward bent
 And a tearing finger forward sent²:
 With the third one and the fourth one blent.

ḥ
 ḥ

The eighth Gazèr that hath display
 Of a staff and a dot in set array.
 Girt at the head and placed midway³.

¹ It is not amongst the accents of the "Twenty-one Books," but found only in the "Three Books."

² Ben Asher probably describes the Torèf or Athnachta found in some MSS. with *one* claw or finger, i. e. two dashes forming an acute angle.

³ The dash over the first letter and the dot over the tone syllable.

יִנְיָ and יִנְיָ

Shophàr Haràb amid the rest
Moveth ever upon his quest,
Turning east and turning west.

יִנְיָ

Piskàh is set in order right;
From thence he will not disunite,
Dwelling always full in sight.

יִנְיָ

Muttàch he turneth about with a cry,
Camped with his brethren, changed constantly,
Yet numbered among their company.

And Níach¹ falling and rising once more
About a word—now he mounteth o'er,
Now to the right hand he may soar.

This is their² order set: Meulèh,
Yorèd v'Olèh, Ponèh and Tolèh,
Bin and Haskèel and Memulèh.
Who is wise will observe their way.

* * *The English rendering of these verses and of the two Hebrew lines on p. 452, is the work of my daughter, Nina Davis.*

¹ It is not clear if יִנְיָ or יִנְיָ is the name of the accent, or if it is an accent at all. According to Heidenheim it is an instruction.

² Viz.: the connective accents.

A FURTHER FRAGMENT OF BEN SIRA.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE fragment reproduced in the following pages, line by line and page by page, was discovered lately in the Cairo Collection of Cambridge University Library. The MS. (called for convenience sake MS. C) consists of two leaves, paper, measuring 14.3×10 cm. The middle sheet or sheets have gone, and a part of the second leaf is torn off; this defect is indicated by dots. The writing is in a large hand, but its decipherment is sometimes rendered difficult by the fact that the sign ם may stand for *vaw*, *yod*, and even *resh*. There is also no sufficient distinction between *beth* and *kaph* and between *resh* and *daleth*. The number of lines on each page and of words in each line is very small; thus the fragment covers on the whole not more than some twenty-five verses. Yet the MS. is not without its interest for students of the Apocrypha. In the first place it bears evidence to the existence of a third MS. of Ben Sira. This fact adds a further proof of its authenticity; for it is not to be supposed that the Jews would apply themselves to the preparation of so many copies of a fresh translation of a book which was already for centuries under the cloud of heresy¹. This can only be explained on the hypothesis that there still lingered a few copies of Ben Sira dating from the times when the fatal sayings of R. Akiba (second century) and R. Joseph (fourth century), relegating Ben Sira's work to the class of ספרי מינים, had not yet acquired general force.

¹ Since the above lines in the text were written two more leaves of Ben Sira have been discovered by Prof. I. Lévi of Paris, one of which probably comes from MS. A of the Cambridge edition, whilst the other seems to come from the same codex which is the subject of this article.

This prestige of antiquity not only protected the old codices themselves, but also encouraged the bolder spirits to prepare new copies. And these have come down to us in the shape of the three MSS. which we now possess.

More important even is the fact that the fragment testifies to the diversity of the MSS. of Ben Sira in the original language. Such a possibility was suggested by me in my introduction to the Cambridge volume of the Ben Sira fragments, where I wrote: "It is also to be noticed that MS. A shows a closer agreement with the Syriac than MS. B, whilst the latter in many cases corresponds with the Greek as against the Syriac, we have very few instances of this kind in MS. A, which fact points to various classes of MSS. existing in the Hebrew itself" (p. 11). MS. C confirms this hypothesis. For, as will be seen, the first leaf of MS. C overlaps a portion of MS. A. But whilst the latter (MS. A) agrees in most cases with the Syriac against the Greek, the former (MS. C) corresponds largely, as pointed out in the notes, with the Greek against the Syriac. The doublets, as well as many of the glosses, in MS. B will now be easily accounted for by these two families of MSS., with which the scribe of that MS. was thoroughly acquainted, and the differences between which he carefully noted and inserted in his copy. The assumption of a Persian version, with a whole string of romantic incidents accompanying the scribe who constantly corrected himself, will now, I hope, die for good. But it will also be seen that the variants of the two families of MSS., the one mostly followed by the Greek the other by the Syriac, went further than offering mere differences of a single letter or a word. In some instances they involved whole verses or lines, giving, as in the case of v. 11 (see note *ad loc.*), such different wording as to present almost a new meaning. This is to be ascribed to the arbitrary manner of the older scribes, who unfortunately were, as it would seem, not only mere copyists, but occasionally tried their hands also at composition, altering or re-casting, for reasons of style or

of a more suitable metaphor, now and then a word or even a whole verse.

Interesting, however, as these divergences are, the two MSS. are even more remarkable for their points of agreement, which show that they all spring from the same source. For of the fourteen verses which MS. C gives us on the first leaf, and which also occur in MS. A, only three (iv. 30, 31, and v. 11) materially deviate from each other, whilst in the remaining eleven the wording and the whole phraseology are almost everywhere the same, only offering such slight verbal differences as are unavoidable in two MSS. Had we here to deal with different translations, it is impossible that they should agree as closely as they do. Those who are inclined to doubt this obvious fact, should take the trouble to compare these same fourteen verses in the three Hebrew versions we possess of Ben Sira, viz. by Ben Zeeb, Fränkel, and Joshua Duklo, and he will see at once the difference between independent translations and families of MSS. differing but descendent from the same common origin. In the first case he will, before a closer reading, hardly be aware that they represent the same work, whilst in the latter it will take him some time before he detects their differences¹.

The new MS. presents a good many difficulties. A point requiring special study is that of the various omissions in it, which fact makes it widely different from all the known versions, as well as from the Hebrew original. Particularly strange is the sudden transition from chap. v. 13 to xxxvi. 19. This phenomenon could only be accounted for by assuming that the codex from which these leaves come never represented a complete MS. of Ben Sira, but merely formed an abridged collection of extracts from Ben Sira, prepared by the scribe for some special purpose of his own. That such Ben Sira extracts existed is clear from

¹ See also the symposium of the various attempts at reconstructing the original of Sirach given by Measrs. Cowley and Neubauer in their edition of the Oxford Fragments (p. xviii).

the only long continuous quotation from Ben Sira in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 100 b), consisting of verses distributed in our versions in the following way: xxvi. 1-4, ix. 8, 9, xi. 29-34, and vi. 10. These verses belonged to "the good things" of Ben Sira which one might "interpret" or "use for homiletical purposes" (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III, pp. 692 and 701 n. 52). And thus it is not impossible that an "interpreter" prepared another collection of "the good things" of Ben Sira, with similar disregard of order and sequence.

This is the only answer suggesting itself to me at present. Since we can still hope for more discoveries of leaves from the same MS. we may safely defer the further discussion of this problem to some future occasion. I will, however, use the present occasion for the purpose of reproducing some of the contents of two Genizah fragments discovered lately, and having some bearing upon the Ben Sira question. The one consists of two leaves, paper (21 x 18 cm.), written in an ancient hand. It is provided with vowel points and represents a collection of proverbs and sayings. The style is highly Paitanic, and it is composed in rhymes. I am unable to identify it, but it can hardly be doubted that the author was acquainted with the Wisdom of Ben Sira. This will easily be seen by a comparison of the page given here with the contents of Ben Sira xii. 2-5 and xiii. Of course, the language is almost obliterated in the production of our Paitan, with whom, as it seems, rhyme and elegance of language were of supreme importance. He also interspersed it with verses of Proverbs, which he likewise gives in his own language, but his use of Ben Sira is evident in many a line to every careful reader. The text runs as follows:—

אל תחיל בקהל ראשון למדברים: ואל תרבה דברים בְּשִׁתְּךָ בֵּין חֲבֵרִים:
הַקּוֹפֵץ כְּמוֹ וַיֵּשׁ לֹאֵל יָדוֹ: נָחֵלִי אֵשׁ יִהְיֶה הוּא עַל קִרְקָרוֹ: עֲצָה טוֹבָה תַּחֲיָה
הַמֶּן רֵב: וטובה בעת צרה מכל זני קרב: עשיר יקשה נאום והכל יכבדוהו:
הַדֵּל יִחַן קוֹל וְהַכֵּל יִמְאַסֶּהוּ: עשיר מתרחק ו[הכ]ל יקרבוהו: והדל מתקרב

והכל ידחקו: [עש]ר מקולקל ובפי כל מהולל: והל מפלס צעדיו והוא נקרא מהולל: עשיר מעביר לרע ומקובל באהבה: והל עובר לרע והוא לו לתועבה: העשיר עושק ואחו מצדיקים: והעני מעושק ואחו מרשעים: אהבי העשיר פניו יהדרו: ואהבי העני פניו יהורו: עחרי העש[יר] בלא משא ומתן: והל לא נעזר ואם שכר יתן: ויש מתנה מעוטה והיא נמנית כמתנות רבות: ב'ר'ך ברוחב יד נתן[נו]ת . ראשית הטוב שנא את הרעים: וראשית חמאה לכת את רשעים .

The second fragment consists also of two leaves, paper, written in all possible hands, and containing jottings from all departments of Bible and Talmud, and its commentaries (Arabic). It further gives various titles of books, Midrashim, Halachoth, and Responsa of the Geonim which seem to have been in the possession of the writer. The largest entry is a long passage from B. T. *Megillah*, 16 a and b. Those concerning us in this place are (1) the words משלי בן סירא כל המשלים המתוקנים המתוכנים דברי אשר אני / תמונתה (in a different square hand) בנשם / ומי ערך יערוך / מן כוכבי ניה כי יי הכמום ראה חסון מוסר Then come two lines from the first Mishnah in *Berachoth* followed by the words דברי ספר / הבהנים תמונתה בנשם הבהנים הגלוי הכמום ראה חסון מוסר אמרי / צחות הם אצרי: אין למלאות התבונה בכל פניני הדר / [לעזה אצלה וישת לנאוט את מעונתה / תמונתה בנשם כבוק אור ברוח יום] / תמונתה בנשם תמונתה / כבוק אור ס' הגלוי The words in square brackets are in cursive. The writer of these lines evidently possessed the ס' הגלוי (see Harkavy's edition of this work in his *Studien und Mittheilungen*, V, p. 180), and I have no doubt that an examination of the Arabic fragments in the Cairo collection will greatly enrich our knowledge of the Saadya literature in general, and perhaps even restore to us the missing portions of the ס' הגלוי.

Lastly, I give here the contents of a third fragment found only a few days ago. It is written on a scrap of paper (8.7 x 8.7 cm.) in Hebrew letters, but the language is Arabic. Both the copy and the translation were prepared

for me by Mr. H. Pass and the Rev. Dr. Arendzen, to whom I give my best thanks. To judge from the term **מִסְתָּק** this fragment must come from a MS. containing a commentary to the B. T. *Sanhedrin* (see especially 100 b) composed by one of the "earlier authorities" as R. Isaac of Fez or R. Chananel of Kairowan. As an explanation of the words of R. Joseph the fragment is of little importance. But it is highly interesting on account of the testimony it bears to the existence of two works attributed to Ben Sira, by the one of which—that containing the "vain stories"—is probably meant the **סִירָא אֶלְפִּינִיתָא רִבִּן סִירָא** (see A. Epstein, *מקדמוניות היהודים*, p. 119 sq.), whilst the other, the **מְשָׁלֵי ב"ס**, probably refers to our collection of proverbs known to R. Saadyah under the same title of **מְשָׁלִים** (see Harkavy, *ibid.*, p. 200, and Prof. I. Levi, *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXV, p. 22). The word **הַמְתוּקִינִים** "the proper ones," in connexion with Ben Sira in the preceding fragment, is probably also meant to differentiate it from the **סִירָא בן סִירָא**.

פִּים אִף הִקְרָא בְּסִפְרֵי הַחֲצוֹנִים . תֵּאנָא בְּסִפְרֵי מִינִים פִּיר' לֹאנָהא מִפְסְדָה לְלֹאעֲתֻקָּאד וּמַטְלָה לְמִן לֹא חִנְכָת לָהּ בִּאֲצוּל עֵלַם אֲלִשְׂרֵיעָה קֹאל רַב יוֹסֵף וּסְפֵר בֵּן סִירָא אֵיצָא לֵאחֻק (?) בְּסִפְרֵי מִינִים וְלֹא יִנֹּחַ קִרְאָה פִּיה לֹאנָה אֵן כֹּאן גִּיר מִפְסֵד לְלֹאעֲתֻקָּאד פִּהוּ מְשָׁנֵל זֶו מִן אֲלֹמָאן פִּי כִרְאִפֹּאֲתָה (?) [פ] אֵנָה לֹא פֹאידָה פִּיהָא קֹאל אֵן סְפֵר בֵּן סִירָא גִיר (?) מְשָׁלֵי בֵּן סִירָא לֹאן מְשָׁלֵי בֵּן סִירָא פִּיהֶם אֲדַבֵּב נִאֲפַעָה וְנֵאִיז אֲלִקְרָאָה פִּיהֶם (?) :

TRANSLATION.

"Because they corrupt faith, and lead astray one who has not understanding in the roots of the knowledge of the law. R. Joseph says: 'Also the book of Ben Sira is joined to the **סִפְרֵי מִינִים**, and it is not permitted to read it, because even if it does not corrupt faith yet it occupies part of the time in its vain stories in which (stories) there is no advantage.' He says: 'Behold the **סְפֵר בֵּן סִירָא** is different from the **מְשָׁלֵי בֵּן סִירָא**, because in the **סִירָא בֵּן סִירָא** there is profitable doctrine and it is permitted to read them.'"

S. SCHECHTER.

Leaf 1, recto.

iv. 23^b תקפוץ¹ את חכמתך² • אל 30 אל תהי
 כאריה בביתך³ ומתפחו בעבודתך⁴ •
 31 אל תהי ירך מושמת לשאת
 ובעת השב קפודה⁵ • 4 v. אל
 תאמר חטאתי ומה יהיה לו⁶
 כי יי⁷ • ארך אפים הוא : 5 אל
 סליחה אל תבטח להוסיף עון
 על עון • 6 ואמרת רבים
 רחמי לרוב עוונותי יסלח⁸ •
 6 כי רחמים ואף עמו ועל רשעים
 יניח רגזו⁹ • 7 אל תאחר לשוב
 אליו ואל תתעבר מיום ליום¹⁰ •

¹ Cf. Deut. xv. 7. א תפן.

² Agrees with the Gr. א כלב agrees with Syr. B. T. *Peaschim*, 49 b : ארי would suggest that ארי was the original reading. Cf. כלים and כרי in Ps. xxii. 17.

³ A ומחזקו. The ומוחזקו, cf. Dict. s. מחזק, may perhaps account for the Gr. *φωρτασσομασσομα*, confusing it with מחזק. It is, however, possible that originally it read ומחזקו.

⁴ A agrees with the Syr. Our text here agrees more with the Gr. For קפדה we must probably read קפדה or קפדה.

⁵ A agrees with Gr. Cf. T. J. *Abodah Zarah*, 40 d, ק מחזק. See also Stade's *Heb. Wörterbuch*, p. 135, about the reading of the LXX in Job vi. 21. For ו read ו. A יעשה agrees with the Syr.

⁶ A אל agrees with Syr. Verse 4 (1) is omitted as in the Gr.

⁷ A רחמי רבים. Cf. notes, *ad loc.*

⁸ A ואל יעז. Cf. notes, *ad loc.*

⁹ A מיום אל יום.

Leaf 1, verso.

7. v. כי פתאום יצא זעמו ובעת¹ נקם
 תספה² . 9 אל תהי זורה לכל
 רוח ואל תלך לכל שביל³ .
 10 היה סמך על דברך ואחר⁴
 יהיה דברך . 11 היה נכון
 בשמועה טובה ובאך
 ענה תענה נכונה⁴ . 12 אם
 יש אתך ענה ריעד⁵ ואם
 אין שים ידך על פיד⁶ . 13 כבוד
 וקלן ביד בושה ולשון אדם
 מפלישו⁶ . 13 (1) חיד יטעם מנועמי זבד⁷

¹ See the Gr. A. ובעת.

² A וספה רך שפלה. The שפלה, however, can only have slipped in by mistake from iv. 26, whilst the לכל of our text must also be ascribed to a clerical error for כל, due to confusion with the first clause.

³ A דעתך ואחר יד דברך.

⁴ A יהיה סמך לחזון ונאך רוח חשב פתום. The סמך of our text is fairly guaranteed by the *σμερ* of various Gr. MSS., among them MS. 248 (see Fr.). In this case the verse would contain the advice to remain composed when receiving suddenly a good message: cf. Exod. xlv. 26, whilst the נכון may have been suggested by Ps. cxii. 6 נכון . . . בשמיעה. More probable, however, seems to me that we should read בשמיעה (for בשמיעה the scribe thinking of Prov. xv. 30 and xxv. 25), which would mean a "good listening" or proper attention: cf. *Perek R. Meir*, where שמיעה ונאך is counted as one of the things by which the knowledge of the Torah is acquired. Below viii. 9 שמיעה [ח] שמיעה. After ונאך we must supply the word רוח or אדם, but it should be noticed that the horizontal part of the *resh* is so short that it can be taken for a *waw* and read ונאך. For the נכונה (MS. 248 *σπερη*) in the second clause see Job xlii. 7. I am inclined to think that the text of A in this place is the more original, but was altered at an early period with the purpose perhaps of giving it a more Biblical look.

⁵ A רעך. ⁶ See Dict. a. שם, but probably a corruption of שפלה as in A.

⁷ See Ecclus. below, xxxvi. 19, as well as British Museum Fragments in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. XII, p. 8, gloss to the first line, and the Rev. G. Margoliouth's notes there, p. 24 sq.

Leaf 2, recto.

1. . . . אשרי ש xxv. 8^b
 2. . . . עבד נקלה
 בעל אשה מ
 3. חורש כשור
 4. כל מכה ולא כ' 13
 5. לב כל רעה ולא כר
 6. רע אשה ישחיר 17
 מראה איש ויקדיר פניו
 לדוב * 18 בין רעים ישב בעלה
 ובלא שעמו⁷ יתאנח * 19 מעט
 רעה כרעת אשה גורל
 חושא יפורל עליה * 20 כמעלה⁹

¹ Perhaps we should supply *ואם לא*. Cf. Versions.

² Supply *כסני*. Cf. Is. iii. 5 and Prov. xii. 9.

³ For the last two lines the Syr. In the minor tractate, *Derech Eres Rabbah*, I, we read *משום ארבעה עשרה לאין . . . ומשום*. The parallel passage given in the *Yalkut* to Deut. xxii. 10 (I, § 931) reads *משום לא תחורש בחמור*. We perhaps thus read and supply our text [עם נכר]. חורש בשור וחמור יחזיו.

⁴ Supply *כמתי*. The quotation in B. T. *Shabbath*, 112a, has *לא כמתי*. Most parallel passages however have *הלב* (see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, III, p. 986, and p. 697 sq.).

⁵ Supply [כ' לש אשה]. See Versions and the references given in the preceding note.

⁶ The *אין* agrees with Syr., whilst the *לדוב* corresponds with the Gr.: cf. Ryssel. Perhaps we should read *כדוב*, that is as if a bear met him. Cf. *Gen. Rabbah*, chap. 87, § 4: *שמי מרה בך את הדוב*: "I will incite against thee the bear" (the wife of Potiphar). See also v. 19, &c. The horizontal stroke of the *resh* of *שדור* is so long that it is not likely that there was much writing if any following it.

⁷ In the sense of reason, cause; comp. the phrase *באמת* (B. T. *Gittin*, 14a), and see *Rabb. Dict.*

⁸ Agrees more with the Gr.

⁹ כמעלה, see *Heb. Dict.*

Leaf 2, verso.

אשת xxv. 20
¹ אל תפול ²¹
 ה ועל יש לה
² כי בעדה ²²
³ בושת אשה מכלכלת ²³
 בעלה ²⁴
 שלון ²⁵ ברכים אשה לא
 תאשר את בעלה ²⁶ מאשה
 תחלת ען ²⁷ ובגללה גוענו
 יחד ²⁸ אשה טובה אשרי
 בעלה ומספר ימיו כפלים ²⁹ :
 אשת חיל ³⁰ תדשן לבעלה 2

¹ Agrees with the Gr. See Ryssel and cf. A vi. 2.

² Perhaps we should supply [לא חזמר]. Cf. Syr. See also A xiii. 5 text and notes. It should be noticed that the vertical stroke of the *daleth* is somewhat longer than usual, so that it may represent a final *kaph*. In this case we should supply [עין].

³ Read with the Gr. עברה, cf. Ryssel. Or perhaps [כמו אש], cf. Is. ix. 17. Syr. עברה.

⁴ Agrees with the Gr., Syr. מְשַׁלָּח or מְשַׁלָּח.

⁵ See B. T. *Arachin*, 5 b, for this phrase.

⁶ Supply וכשן.

⁷ Cf. the phrase חזלה מומתה . . . חזלה קלח ראש, and so on in *Derech Eres Zuta*, III, ed. Tawrogi. For the second clause see Num. xvii. 26.

⁸ The Rabbinic quotation *Sanhedrin*, 100 b, has מספר ימיו . . . אשה יפה. The *masorah* of our text points to an agreement with the Gr. (*maf*).

⁹ Cf. Prov. xxxi. 18. See also A xiv. 11 ודשן.

SOME MISSING CHAPTERS OF BEN SIRA.

AMONG the numerous fragments from the Cairo Genizah which I brought away with me in January, 1896, and which I have since acquired, I have discovered a portion of the famous Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus, and hasten to publish the text and translation with facsimiles. The requisite critical appendix and notes must follow, but the case containing the fragment was only opened on March 7 last, and the precious fragment itself identified two days later. This consists of a pair of leaves from the same MS. as Messrs. Taylor and Schechter's MS. A, and supplies the hiatus in their edition. One other leaf of this same MS. has been quite recently discovered by M. Israël Lévi in Paris, containing chapter xxxvi. 24 to xxxviii. 1, and affording a valuable means of comparison of the two MSS. A and B, inasmuch as its text is already extant in two leaves of MS. B, of which one belongs to Cambridge and the other to the British Museum¹.

My fragment comprises chapter vii. 29 to xii. 1, and is of great importance from the fact that it in all respects tallies with the copy described in the ספר הנלי. It has vowel points and accents, and one verse (xi. 28) corresponds, but for a single letter, with a quotation in that book. All seven quotations, found in that book, have therefore now been recovered. Still more notable is its extraordinary and unexpected correspondence with the Talmud group of quotations in *Sanhedrin*² and *Jebamoth*³, of which some phrases do not occur at all in the Greek text⁴. In that group there is to be found a verse from

¹ Vide J. Q. R., XII, 1-33.² 100^b.³ 63^b.⁴ e. g. xi. 29^a.

Jeremiah (v. 27), and scholars have long ago pointed out how extraordinary it was that the Talmud Rabbi should have attributed it to Ben Sira. But it is bodily incorporated in the present fragment, though it occurs in none of the versions. Stronger evidence for the authenticity of this Hebrew text would, I submit, be difficult to find. That it is not a re-translation from the Syriac is made almost certain by its containing verses 28 to 32 of the eleventh chapter, which are altogether missing from the Syriac. Moreover in viii. 2 the Massoretic character of the text is strengthened by the appearance of a marginal *Keri* (כִּי) for the *Kethib* (כִּי). From a comparison of paper and characters with my earliest fragment from the *Genizah*, dated 832, there is nothing to induce one to assume that its date is later.

The translation follows the revised version where practicable. In several cases variants can be accounted for by the assumption that the Greek translator misread a single letter of the original Hebrew text¹.

Both translation and transliteration are of course quite tentative, but the facsimiles will enable scholars to correct as they please. If I have occasionally guessed aright, it is largely due to the help of my friend M. Broydé, and my nephew, Herbert Adler.

ELKAN NATHAN ADLER.

¹ e. g. ix. 18 וַיִּזְכֹּר for וַיִּזְכֹּר.

- vii. 29 אל ואת כהניו הקדיש: 30 בכל מאורך אהוב עושך ואת משרתיו לא תעזב 31 כבר אל והדר כהן ותן חלקם כאשר צויתה: לחם אברים ותרומת... צדק ותרומת קדש: 32 וגם לאביון [תושיט] יד למען תשלם ברכתך: 33 תן מתן לפני כל חי וגם ממת אל תמנע חסד: 34 אל תתאחר מבוכים ועם אבלים תתאבל: 35 אל תשא לב מאוהב כי ממנו תאהב: 36 בכל viii. מעשיך זכור אחרית ולעולם לא תשחת: i אל תריב עם איש גדול למה תשוב על[ך] י[דו]: i^a אל תריב עם קשה ממך למה תפול בידו: 2 אל ת[חרש על איש לא] הן פן ישקל מחירך ו^o ואברת כי רבים הפחזו זהב וה[ן] ישנה [לב נ]דיבים: 3 אל תינץ עם איש לשון ואל תתן על אש עץ: 4 [אל] תרגיל עם איש אָוִיל פן יבז לנדיבים: 5 אל תכלים איש שב מפשע זכר כי כלנו חייבים: 6 אל תבייש אנו[ש] ישיש כי נמנה מזקנים: 7 אל תתהלל על גַּעַז זכר כלנו נאספים: 8 אל תמש שיחת חכמים ובחידתיהם התרמש: 8^a כי ממנו תלמד לקח להתיצב לפני שרים: 9 אל תמאס בשמיע[ת] שבים אשר שמעו מאבותם: כי ממנו תקח שכל בעת צ[רך] להשיב פתנם: 10 אל תצלח בנחלת רשע פן תבער בשביב אשו: 11 אל תזוח מפני לץ להושיבו כאורב לפניך: 12 אל תלח אש חזק ממך ואם הלית כמאבר: 13 אל תערב יתר ממך ואם ערבת כמשלם: 14 אל תשפט עם שופט כי כרצונו יש[פט]: 15 עם אכזרי אל תלך תכביר את רעתך: 15^a כי הוא נוכח פניו ילך ובאלותו תספה: 16 עם בעל אף אל תעז מצח ואל תרכב עמו בדרך: 16^a כי קל בעיניו דמים ובאין מציל ישחיתך: 17 עם פותה אל תסתיר כי לא יוכל לכסות סודך: 18 לפני זר אל תעש רח כי לא תדע מה ילד ספו: 19 לכל בשר אל תגל לבך ואל תדיח מעליך הטובה: ix. i אל תקנא את אשת חיקך פן תלמד עליך רעה: 2 אל תקנא

- לאשה נפשך להדריכה על במותיך 3 אל חקר־ב אל־אשה וְרָה
פְּרִתָּפּוּל בְּמָצוֹתֶיהָ: 3^a עִם־זוֹנָה אֶל־תִּסְתַּיֵּד פֶּן־תִּלְכֶּד בְּלִקְוֹתֶיהָ:
4 עִם מְנַיִנָה אֶל תִּמְוֹךְ פֶּן יִשְׁרָפֶךָ בְּפִיָּהֶם 5 בבתולה
אל תתבונן פֶּן תוֹקֵשׁ בעוֹנָשֶׁיהָ 6 אל תתן לזונה נפשך פֶּן תסוב
את נחלתך: 7 להחנבל במראה עיניך ולשומם אחר ביתה:
8 העלים עין מאשת חן ואל תביט אל יפי לא לך: בעד אשה
[ה]שחתו רבים וכן אהביה באש תלהט: 9 עם בעלה אל תמַעַם
ואל [ת]סֹב עמו שכור: 9^a פֶּן תטה אליה לב וברמים תטה אל שחת:
10 אל תמש אוהב ישן כי חדש לא יר[ע] רכב: יי[ן] חדש אוהב חדש
וישן אחר [תש] תינֹ: 11 אל תקנא באיש רשע כי לא תרע מה
יומו: 12 אל [תקנא] בודון מצליח זכר כי עד מות לא ינקה:
13 רחק מאיש [שלי]ט להרוג[ו] ואל תפחד פחדו מות ואם קרבת
לא תאשם פֶּן יקח [א]ת נשמתך: דע כי בין פחים תצער
ועל רשת תתהלך: 14 כבחק ענה רעך ועם חכמים הסתייד:
15 עם נבון יהי ח[ש]בונך וכל סודך בינותם: 16 אנשי צדק בעלי
לחמך וביראת אלהים תפארתך: 17 בחכמי ידים יחשך יושר
ומוש[ל] עמי חכם: 18 ביטה נורא בעד איש לשון ומשא
x. על פיהו ישונא * 1 שופט עם יוסד עמו וממשלת מִבִּין
.. סְדוּרָה 3 מֶלֶךְ פֶּרֹעַ יִשְׁחִית עִיר וְעִיר נִשְׁכַּת בִּשְׁכָל
שריה: 2 כְּשׁוֹפֵט עִם בֶּן מְלִיצִיו וּבְרָאשׁ עִיר בֶּן יֹחֲבָיו:
5 ביד אלהים ממשלת כל גבר ולפני מחוקק ישיה הודו:
4 ביד אלהים ממשלת תבל ואיש לעת יעמד עליה: 6 [] כל
פשע אל תשליך רע לרעך ואל תהלך בדרך נאוו:
7 שנא לארדן ואנשים נאוו ומשניהם מעל עשק:
8 מלכות מגי אל גוי תסוב בגלל חסם נאוו: 9 מה ינא
עפר ואפר אשר בחייו יורם גִּיו: 10 שמן מחלה
יצהיב רופא מֶלֶךְ הַיּוֹם וסחר יפול: 11 במות אדם
יחל רמה ותולעה קִנְיֹם וְרֵמֶשׁ: תחלת נאון אדם

- 12 מען וועלענען יסור מלבו: 13 כי מקה זרן חסא ומקורה
 רע יבא יביע זמה: על בן מלא לבו אלהים] נגעה ויכרו עד כלל:
 14 כסא נאים הפך אלהים וישב עניים תחתם: 15 עקבת נים
 .. סמלם אלהים ושרשם עד ארץ קעקע: 17 וסחם מארץ
 ויתשם וישבת מארץ זכרם: 18 לא נאוו לאנוש זרן ו[עז]ות
 אף לילוד אשה: 19 זרע נכבד מה זרע לאנוש זרע נקלה
 עובר מצוה: 20 בין אחים ראשם נכבד וירא אלהים [ממנו]
 22 גר חר נכרי ורש תפארתם י[רא]ת אלהים: 23 אין לבוות דל מ[שכי]ל
 ואין לכבד [כל] איש [יו]רם: 24 מושל ושופט נכבדו [ואין]
 גדול מ[י]רא אלהים: 25 עבר משכיל חורם ועב[ד] [חכם] [ל]א
 יתאונן: 26 אל תתחכם ל[ע]בר חפצך ואל ת[תכבד] [במו]עד
 צרכך: 27 טוב עובר ויותר הון ממחבד [בלח]ם מתן:
 28 בני בעונה כבד נפשך ויתן לך ס . . . אברת:
 29 מרשיע נפשו מי יצדיקנו ומי יכבד מקלה נפשו:
 30 יש דל נכבד בגלל שכלו ויש נכבד בגלל ע[שרו]:
 30^a נכבד בעשרו איכבה ונקלה בעיניו איכבה: 31 ה[מתכ]בד
 ברלותו בעשרו מתכבד יותר וחנקלה בעשרו ברלותו
 xi. נקלה יותר: 1 חכמת דל תשא ראשו ובין נדיבים תשיבנו:
 2 אל תהלל אדם בתאוו ואל תתעב אדם מכ[וער] במראהו:
 3 אליל בעוף דברה וראש תנובות פריה: 4 מעטה א[ב]ר אל
 תהתל ואל חקלם במרירי יום: כי פלאות מעשי יי ונעלם
 מ[אדם] פעלו: 5 רבים נדכאים ישבו על כסא תבל על
 לב עמו צניף: 6 רבים נשאים נקלו מאד והשקלו יחר
 ונם נכבדים נקטו ביד: 7 בטרם תחקור אליהם בפר
 לנסים ואחר תעוף: 8 בני אליהשיב דבר מרם תשמע
 וכתוף שיהיה אליהם: 9 באין עצבה אל תאחר וברב זדים
 .. אל תקומם: 10 בני למה תרבה עשקך ואין להרבות לא ינקה:
 11 בני אם לא תרוץ לא תגיע ואם לא תבקש לא תמצא:

מנען ובעשה וסוד אלכו: כי מקור דודן חטא וזקנה
יבוע זמנו: על קדמה לזלאל נפשו ויבוע שכלל:
כסא נאום חקר אלים וקסב עטים ותחת: עקבת נשים
טמטס אהא ושדשס שר ארץ קעקעו וסחס מארץ
ותשס ויטבת ראדץ זכא: לא טאור לאעש דודן יטות
אף לזרד אשה: דיע נכד מה דיע לאעש דיע נלד
עבר אציה בן אחוס דאעס נכד ודא אהוס גל
גזרד נמיו ורש תמארתס: לא אהוס און לבזרד ל
ואון לכד ל אהוס: ויטל ושוסט נרדן
גדל ל אהוס: עבר ויטל אהוס ועב
יטאון: ל אהוס ל אהוס חקיק ו
דכף: טוב סבד ויטל חקיק: סבד יטל
בני בעטה כדד נפשו ויטל יטל
מדיע נפשו מיינדיקט נמי וכד מקלה נפשו
יש דל נכד בגלל טבל ויש נכד בגלל ע
נכד בעשו איכס תקלה בעינו אכס: ז
כדלתו בעשו מתכד יתר וקלה בעשו בלית
נקלה ויטל: חכמה דל תשא ראשו וכין טיבוס ויטל
אל תהלל אים כדמרו דל ותעב אדם יטל כדמרו
אליל בעש דכד נראש תטבות טיה צינסה א
תה ל ול תקלס במרו אים: כי כלאת מעשו ויטל
יטל: רבוס נכאוס יטל על כסא זל על
לב עיו ענין: רבוס נכאוס יטל ויטל אהוס
ובס נכדיום נכט סר: כדס תחיל אהוס בקר
לפנים ואחר תחיל: בני אהוס יטל כדס תשע
ובתוך שיהא אהוס: באין עכס א תאחר וכדס ויטל
א תקאום: בני אהוס תחיל עשק ואין ויטל אהוס יטל
בני אס לא ויטל לא תשע ואס לא תבס לא תמא:

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- 12 יש עמל וינע ורץ וְכָדִי כֵן הוּא מֵתָאָחֶר: יש רֶשֶׁשׁ וְאִבֵּר
מחלך חסד כל ויותר אֶנֶשׁ: ועין י צפתהו לטוב וינעריהו
מעפר צחנה: 13 נשא בראשו וירממהו ויתמחו עליו רבים:
14 טוב ורע חיים ומות ריש ועושר מִי הוּא: 15 חכמה ושכל
והבין דבר מִי הוּא: 15^א חטא ודרכים ישרים מִי הוּא 16 שכלות
וחן[שך] לרשעים נצרה ומרעים רעה עמם: 17 מ[תן] צדיק
[ערי חלך] ורצנו יצלח לעד: 18 יש מתעשר מהתענות
[ויש] יח[יב] שכרו: 19 ובעת [אמר] מצאתי נחת ועתה א[ב]ל
[בשלום]: לא ידע מה יהיה חלק ועזב לא[חרי]ם ומת
20 בני ש[לם] בחוקך ובו ת[הנח] ובמלאכתך הת[ישן] [לעד]:
21 ב[ני... דום] לֵי וקח לא[ו]רו: כי יכה ב[רג]ע פתאם
ל[העשיר דל] 22 ברכת אל גרל צדיק ובעת תקותו תפרח...
23 אל תאמר... כי עשיתי חפצי ומה עתה יעזב לי: 24 אל תאמר
דיי... יהי עלי • 25 מִן יוֹם תִּשְׁכַּח רְעָה ורעת
[יום] תשכח טוב ואחרית אדם תהיה עליו: 27 עת רעה
תשכח תענוג וסוף אדם יגיר עליו: 27^א במרם תחקר אדם
אל תאש[ם]. יד... מעושר אדם: 28 לפני מות אל תאשר
גבר כי באחריתו ינכר איש: 29 לא כל איש להביא אל בית
ומה רבו פ[צע]י רוכל: 29^א ככלוב מלא עוף כן בתיחם
מלאים [מרמה] • 30 כעוף אחוז בכל[וב] לב נאח [כ]זאב
אֶרֶב לט[רף]: מה ירבו פשעי בתע ככלב הוא באוכל
בית: וחומם כל בתע בא ומשים ריב לכל ט[וב]תם:
אורב הרובל כרוב לבית לצים וכטרנגל יראה ערוה:
31 טוב לתע יהפך [נר]ק ובמחמדך יתן קשר: 32 מנצח
ירבה נחלת ואיש בליעל לדם יאֵדב: 33 גור מרע כי רע
יוליד למה מום עולם תשא: לא תדבק לרשע ויסלף
xii. דרכך ויחפכן מבריתך: i אם טוב תודיע למי תטיב
ויהי תקות לטובתך: משוכן וְרָץ חזיר דרכך

TRANSLATION.

- vii. 29. (Fear) the Lord (with all thy soul);
And sanctify his priests.
30. With all thy might love him that made thee;
And forsake not his ministers.
31. Honour God and the priests;
And give them their portion as thou wast com-
manded;
The meat of sacrifice,
And the wave offering of my sanctification,
32. And also to the poor man (stretch out the hand),
That thy blessing may be perfected.
33. Give a gift to every one living;
And also from the dead withhold not grace.
34. Be not backward from them that weep;
And mourn with them that mourn.
35. Do not bear a grievance (lit. heart) from a friend;
For by him thou art loved.
36. In all thy days remember the end,
And thou shalt never do amiss.
- viii. 1. Contend not with a great man,
Wherefore should his hand turn against thee.
- 1*. Strive not with one who is stronger than thou,
Wherefore shouldst thou fall into his hand?
2. Contend not with a man of wealth¹,
Lest he outweigh thy price.
And thou perish.
For many hath gold shaken,
And wealth changeth the heart of princes.
3. Contend not with a man of tongue,
And heap not wood upon fire,
4. Be (not) familiar with a rude man,
Lest he despise princes.
5. Put not to shame a man that hath turned from sin;
Remember that we are all guilty.

¹ This is the *Kerē*. The *Kethib* reads 'a man without wealth.'

6. Dishonour not an old man ;
For we will be counted of the old.
7. Do not rejoice over one that is dead :
Remember that we shall all be gathered to our
fathers.
8. Neglect not the discourse of the wise,
And converse of their proverbs ;
- 8^a. For of them thou shalt learn instruction,
So as to stand before princes.
9. Despise not to listen to the aged
Of that which they have learned from their fathers :
- 9^a. For from them thou shalt take understanding,
In time of need to return an answer.
10. Do not enjoy the inheritance of a wicked man,
Lest thou be burned by the flame of his fire.
11. Move not before an insolent man,
To cause him to wait in ambush for thee.
12. Lend not to a man that is mightier than thyself ;
And if thou hast lent be as one that hath lost.
13. Be not a surety for one that is more than thou art ;
And if thou be surety be as one that must pay.
14. Go not to law with the judge ;
For according to his will shall he judge.
15. Walk not with a violent man,
Lest thou make thy evil heavy ;
For he will go according to his own will,
And through his folly thou wilt go astray.
16. With a wrathful man harden not thy face,
And do not ride with him on the way :
- 16^a. For light is blood in his eyes ;
And when there is none to help he will destroy
thee.
17. Tell not thy secrets to a fool ;
For he will not be able to conceal thy secret.
18. Do no secret thing before a stranger ;
For thou knowest not what his end will bring
forth.

19. Reveal not thine heart to every man ;
And do not repulse the good from thee.
- ix. 1. Be not jealous against the wife of thy bosom,
Lest she learn evil against thyself.
2. Make not thy soul eager for a woman,
To cause her to tread upon thy high places.
3. Do not approach a strange woman,
Lest haply thou fall into her snares.
- 3^a. Be not intimate with a harlot,
Lest thou be caught by her cozenings.
4. Be not lulled by singing women,
Lest they burn thee with their mouths.
5. Gaze not upon a maid,
Lest haply thou be trapped in her penalties.
6. Give not thy soul unto a harlot,
Lest she take away thine inheritance.
7. To deal foolishly after the sight of thine eyes,
And to be distraught after her house.
8. Turn away thine eye from a comely woman,
And gaze not on beauty not belonging to thee ;
For a woman's sake many have been corrupted ;
And thus her lovers she burneth with fire.
9. With her husband taste not meat ;
And drink not strong drink with him ;
Lest haply thy heart turn aside unto her,
And with blood thou glide into the tomb.
10. Forsake not an old friend ;
For the new is not comparable to him :
As new wine so is a new friend ;
When it is old thou shalt drink it.
11. Envy not a wicked man ;
For thou knowest not what is his day.
12. Do not (envy) at an ungodly man who is prosperous :
Remember till death he shall not go unpunished.
13. Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill,
And thou shalt not fear the fear of death :

And if thou come near commit no fault,
 Lest he take away thy life :
 Know that thou goest about in the midst of snares,
 And walkest upon a net.

14. As well as thou canst answer thy friend ;
 And take counsel with the wise.
 15. Let thy account be with men of understanding ;
 And all thy discourse among them.
 16. Let just men be the companions of thy board ;
 And let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.
 17. By men of artifice equity is withdrawn :
 And he that ruleth my people is wise.
 18. Give fearsome heed to a man full of tongue ;
 The speech of his mouth is hated.
- x. 1. A people's judge instructeth his people ;
 And the government of a man of understanding
 is well ordered.
3. A debauched king will destroy the city ;
 And a city is established by the wisdom of its
 princes.
 2. As is the judge of a people so are its counsellors ;
 And as the head of the city so are his citizens.
 5. In the hand of the Lord is the authority of every
 man ;
 And upon the face of the scribe shall he lay his
 honour.
 4. In the hand of the Lord is the authority of the
 world ;
 But man standeth over it but for a time.
 6. Requite not evil to thy friend for every wrong ;
 And go not in the way of pride.
 7. Pride is hateful before the Lord and *before* men ;
 And oppression is to both a trespass.
 8. Sovereignty is transferred from nation to nation,
 Because of the violence of pride.
 9. Why is earth and ashes proud ?
 Which with its life throweth off its body.

10. A trace of disease that makes the physician
serene ;
He is a king to-day and to-morrow he shall be
taken.
11. For when a man is dead,
He shall inherit worms and insects, lice, and creep-
ing things.
12. The beginning of pride is when a man is stubborn ;
And removeth his heart from the Lord.
13. For the hope of pride is sin ;
And its source will give forth abomination.
Therefore the Lord filled his heart with plague,
And smote him to destruction.
14. The Lord cast down the throne of the proud,
And set the humble in their stead.
15. The Lord plucked up the trace of nations,
And destroyed their roots to the ground.
17. He plucked them forth from the earth,
And he abandoned them,
And he caused their memorial to cease from the
earth.
18. Pride is not good for man,
Nor wrathful anger for the offspring of woman.
19. How can the seed of man be an honoured seed ?
A despised seed is he that transgresseth the com-
mandment.
20. In the midst of brethren their head is honoured ;
But, more than him, he that feareth the Lord.
22. A stranger and a foreigner,
An alien and a poor man,
Their glory is in the fear of the Lord.
23. It is not right to despise the poor man that hath
understanding ;
It is not fitting to honour every one that is exalted.
24. The ruler and the judge are honoured ;
And more than both is he that is great and feareth
the Lord.

25. A slave that hath understanding is exalted ;
And a slave that is [wise] will not murmur.
26. Be not overwise in doing thy pleasure ;
And not glorify thyself in the time of thy need.
27. Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all
things,
Than he that glorifieth himself, with the (bread) of
a gift.
28. My son, glorify thy soul in humility,
And he will give thee thou dost perish.
29. Who will justify him that condemneth his own
soul,
And who will glorify him that maketh light of his
own soul ?
30. There is a poor man honoured for his wisdom ;
And there is he that is honoured for the sake of
his riches.
- 30*. He that is honoured in his wealth how can that be ?
And he that is lightly esteemed in his own eyes¹
how can that be ?
31. He that is honoured in his poverty.
In his wealth he is honoured still more ;
And he that is lightly esteemed in his wealth,
In his poverty he is still more lightly esteemed.
- xi. 1. The wisdom of the lowly shall lift up his head,
And make him to sit in the midst of princes.
2. Commend not a man for his beauty ;
And abhor not a man who is loathsome in appear-
ance.
3. As nought is the bee among such as fly ;
But her fruit is the chief of sweetmeats.
4. Mock not at the dress of the wretched,
And do not despise them that curse the day ;
- 4*. For wondrous are the deeds of the Lord ;
And his work is hidden from man.

¹ Read rather בְּעוֹרֵי instead of בְּעוֹרֵי, and translate 'in his poverty.'

5. Many of the humble have sat on the throne of the world ;
On the heart they have placed a crown.
6. Many exalted men have been very lightly esteemed,
And have been humbled together ;
And honoured men have been delivered into the hand *of others*.
7. Before thou hast examined blame not ;
Examine first and afterwards refute.
8. My son, answer not before thou hast heard ;
And do not speak in the midst of conversation.
9. Do not delay in a matter where there is no concern ;
And where there are many violent stand not out.
My son why dost thou increase thy oppression ?
And he that hasteth to increase will not be held guiltless ;
10. My son, if thou dost not run thou shalt not reach ;
And if thou dost not seek thou shalt not find.
11. There is one that toileth, and laboureth, and runneth,
And to that extent he delayeth.
12. There is one that is poor and needy ;
He seeketh for kindness of every one,
And is more and more weak ;
But the eye of the Lord looketh upon him for good ;
And maketh him rise from the vile dust.
13. He raised him by the head and exalted him ;
And caused many to marvel at him.
14. Good things and evil, life and death,
Poverty and riches, are of the Lord.
15. Wisdom and skill, and understanding of things,
are from the Lord ;
Sin and upright ways are from the Lord.
16. Folly and darkness are created for the wicked,
And from the evil evil is with them.
17. The gift of the righteous is for ever,
And his good pleasure shall prosper for everlasting.

18. There is that waxeth rich by his afflicting himself,
And (there is) that endangereth his reward.
19. What time he saith I have found rest,
And now I will eat in peace;
He knoweth not what will be *his* lot;
And he will leave *his goods* to others and die.
20. My son, be steadfast in thy covenant, and meditate
therein,
And grow old in thy work.
21. My son, rest in the Lord, and hope in his light:
For it is an easy¹ matter in the eyes of the Lord,
To make the poor man suddenly rich.
22. The blessing of God is the lot of the righteous;
And in the time of his hope thou shalt flourish.
23. Say not that I have done my pleasure
And what will he leave me now?
24. Say not sufficient there is unto me.
25. The happiness of the day causeth forgetfulness of
evil;
And the evil of the day causeth forgetfulness of
good;
And the end of man shall be upon him.
27. An evil time causeth forgetfulness of delight;
And the last end of a man will tell of him.
- 27*. Before thou searchest a man do not accuse;
The than the wealth of man.
28. Hold no man happy before his death,
For a man shall be unrecognizable in his latter end.
29. Not every man is to be brought into the house,
And how many are a broker's wounds.
- 29*. As a cage full of birds,
So are their houses full of (deceit).
30. As a bird caught in a cage,
So is the heart of a proud man.
As a wolf that lieth in wait to tear.

¹ Reading 'קל, instead of יפה.

How many are the iniquities of the robber ;
As a dog is he among those that eat in the house.
He stealeth all

The robber cometh and maketh strife in all their
goods ;

The tale bearer lieth in wait as a bear for the
house of the wicked ;

And as a spy he seeth shame.

31. The quarrelsome turneth good into evil,
And he maketh a conspiracy among thy lovely
things.

32. From a spark of fire cometh much coal ;
And a worthless man lieth in wait for blood.

33. Be afraid of an evil man,
For he produceth evil things ;
Why shouldst they bear a blemish for ever ?
Do not cleave to a wicked man,
Lest he pervert thy way and turn thee from thy
covenants.

xii. 1. If thou do good, know to whom thou doest it ;
And there shall be hope to thy good deed ;
Beware of a meddlesome neighbour . . .

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.

II¹.

21. *Extent and duration of the use of the Arabic language amongst the Jews.*

IN this part of the present essay I intend to introduce the reader to the writings of the Jewish-Arabic authors, taking into particular consideration the actually existing works. Therefore I consider (i) the general points of view as important a matter as (ii) an historical and objective survey of the literature itself. The connexion of the Arabic literature of the Jews, in spite of the variety of its contents and tendencies, is a part of the general question on the coherence of the literatures of the Jews in the different languages, a subject of which I treat in a lecture, viz. the "General introduction to Jewish literature." The present essay, however, is restricted to our special subject.

Arabic and German are the only languages and nationalities which have been of essential and continuing influence on Judaism. A statement of the extent and duration of the usage of the Arabic language by the Jews would, indeed, exceed the limits of what is here our principal subject, viz. the Arabic literature; but here I only give some hints of the *life*, the *customs*, *institutions*, and their *designations*.

¹ This Part is translated into English from my inedited German lectures by Miss ADELINÉ GOLDBERG, who for some years has been my literary assistant in different ways. Some abbreviations in the quotations will be found at the end of this article.

The Life. We have but little information about the manner in which the Arabian language gained footing with the Jews in the countries conquered by the Arabs, because from the *literary* usage of a language we cannot draw sure conclusions upon its *oral* usage. But this investigation is of the highest interest, because language, of course, is an important means of civilization. Very significant it is to know what language was spoken *before* the Arabic in the respective countries.

In the Orient, as far as the Semitic languages reigned—and the Chaldaic had probably been spoken by the Jews—the introduction of the Arabic was probably easier than in the West, for instance, in Spain, where Romance and Gothic were the native tongues. However, it seems that here also the Arabian tongue was early introduced, the Jews having been here, as in other countries, the secret or open allies of the Arabs (cf. *Litbl. d. Or.*, IV, 235). The respective sources are not to be looked for in the *Arabian*, but in the *Hebrew* literature of that time, where the adopted “foreign words”—according to their quality and importance—were taken from *life*, not from *Arabian writings* (as to such foreign words, see my *Fremdsprachliche Elemente*, Prague, 1846).

At an earlier period, some Arabian words, known by the intercourse with single Nomads¹, were already used for the explanation of the Bible, especially by Rabbi Levi (Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, p. 327); but on the whole they are not many, especially those introduced by the Babylonian scholars, with the exception of the travelling Akiba².

Not only Hebrew expressions, which Zunz designates as recent Arabisms, but also real Arabian words characterize the Midrash of the second period. In the first alphabet of Ben Sira, which also in the Arabic-Christian garb of the Leyden MS. offers some analogy to the *Evangelium*

¹ אַרַב, which probably is nothing else but اربي, from which is derived ארבי; *Litbl.*, IX, 238 (VIII, 394); *Fremdsprachliche Elemente*, p. 26.

² Z. Frankel, *Verhandlungen der DMG.*, 1846, p. 10.

*infantiae*¹, under the letter ת (f. 16 a of my edition) is to be found a whole Arabic sentence: לא מקיר אפקר כן.² Among the names of insects in סדר אליה (נמלה), chap. vii (Zunz, *ibid.* 114 a), perhaps אבי עזל (before עכשין), belong to oral adaptation, but in Josippon (Zunz, *ibid.* 149) some Arabian words like קטב and even רשאנן (Roxane) are probably borrowed from literature³. Even in Italy, a woman, Perna (= Perla), wife of Isak Abuderahin (Abu Derahim), understood Arabic (1525, David Reubeni in *Med. Jew. Chron.*, II, 155).

22. Customs, Institutions, and Designations.

Benjamin of Tudela (I, 62, ed. Asher) reports the custom that before the "Head of the exile" (ראש גלות) they called out in Arabic "make way for our lord, the descendant of David" בן דאוד (so) אעמלו טריק לסירנא. The Arabic tongue made its way into the documents of the congregations and private agreements in Toledo at the end of the thirteenth century (Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, 427); in the שו"ח of Maimonides, n. 110, there is mentioned a bond in Arabic language and characters (ובכתב גימ). Very interesting is a controversy about that matter between Asher b. Jechiel, the German Talmudist who had come to Spain, and Israel Israeli, a representative of Arabian education, and author of the Arabian work מצות ומצוות (Jost, VI, 339). The latter maintains that such documents must not be judged according to the vulgar language, nor according to translations, but according to the book language. An Arabian sentence is to be found in a Hebrew letter of Josua Lorki (*Catal. of the Leyden MSS.*, p. 276). Hence

¹ Sprenger, *Mohammed*, p. 176; comp. *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, V, p. 90. The essay on the child who speaks from his birth, by Israel Levi in *Melusine* (1889), is not accessible to me.

² "No poor is poorer than a rich (man) who is not satisfied." Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, Arab. "Sprichwörter" (plural, but there is only this one); Schorr, *הדואר*, VIII, 107.

³ *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 898; comp. Fraenkel in *ZDMG.*, 1896, p. 418; *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.*, 1898, p. 120, n. 1.

we find also single Arabian names of institutions, officials, and the like; for instance, the poll-tax, נִימָה [cf. Enger, preface to Maverdi, p. 22 (1853)]; the Head of the community, מוֹקֵד (analogous to the Arabic *Imam*); the community and the representatives of the community, מוֹלָמָה (properly الملاءة)¹. Therefore these terms occur as well in Spain as in Sicily (Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, pp. 502, 509, 513, 523; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, p. 113).

And not only for profane usage, but for sacred purposes and in sacred places did the language of the Ismaelites resound. We shall meet with the Arabian language in all possible branches of literature. Here, speaking particularly of the *service*, we will not estimate much the usage of Bible translations, although contrary to the irrational zeal which, up to our days, opposes this usage of translations at all, we must not omit Jehuda ibn Tibbon's (test., ed. Berlin, p. 6) recommending to his son the reading every Saturday of the Perikope in the Arabian language, with the first intention, certainly, of promoting the learning of the language—and this is perhaps even now commendable—for which purpose especially the translation of Sa'adia is adapted. But there exist also Arabian paraphrases of the Decalogue, in connexion with the Targum Jerushalmi, on the base of the Midrash, composed already in early times, and even attributed to Saadia, printed in the Machsor of Algiers (1772), where even phrases of the Koran occur (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2216); also, somewhat abridged, reprinted with a Chaldaic hymn (also in rhyme) in עֲשֵׂת הַדְּבָרִים (rite of Tunis, ed. Amsterdam, 1737 anno צו את) and elsewhere². There are also similar elaborations of the Haftarot. We mention here the translations of Bible passages in different Arabic works, which were partly

¹ In the theological literature of later times נִימָה in the sense of καθολικόν. יום מוֹלָמָה is Friday, the day of congregation with the Mohammedans, already ap. Abraham ibn Esra.

² Other editions are mentioned in *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IX, 6; XIX, 50 (*bis*); XX, 112; XXI, 46; also in רִבְבֵי עֲשֵׂת, MS. Halberstam, 379 (*Catal.*, p. 103).

retranslated into Hebrew, for instance, in Maimonides' *Treatise on the unity of God*, which I have edited.

Of greater importance is the use of the Arabic language in the two principal elements of public service, the prayer and the sermon.

Arabic translations of the *Selichot* belong to the Middle Ages. A collection in Oxford contains also the two celebrated prayers (*Bakkaschot*) of Sa'adia, translated into Arabic by Zemach (זמח) b. Joshua, otherwise unknown¹. We find even original religious hymns in the Arabian language, especially for Purim and the 9th of Ab, in an old MS. (Bodl. 187; Neub. 2525), and one printed in Pseudo-Maimonides, שרה אלמלה (Livorno, 1759, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, 1861, p. 49); we meet also with pieces for Simchat Thora in MS. Bislichis 50 (not in Bodl.) and in my MS. 33. There exist also hymns composed of Arabian and Hebrew elements, as we find a similar mixture of languages (maccaroni) in European literature. Maimonides (*Abot*, I, 17, see below) mentions Arabic recitations at weddings. On Arabic recitations of Genesis (xxiv. 1-10) at weddings in Mauritania, see *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2185. The rules of the Pesa'h haggada in the Arabic language are to be found in old MSS. (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 48 ff., nos. X, XII, XIII, vol. X, 44, l. 7, pp. 380, 382). I hardly venture to derive רחיצת ידים (for נטילת) from Arab. غسل (ibid. X, 44). On an Arabic ולמלשיני see Cazés, *Essay*, pp. 102, 103.

Single terms of ritual objects have been preserved even in Christian countries, for instance, the *pulpit* is still called "Almemor" (in Arabic *al-Minbar*). The *sermon* was most probably in early times delivered in the vernacular tongue, not to speak of the Karaites, whose literature has partly arisen from such discourses. Zunz has given only one testimony (*Gott. Vortr.*, 423) about the

¹ Neubauer, n. 1220, quotes *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2213 (see also G. Polak, סאדיה גאון, *Introd. to the Machsor*, p. 6), nevertheless he omits the name of the translator, even under n. 1096, hence in the Index of authors and translators.

Arabian countries of the time in question (see below), but we find the analogy in the Persian, the Aramean, the Greek, the Latin, and the Gallic, much earlier, and its application to the Arabic is confirmed by some old MSS.

Of the writings which we may designate as homiletic some are conserved in Hebrew sermons, originally delivered in the Arabian tongue, as in later times this was the case with other languages (Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, 433). On the other side many Arabian writings are a middle between commentary and homily. Therefore I give here only a few indubitable and characteristic instances (see my article in Kayserling's *Homilet. Beiblätt.*, vol. II).

Under the name of ISAK GAON and SA'ADIA B. MARZUK, Uri notes a number of Deraschot or commentaries on parts of the Pentateuch with not a little confusion, upon which we must not dwell (see *Catal. Bodl.*, pp. 2207, 2217; Chwolson in Geiger, *J. Z.*, IV, 316; Neubauer, *ibid.*, XII, 224). For our purpose Codex Uri 160 (Neub. 1001, see also *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XII, 20) will suffice. In the introductory rhymes there occur the words פניני תשיעוה ולכל הפרשיות... לזכר הנאמן אשר פיר עת הן ועת אבל ואין לעבר וללעה. The MS. contains for the most part a sort of sketches of sermons, with the dates 1210-1229, not chronologically arranged, and the places named are אלמחזיה, אלמחזיה (Hilla). These sermons and sketches are interesting on account of their construction. They begin with a רשות in Chaldaic, which seems identical with צור (introduction); sometimes only sketched, sometimes repeated in other sermons. Many superscriptions of the single sermons or sketches are taken from the Paraschijot, or the distinguished day on which the sermons were delivered. We point out: funeral speeches¹ on old and young people,

¹ נצח, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XII, p. 20. "Teazie" is called a sort of Persian tragedies, *Magazin für die Liter. d. Auslands*, 1845, p. 287, n. 7; *Revue de l'Orient*, V, 1844, p. 33; Klein, *Geschichte des Drama*, VIII, 191; Garcin de Tassy, *Mém. sur les particularités de la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*, pt. ii, 1869, p. 10. On the word נצח see § 20, s. v.

circumcision speeches, and so on. Some Arabian designations seem to point to the maturity of boys and girls, which suggests a kind of "confirmation" (of course not in the Christian sense). (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, 1862, p. 37; 1872, p. 20.) The text is taken from the Bible, sometimes in connexion with the respective passage of the Midrash or Talmud. In another way the MS. Uri 95 (Neub. 1009) is constructed, where the text of the Bible and the Talmud is followed by the formulas *ברוך שמיא דקדו' תבאריך אללה*; the sermons are arranged according to the successive perikopes, each sermon finishing with the consolatory formula *שיאמר בעל הרחמים לקרב עת להושענו*.

The Deraschot on the lections of the Sabbaths and fasts and a commentary on Abot, which, in the Orient, are attributed to DAVID, a grandson of Maimonides (quoted by Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, 423), were attributed to an author of the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Munk, who brought them from Egypt (*Isr. Annalen*, 1841, p. 94). I, however, found in the Berlin MS. 152 the date 1318, which agrees with the time of David. The MSS. of the Brit. Mus. (Or. 66-70) are not yet sufficiently known. The Arabic in these homilies is degenerate. They are in favour with the Karaïtes, and answer to the *צאניה וראינה* of the Germans and the *סעם למע* of the Portuguese. One David Maimun appears (1470) as a copyist. There exist testimonies of such homilies from the Barbary States from the end of the last century. Romanelli (p. 9) informs us of the Arabian sermons of the Rabbi of Miquenez (מיקניס) in Tangier (טאנגייר), where only the Bible passages are quoted in the Hebrew text. The traveller Saphir reports the same from Yemen. Pseudo-Salmon b. Jerocham, the Karaïte (apud Pinsker, *App.*, p. 194), speaks with zeal against the study of Arabic, another Karaïte (Nissi?) against the application of it in exegesis¹.

¹ I consider the commentary on the Decalogue, attributed to Nissi, as it is edited by Pinsker, as spurious or interpolated; see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIV, 35 (comp. Harkavy, in *הצפירה*, II, 175), XXI, 35; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*,

23. *Position of the Jews.*

We must also take into consideration the different position of the Jews as well as of the Christians among the Arabians, at different times and places; sometimes their political exclusion must have had an influence upon the language. There is, however, to be discerned the *general* position—at least the law about it—from the exceptional distinction of single persons, especially of scholars. The “tributaries” (اهل الذمة) were restricted in many respects, and there is a special little literature about that, where for instance, their capacity to be appointed as secretaries and the like is spoken of, and the part they have in the language and literature is also taken into consideration. It will, therefore, be convenient to glance at the sources of this legislation, and the knowledge of the Arabian Islamic literature found with the Jews.

24. *The Mohammedan Law as to the treatment of Jews (and Christians).*

The nature and motives of the Mohammedan legislation have certainly been different at different times. It fluctuated between the contrast of Mohammedan fanaticism—which preached with fire and sword, and which at certain times, for instance, at the time of the Crusades, got fresh food—and the explicit order of Mohammed to treat with indulgence the “possessors of (holy) scriptures,” reminding us of Luther’s dictum: “Man solle die Juden ehren, aber nicht ernähren” (the Jews are to be honoured, but not to be supported)¹. Yet one must make a difference between the treatment of Christians and that of Jews.

p. 394, n. 402; against Pinsker, p. 37; Fürst, Kar. I, 156, n. 175; Gottlob, p. 141; comp. on the true Nissim, the art. “Karaiten” by Frankl, in *Ersch und Gruber*, p. 14.

¹ Koran, Sura 9, v. 29, and the Commentary of Beidhawi, quoted by Chwolson, *Die Saabier*, II, 133; Mawerdi, ch. 13, ed. Enger. On the tolerance of the Muslims see also Goldziher, in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 75 ff.

S. Cassel (*Ersch u. Gruber*, article "Juden," p. 189) diffusely discusses the principle of that treatment, and finds the inferior position of non-Moslems founded on the spirit of the Mohammedan law. Here too, an old authority was appealed to, viz. the Khalif Omar, who is said to have stipulated certain "Schurut," or terms of peace, and these at the conquest of Jerusalem (636-38), hardly at the conquest of Damascus, as Hammer (*Das Osmanische Reichs-Staatswesen*, I, 185; quoted by Hamaker, see below) asserts, perhaps induced by the circumstance, that in later times the polemic literature found a natural place in Damascus. Here again we find in literature the key to strange assertions. Only with the conquest of Caesarea and Jerusalem, was Syria definitely subjugated, and only then could these terms be stipulated. Jerusalem would only submit to Omar himself (Weil, *Chalifen*, I, 80; cf. III; *Anhang*, II, about the conquest of Caesarea after Jerusalem, which Graetz, V, 134, 135, did not take into consideration).

As to the pact or the terms of subjection attributed to Omar, especially the sources and the various texts thereof, the most important matters are collected, with two Arabic texts (containing some archaisms), and edited in Hamaker's annotations to Pseudo-Wākidi's *Futu'h Mi'sr*, Leyden, 1825, pp. 165-170 (p. 169 ff.). These laws were executed more or less severely; that depended on the tendency, more or less orthodox, of the governor himself. So, for instance, Weil finds in Omar I more political than religious tendencies; what Cassel says of Omar II seems not to be quite exact (see also Hamaker, p. 167)¹.

History, relating the celebrated diplomatic intercourse between Harun al-Raschīd and Charles the Great, mentions two Jews; one of them, Isak, the delegate of Charles,

¹ Altogether we have to discern the political tendencies of the dynasty of the Omayyades and the ecclesiastical character of the Khalifs of the Abbasides, profoundly elucidated in Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. II (Halle, 1890).—Goldziher refers to Omar in his article "Saīd ben Hasan" (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXX, 6).

after his return, gave a report of his mission (Zunz, in *Benjamin of Tudela*, II, 243). According to a suspected tradition of a pious man in Narbonne, only known by the London edition of Zacut's *Juchasin* (p. 84), Harun is said to have sent back one Machir; but the very name, which is only to be found in France, and, later on, in Provence—at first perhaps as the name of Gerson b. Jehudah's brother—excites doubt¹. As to Harun's advances to Charles, Weil (*Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, 162) finds the reason for it in the former's hatred against the Omajjades in Spain, whereas his less happy operations against the Byzantine emperor Nikephorus (801) caused a renewal of those orders attributed to Omar (Weil, II, 161), which at first were applied to the Christians and only afterwards to the Jews. Later on, in the reaction of the Sunnites, under Mutawakkil (849-50), the original orders were rendered more severe (Weil, II, 353) so that in some way this Khalif is looked upon as the representative of these laws (S. Cassel, *Juden*, p. 191 b).

Under the Egyptian Fatimide HAKIM, a mad tyrant—probably murdered 411 H. (1020-21)²—one of the letters of the fanatic Druses is addressed to the Jews and the Christians; but, as it seems, the return from Islam to the former religion was admitted³; under the defamed Almohades in Barbary and Spain (about 1140) the *intolerant tolerance* increased, with various results, to real persecution. Egypt, at that time, had not yet been important enough for the Jews to effect essential consequences; perhaps the school of Chananel and Nissim, at Kairowan, would have called forth also there some changes in the position of the Jews (comp. Geiger, V, 349), whereas in

¹ The hypotheses of Graetz are refuted by Geiger in *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, III, 1 ff.

² Graetz, V, 411, says "erdrosselt," quoting *Geschichte der Drusen* (a German translation of De Sacy's *Exposé*?). His source is probably Weil, l. c., IV, 66. See also below, § 36; comp. S. Cassel, l. c., p. 201.

³ Jost, *Gesch.*, VIII, 2; De Sacy, *Exposé*, &c., I, p. cccxvi ff.

Spain, just at the time of its bloom and greatest liberty, persecutions commenced, and emigrations followed; the importance of which lies in the spreading of Arabian civilization and literature over other countries.

I cannot here pursue the discussion of this subject, for in the complicated relations of the state and the religion, after the decline of the Khalifat, other tribes took possession of the government; and the enlargement of the empire towards the East partly moved the centre of gravity to that place, where the Schiites already prevailed. The difference of religion caused new measures, while in Syria and Egypt the struggle with the crusaders increased the fanaticism, which indeed chiefly concerned the Christians, although even the Jews, directly or indirectly, came in contact with it. History, in this respect, is still to be supplied by Oriental science, the Jewish sources being but too scarce; and hypotheses, even most brilliant ones, are like surrogates, which must only be used in times of need.

An anecdote, taken from Weil's *Geschichte der Abassid. Chalifen in Egypten*, vol. IV, p. 355, may serve to show how the position of Jews and Christians sometimes changed¹. During the reign of Sultan Na'sir Mohammed, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, it happened that the governor, partly in consequence of diplomatic negotiations, protected and even favoured the Christians, while the fanaticism, stirred up by the clergy, raised a protest against it. A conflagration broke out at Cairo, which some tortured Christians were compelled to own to as their deed. [Soon after something similar happened in Damascus, the account of which is found in a protocol of an Arabic Leyden MS., not known by Weil, p. 361.] This forced confession was of such an effect that Christians who had to leave on urgent affairs, disguised themselves

¹ I have communicated this anecdote to the editors of the *Mittheilungen des Vereins gegen den Antisemitismus*, and it was published (1895) without my name.

as Jews, by putting on the yellow turban. De Goeje (*Catal. Lugd.*, III, 117) does not doubt the authenticity of this tale (see *Pol. Lit.*, p. 178).

The term "Bund" (pact) is not authenticated for earlier times. The fact mentioned by Noweiri, under the year 700, seems to be identical with that upon which is founded the document in Hamaker, and the regulations seem to be exact, except the *bells*. It is remarkable that the Jews and Christians examined did not know anything of the "Omar-pact," which was only found by the search of the Muftis. Yet Noweiri found the *acts of Omar* in a work (dedicated to Saladin) on the virtues of the Mussulmans and the vices of the Christians.

The contents of the pretended pact are, according to Hamaker, rendered with little exactness by Hammer (the source quoted first by Cassel, p. 190, n. 17), who refers also to D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 274¹. Respecting the expression "treaty of Omar," neglected by Weil and Hammer, Grätz (V, 135), without mentioning Hammer and Cassel, quotes only D'Hosson (sic) and Weil, II, 353 (but there the question is of the time of Hakim), and with arbitrary alterations; so, for instance, that the tributaries dare not judge the Mohammedans (see Hamaker, p. 166; p. 121, where we read ... *ومن اذنب منكم تردنا*).

I shall restrict the following remarks to the parts of the pretended pact which are closely connected with our subject. In the first instance, we find in Hamaker the respective decree addressed to the Christians only; the term *كنيسة* designates also Christian churches. Bell-ringing (Cassel) is, to be sure, nowhere mentioned in the text; indeed Gibbon (apud Hamaker, p. 167) has already urged the fact that bells were not introduced into Greek churches before the eleventh century. Really *ناقوس* has the meaning of "knocker"², which instrument is still

¹ But see *Polem. Lit.*, p. 104, n. 81, and p. 182.

² *Comp. Littl. des Or.*, IV, 298; *بوقات*, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, V, 115 (emendation of *קבוצת חכמים*, p. 83); "*Gebetsklapper*," ap. Dieterici, *Der Streit*, &c.,

to-day in use with the Nestorians, and reminds us of the Jewish "knocker" (*Klopfer*, a person whose office it is to knock at the door at prayer-times). One passage, which exists indeed only in the Leyden MS. 951, runs thus: "Neque exhibimus (solenni pompa) dominica nostra palmarum et paschate"; شَعْنَة or شَعْنِينَة (Syr. ܫܥܢܐ) means "palm-feast"; according to Makrizi = عيد الزيتون; Makrizi (in his relation respecting Mutawakkil) speaks also of palm-leaves (نخوص); a recent hand added: "It is now out of use" (Hamaker, p. 169).

Comparing with this supposed decree of Omar another, passed by the Sultan of Egypt in the beginning of the fourteenth century (printed in Hamaker, p. 170; cf. Goeje, p. 122, which explicitly refers to Omar السيرة العمريّة بشرروطها), we find in the latter decree Jews and Samaritans explicitly mentioned, and the making acquainted with the edict Christians and Jews according to the different sects (?):
وريساه اليهود وحزايهم الي بين يدى الحاكم والايمة والعلماء.
The conditions referring to the language and to the literature are the following: "they must not teach their children the Koran"—explicitly said in both documents (p. 166 ولا يعلموا اولادهم القرآن; and p. 171, l. 7 ولا نعلم لولادنا القرآن)—
"they must not speak the language of the Mussulmans and adopt their bynames" (ولانتكنم بكلامهم ولانتكنى بكناهم).
The first sentence is not to be found in the younger document; Hammer refers it to the Arabian scholars, viz. to the literary language, probably in opposition to the vulgar Arabic. Hamaker (p. 166), however, opposes that there is nothing of it in the text, and that at the time of Omar there did not yet exist Arabian scholars at all². With

pp. 151, 287; Dukes, *Ben Chananja*, 1864, p. 798; *Philosophisches*, p. 92: "Glockengeläute!"

¹ S. Cassel mentions that at first, under Mutawakkil, Weil, l. c., II, 354, mentions a prohibition to instruct infidels. According to the "Pure brothers" (Dieterich, *Anthropologie*, p. 214), it is prohibited to translate the Koran into another language.

² M. Soave, *La controversia di Tolosa* [read "Tortosa"], pp. 40, 41, quotes

respect to the names the second document goes still further (p. 170, l. 4 from bottom): it forbids names and bynames¹. This fact, interesting in itself, is not touched by any scholar, not even by Zunz (*Namen*, cf. p. 44). I have exhaustively treated the whole chapter of Arabic names in the first part of this "Introduction" (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 230, &c.). The last passage of our document runs thus: لا نُنقش على خواتمنا بالعربية "we will not engrave anything Arabic on our seal-rings." The followers of Hammer lay the stress on the seal-ring itself as a mark of distinction, but the prohibition hits the use of the Arabic language.

To prevent the Jews from taking a higher position among the Mussulmans, there was probably no occasion till later times. The decree of 700 H. expresses all sorts of official employments: They must not serve the kings and the emirs in all that concerns their orders to Mussulmans, as secretaries or attorneys or plenipotentiaries (vicegerents), or anything that implies a command over Muslims.

All these regulations together imply a radical exclusion from intellectual life, as the marks on the garment from the social life². The usage of the language up to names and subscriptions, even the knowledge of the Koran, the religion of which was obtruded—is prohibited. A strange occurrence, characteristic of Islam!

If this legislation really appeared with the first sub-

a Bull of Benedict XIII, addressed to Valenzia (1415), and prohibiting to the Jews different things. Soave asserts that the use of the language of the country was forbidden to the Christians of Jerusalem during the seventh to the eleventh centuries!—In the year 1526 the Moriscos in Spain were by a decree forbidden to use the Arabic language in speaking and writing, to use their family-names and the national garb; vid. Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber*, II, 312.

¹ The bynames, a great part of which were titles of honour, seem to have more offended the pride and zeal of the Mussulmans.

² To control the "head-money," the Christian got a stamp on the collar (my *Polem. Lit.*, p. 167). On the "signes distinctifs" of Christians and Jews in Magrab, see the article of Mr. Fagnan in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 294.

jection of non-Mussulmans, and was carried out so consistently with the compulsory measures, a lecture on Arabic literature of the Jews would have been impossible. And just therefore it is of high interest to inquire how far the law was actually executed, and we are in the happy position to answer—not with mere hypotheses—but with documentary facts from Jewish literature itself; and this alone would be a sufficient motive for desiring a nearer acquaintance with the Arabic literature of the Jews. This leads us to the second point.

25. *The Knowledge of the Arabic Literature among the Jews.*

To what extent were the Jews acquainted with the Arabic language and literature? The authentic proofs we have of an extensive usage of the Arabic language being of a comparatively late period, and the sources of the earliest ages entirely wanting, we are entitled to conclude that this usage and extension grew by degrees. There existed some opposition now and then for various reasons. "One of my contemporaries," says Jakob Anatoli (early in the thirteenth century), "often scolded at my learning (now and then) mathematics in the Arabic language with my father-in-law. He considered it as walking, or playing at chess, in the time of study" (preface to *Malmad*, penultimate page, last lines).

26. (*Excursus: Arabic Literature of the Christians.*)

There is almost nothing known to me regarding the history of the Arabic language of the *Christians*¹. Indeed,

¹ According to Mr. Cowley (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 565), it is *probable* that the Arabic language became, soon after the Hegirah, the vernacular of the Jews and the Samaritans; the Arabic literature of the latter, however, is not yet accessible (*ibid.*, p. 569).—I intend to give a short bibliographical note on the Arabic writings of the Samaritans in form of an Appendix to the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Judaica*, which I am beginning to shape for publication.

the history of Christianity itself in Arabia up to the time of Mohammed, seems like the oldest history of this country in general to be more known from legends and monuments than from direct and literary sources of history. These sources in general treat especially the history of the Arabs proper, and only occasionally that of the Christians and Jews, with but few exceptions; for instance, Th. Wright, *Early Christianity in Arabia*, an historical essay, London, 1855; p. 33 Christians and Jews are confounded. We mention here in particular the Christian bishop Moses (p. 74), and the controversy between Gergentius and Harbann (p. 93); see also Schröter in *ZDMG.*, XXIV, 261 ff. Dozy edited a monograph on the Jews in Mekka, which, however, is perhaps this celebrated Orientalist's only work, the hypotheses of which, so far as I know, are not approved by any specialist.

On the other hand, it was hardly possible to take no notice at all of Judaism and Christianity, because religious struggles played a conspicuous part from the fourth century, when in South Arabia, as is well known, the Jewish king Dsu-Nowas, and in the reaction against him, the Christian Church, introduced from Abyssinia at the same time, gained footing, where the catholic tendency predominated, while the Arianists—as in later times the Schiites and Karaïtes—kept more to their co-religionists in Persia¹. Delitzsch, in his article already mentioned above, particularly treats of Petra, the northern part of Arabia, where lived the Nabathaeans, a Chaldaic-speaking tribe, whose kings (their names Harîth and Malik are perhaps derived from agriculture)² were in conflict with the Maccabeans and Herodians. But the interior of Arabia, the seat of the real tribes, who perhaps at a later period regarded themselves as descendants of Abraham,

¹ To the sources quoted above, § 4, p. 232 ff., I shall give some supplementary information at the end of this essay.

² مالک and حارث; I have pointed to this characteristic fact somewhere, I believe in the *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, 1863.

was never subdued by outward enemies as it has been supposed in modern times (for instance, Weil, *Muh.*, p. 12).

Legends and monuments are, as already mentioned, our principal sources. To judge about the former is a difficult task, because till now they could not be arranged chronologically¹, and the Bible exerted an influence on the Mohammedan mediators, sometimes without their knowledge. This circumstance is in general important for the older history of the Orient, as it has been brilliantly proved with respect to the Arsacides, by Gutschmid (in *Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellsch.*, XV; see also Nöldeke, "Amalekiter"; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 31). To the same category belong the legends of the monks of Sinai, who, as it was pretended, foreknew the time of the appearance of Mohammed, and who received the latter's written promise of gratitude (Delitzsch, loc. cit., p. 299), yet probably not before his becoming suddenly able to write—this reminds us of the Jewish letters from Worms, &c., on Christ (in Wagenseil's *Belehrung*).

But also with the monuments we are badly off till now; so, for instance, Beer² attributes the Sinaitic inscriptions to the Christians on account of the form of the cross—which was not contradicted by Tuch (*Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellsch.*); but Levy (ibid., XIV, 1860, p. 391) sees in the cross a token of connexion, and proves—as Beer and Delitzsch had done already—that the dialect is, though Arabicized, an Aramaic one (Levy, pp. 379, 387)³. An Arabic writing by Christian authors from the time of Mohammed is not known at all; and there may be found the difference between Christians and Jews, which engaged me to enter into this discussion.

Even the monk Buheira or Sergius, the teacher of

¹ The attempt made by R. v. L. (Rühle von Lillienstern, a high officer of the Prussian army), although valuable, did not satisfy the Orientalists.

² See also Delitzsch, l. c., p. 279, where even Fürst expresses his doubts.

³ To him again oppose Blau, E. Meyer, and Nöldeke in the *ZDMG.*, XVI and XVII.

Mohammed—whose discourses were composed for Christian polemic purposes by a later monk—was a Jew, according to some writers (בחור, בחירה, Weil, p. 29?); Nöldeke, in his article "Had Mohammed Christian teachers?" (*ZDMG.*, XII, 1858, p. 701), attributes to Judaism the greater influence, although in his *History of the Koran* he considers the Jews of Arabia as illiterate¹. The literary usage of the Arabic language by the Christians was probably not evolved before the period of translations under the Khalif Ma'amun (ninth century). The oldest known translation of the Bible by Honein b. Ishak (ob. 873) is, according to Rödiger, probably made out of the Syriac or Greek². The Jewish literature of Arabia begins before Mohammed, and I believe that Omar never thought of exacting from the Jews and even from the Christians the above-mentioned conditions, at least as far as they regard the use of the Arabic language. With the Syrians it was quite another thing, and perhaps it is not accidentally that the Christian girdle, mentioned in those conditions, is called by the Syro-Arabic name زانير ζωνάριον.

I am not yet treating of the Jewish-Arabic authors themselves, who, in a certain sense, begin already before the prophet, for instance, Samuel ben Adijja, but I am taking into consideration the Jews' knowledge of the Arabic literature of the Mohammedans (and Christians). Certain sources of this knowledge would naturally be direct quotations out of Mohammedan and Christian writings in Jewish works, which must not be indirectly quoted from other intermediate sources. In later times the Jews quote also several things from Hebrew translations of Arabic works, or even of Hebrew works, all that is of no value to our purpose. So, for instance, Simon Duran

¹ But see my review in the *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 67 ff.

² *Jew. Lit.*, p. 321, n. 4, "historian" (Jeschurun of Kobak, V, 183), read "Nestorian," and instead of "Krafft" read "Fleischer," MSS. Lips. Greek is given by al-Kifti. See also Frankel's *Zeitschr.*, 1846, p. 280, and *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 352, n. 680; Loewenthal, *Honein . . . Sinnsprüche*, p. 25.

never read the Koran, his quotations of it are partly not to be found there, but in the Sunna; he extracted them from Hebrew translations of two works of Averroës (whom he calls Averroës, the "father"), which are now edited in the Arabic original by Professor Josef Müller in Munich. An index of these quotations is to be found in my edition of Duran's treatise in *אוצר חכמה* (1881)¹. But we possess copies of the Koran in Hebrew characters belonging to the Middle Ages, even with some interesting peculiarities with respect to punctuation and orthography². This fact alone illustrates the impossibility of barring the spirit.

That Saadia and Hai Gaon quote the Koran is now known by the recently published writings of Jehuda ibn Koreisch (comp. Graetz, V, 203), Abu'l-walid, Jehuda ibn Balam (*Commentary of the Pentateuch*), and Moses ibn Ezra (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2183).

27. *Writings of Mohammedan Arabic authors,
written in Hebrew characters,*

are to be found in the various branches of literature. A striking instance is the calendar of Garib ben Sa'id, of whom we shall speak below. But even copies of such works in Arabic letters were written by order of Jews, or were at least in possession of Jews, nay, some Arabic MSS. in European libraries, for instance, in Oxford, Paris, and in the Escorial were, according to the interesting epigraphs, the property of Jews, and partly bought from Jewish booksellers in the Orient. I point to the Aphorisms, and a compendium of the old Masaweih (in a Berlin MS.), and the great compilation al-'Hawi of Razi in Toledo, although not finished under Arabic dominion.

¹ Steinschneider, *Manna*, p. 105; comp. *Choice of Pearls*, ed. London, p. 142, *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 278.

² *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, III, 113; Rödiger, *ZDMG.*, XIV, 3; see my notices, *ibid.*, XV, 381, XLVII, 354.

But if in such purchases of European travellers in the Orient, pseudepigraphs and literary deceit were detected, the impostor was always said to be a Jew¹. Such a deceit is the said compendium of al-'Hawi by Honein, in a Bodleian MS. I consider as doubtful the pretended commentary of the general parts of the great Codex of Maimonides, by the pretended Muslim ALA AL-DIN al-Muwakkīt, copied by Saadia b. Da'ud of Aden, who published a work of Gazzali with a new title as his own work (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, I, 21; W. Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, p. 14; MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 27,294). Many a work has only been preserved by copies of the Jews, and the works of Averroës owe their preservation almost entirely to the Jews.—These works are principally medical, astronomical, and philosophical, partly the same that were translated into Hebrew, and therefore valuable for the bibliography of these translations. For instance, we learn from Hebrew MSS. that the meteorology of ARISTOTLE was translated by Ja'hja ibn al-Batrik (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 134).

But also various other information is to be got from the Arabic MSS. written by Jews². We shall mention here a few instances: an extract of an Essay (Risala) on the Mohammedan sects by abu'l-Kasim Ahmed ibn al-Khorasani in MS. Bodl., omitted by Uri, 309 (*ZDMG.*, XLVII, 338, reads Ahmed Karmani, s. p. 351); an astrology of an old Christian author 'Abd Allah ben Masrur in a Bodleian MS. (loc. cit., p. 336) explains how the Jews were made responsible for foreign superstition. Among these MSS. we find even translations into Arabic from Latin, for instance, the Antidotarium of Nicolaus Praepositus (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 812), and they are very probably translated by Jews, because they are to be found

¹ Kennicott, ap. Schurrer, *Dist.*, I, 6; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, II, 13, n. 1.

² A short bibliographical enumeration, according to the names of the authors, is given in my article, "Schriften der Araber in hebr. Handschriften" (*ZDMG.*, XLVII, 1893, pp. 335-384), where (p. 358) is to be added, ibn al-Nafis, MS. Berlin, n. 234²; (p. 367) Tifaschi, *ibid.* 250².

only in Hebrew characters. This kind of literature has escaped the attention of the Orientalists. The work of BATALJUSI, composed in the twelfth century—interesting for his theory of the intellectual spheres, and his plagiarism of Gazzali—is better known by the Hebrew translation¹.

Of course, the Arabic scholars translated by the Jews had formerly been read, and were the favourite authors; the most important are to be found in my *Jewish Literature* (§ 11, notes 21, 22), and in my work, *The Hebrew Translations in the Middle Ages*. But we do not only take into consideration those works which have been translated into Hebrew—and on such we have to inquire whether they are indeed directly translated from the Arabic or by the intermediation of a Latin translation out of Arabic—the Jews or baptized Jews were also the interpreters for translations into Latin, Spanish, French, and (perhaps?) Italian (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, V. Abschnitt), and they, for the most part, possessed some knowledge of the Arabic literature, for instance, the renowned Joh. Hispalensis or Aven Da'ud (twelfth century), Isaac ibn Sid, the Chasan of Toledo, who was the chief compiler of the so-called tables of Alphonso and the pretended praeses of the astronomical congress, which however never existed.

¹ Dieterici, however, exaggerates the influence of this work, see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 44; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 286.

M. STEINSCHNEIDER.

(To be continued.)

THE SEFER HA-GALUY.

I COULD have wished, for many reasons, that the task of proving the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* not Saadyah's had been undertaken by some one else. It has so often been my lot to fail to persuade when another would have won the case with a tithe of the evidence. Hence I look forward with little confidence to the result of this paper. It will in any case have been a pleasure to have passed some time in the society of Saadyah, one of the profoundest thinkers, most elegant writers, and most upright leaders that the Jewish race has produced, and to have endeavoured to clear his memory from what must be regarded as a serious blot upon it.

The statements about Saadyah's writings are based on independent examination of the originals, so far as they are at present accessible; the Commentary on the Proverbs forms vol. VI of the *Œuvres de Saadyah*, now publishing in Paris; the remaining volumes of this series have also been of use. For the Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsirah* I have used the edition of M. Lambert, Paris, 1891; for the *Imānāt* that of Landauer, Leyden, 1880; the single reference to his translation of the Pentateuch is from Walton's Polyglot; that to his translation of Job from the edition of Dr. John Cohn, Altona, 1889. Of Saadyah's life the best account is that by Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. V, 3rd ed.; I have in almost all cases verified the citations on which his assertions are based. To Dr. Neubauer's extraordinary command of Jewish literature I am deeply indebted; his *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, moreover, place at the disposal of the student of Jewish history a collection of materials which render it possible to tread safely on ground which, before their publication, was often dangerous. However, the documents collected by Dr. Harkavy in Part V of his *Studien und Mittheilungen*, St. Petersburg, 1891, give us the surest means of settling the question, and though the result of the present paper is at variance with Dr. Harkavy's, I hope I may be permitted to admire the industry and ingenuity which his work displays.

The *Sefer Ha-Galuy*, ostensibly by Saadyah, has recently come into prominence in connexion with the Ben-Sira controversy. The form in which it is published renders it, unfortunately, inaccessible to

many of those whom that controversy interests; for not many can read the Jewish Arabic of the original, and the Hebrew translation, which is the work of a relation of the discoverer Firkovitch, misrepresents it seriously in several places. For this no one is to blame. The first translator of such a document cannot be expected to get everything right; and the editor could not have foreseen that the day might come when it would be of importance that the book should be correctly rendered. Yet had the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* been published in German or English, it is possible that there would have been no Ben-Sira controversy. Its readers, instead of thinking it a witness for the authenticity of the Cairene Ecclesiasticus, might have been put on their guard against taking such a view.

Let us first consider the *a priori* likelihood of Saadyah having possessed the original Hebrew of Ben-Sira. The well-known *Kitāb Al-Fihrist*¹ was composed in the year 377 A. H. (987 A. D.), at a time when many persons who had known Saadyah were still alive². Its author obtained a list of the Jewish Scriptures from "a learned Jew," and a list of Christian Scriptures that had been translated into Arabic from "Yunus the Priest." Between these two lists the author of the *Fihrist* has inserted a catalogue of the chief works of Saadyah himself, probably obtained from the same Jew who gave him the list of the Jewish Scriptures; Saadyah being, according to this authority, absolutely unequalled as a writer of Hebrew, and the only Jewish writer of Arabic works on religion who is worth mentioning. We are therefore justified in concluding that the Jew who supplied the author of the *Fihrist* with his information was either a pupil of Saadyah, or at any rate a follower of Saadyah. Now the list of Jewish Scriptures contains the Canonical Books, with their Hebrew names, none of which offers the slightest difficulty in identification. It only adds besides the *Mishnah*, "a vast work ascribed to Moses, written partly in Chaldee, partly in Hebrew" (doubtless the word *Mishnah* was meant by this authority to include the *Gemara*), and the *Haftaroth*, "which are selections from the Sacred Books." Clearly then this follower of Saadyah, writing forty-five years (at most) after Saadyah's death, knows nothing of so important a monument of Hebrew as "the Wisdom of Ben-Sira."

But in the list of *Christian* Scriptures translated into *Arabic* the "Wisdom of Huwaisi'a, son of Sirak"³ figures. What is remarkable about this title is that whereas the Arabic translation is certainly made from Syriac, the name of the author is altered to suit the

¹ Ed. Flügel, Rödiger and Müller, see p. 23.

² Ibid.

³ See the editor's note, and Jawaliki's *Mu'arrab* near the end.

Greek text; and we learn from the *Fihrist* that this alteration goes back to the middle of the tenth century. As early then as that time, the difference between the two primary versions had attracted attention.

It might almost seem as if the author of the *Fihrist* had purposely told the world that in the tenth century the Christians had the wisdom of Ben-Sira, whereas the Jews had not. Let us now hear a witness of the early twelfth century. This is the author of Chronicle No. VI in Neubauer's first collection, whose date is fixed by the editor on what seem good grounds¹. He is deeply interested in literary history, and gives much information about the writers of the Jews. But of Ben-Sira he only knows through the Greek translation; for he calls Ecclesiasticus by what is evidently an ingenious Hebrew rendering of the name by which it is known in the Christian Church²; he calls the author by a modification of his Greek name; and he gives the Greek form of the name Onias³. Clearly then this writer knows as little of a Hebrew Ecclesiasticus as the authority of the *Fihrist*. Let us now consider what the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* says about Ben-Sira⁴.

"The Open Book" (as its title signifies, the words being taken from Jeremiah xxxii. 11) professes to be the Preface to a second edition of a work in ten chapters⁵, of which the chapter dealing with Saadyah's autobiography was the most important. It was in Hebrew, was cut up into verses, pointed and accented. As it met with unfavourable criticism, Saadyah, if the Preface is to be believed, reissued it with an Arabic translation and Preface. Only the Preface and the first few lines of the text are preserved.

It is very clear that the author of this Preface is greatly interested in Ben-Sira's book. At the commencement he justifies his own publication of a book on the ground that books had been produced by Ben-Sira, Eleazar Ben 'Ira, the five Hasmonoids, and the people of Kairawan in the author's own time. Presently he justifies the

¹ Loc. cit., xxi, n. 4.

² ספר חכמים; p. 167, l. 7 from the end.

³ Ibid. = 'Onlou. The name is known to the Talmud in this form also; the unpublished Dictionary of R. Tanchum has an interesting article on it.

⁴ Mas'udi (who was personally acquainted with Saadyah, but gets his facts from a Karaite), after mentioning that the LXX had often been translated into Arabic, speaks of the Jews as possessing twenty-four Hebrew books, and so implies the same as the author of the *Fihrist*. *Bibl. Geogr. Ar.*, VIII, 112, 113.

⁵ In the list in the *Fihrist*, where a work in ten chapters is mentioned, for *amthai* read *imandit*.

punctuation and accentuation of his own book on the ground that these other books had been pointed and accented by their authors. And finally before concluding, he treats his readers to some *morceaux choisis* of these books, by far the largest number of quotations being taken from Ben-Sira. Now if the contents of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* had resembled those of Ecclesiasticus, the space occupied by the latter work in the Preface would be less surprising; but since the two books have only one subject (the Praise of Wisdom) in common, the reason is less obvious. It will, however, be granted that Saadyah, if he be the author of this Preface, must, when he wrote it, have been fresh from the study of Ben-Sira.

Materials for dating this Preface, at any rate roughly, are easy to find. The first edition must have been issued after the quarrel between Saadyah and David B. Zakkai had broken out. The commencement of the dispute has been fixed by the researches of Grätz for the year 930 A. D.¹ But Saadyah and David were completely reconciled in 936, and Saadyah to the end of his life exhibited affectionate loyalty to David and his descendants. Now the Preface before us shows that Saadyah is by no means reconciled to David, who is severely attacked in it, and whom the author apparently hopes by the violence of his lampoons to frighten into better ways². Therefore the Preface is not later than 936.

Attention must, however, be called to some difficulties. The author, quite early in his Preface, speaks of his *residence in Irak* as an event in the past. "I too, *when in Irak*³, composed, at the suggestion of one who was chief at the Capital, a Book, &c." Now when was Saadyah *not* in Irak? Only, it would seem, before his migration from Egypt. For that Irak cannot mean Baghdad in this sentence is clear; that is termed "the Capital"⁴. The locality of Sora is known; Pumbadita has been identified by the researches of Neubauer and Ainsworth⁵ with Jubbah; and these two places are juxtaposed in some of the works of the Arabic geographers, as in the Sawad or Irak⁶. Hence it seems clear that after 928 Saadyah was to the end of his life in Irak. But we have seen that the Preface cannot have been written before 930. Thus this unlucky "when I was in Irak" seems to wreck the credit of the Preface.

We must, however, consider the probability of the book in question

¹ Grätz, p. 462.

² P. 155, l. 19.

³ P. 151, 21. For the grammatical point see Vernier, § 965.

⁴ See *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, VI, 236, 21.

⁵ *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I, 435.

⁶ See Yakut, s. vv., *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, loc. cit., 237; De Goeje, *ibid.*, VIII, 427, 432; also I, 85, 4 a. f, II, 166.

being written when Saadyah was in Irak. The Letter of Ibn Meir¹, to which that book was an answer, bears date 923². Saadyah is violently abused in it, but it also claims for the Western community certain rights over the Eastern community. While therefore it was natural that Saadyah should reply to it, he could scarcely do so without the authorization of the "Head of the Captivity at Baghdad," i.e. David Ben Zakkai. This he appears to have done in a book bearing date 926, as we shall presently see. If Saadyah was still in Egypt, the length of time between Ibn Meir's missive and Saadyah's answer is accounted for by the number of cross-communications required. And that Saadyah only went *once* to the East to remain there, appears from the statements of the historians. David Ben Zakkai "sent to Egypt to fetch him in 928³." The time when he was in Fayyum is spoken of as the time "before he went to Assyria⁴."

This matter is not rendered clearer, but more obscure, by the scandalous document which forms the last of Harkavy's supplements. It is a fragment of a history of Saadyah's struggle, evidently by a violent partisan. In virulence and obscenity it exceeds anything of the sort I have ever seen—the manifesto of the Spaniards at the time of the Armada scarcely comes near it. In this chronicle the charges are brought against Saadyah which the Preface professes to answer. "He wrote a scroll in imitation of the prophets, and falsified his lineage, saying, 'I am of the sons of Judah' . . . Then he said, 'Why did you not claim to be of the tribe of Judah *these thirteen years*?'⁵" The answer in the Preface is, as will be seen, a ridiculous quibble, but the supposed Saadyah distinctly states that he had *preciously no occasion to give his pedigree*⁶. This being so, it would seem that the *terminus a quo* of the thirteen years must be either Saadyah's birth, or his migration to the East. But it cannot be the former; therefore it must be the latter. According to the ordinary view which makes Saadyah come to the East in 928 for the first time, this charge will be brought in 941, five years after the quarrel had been patched up, and about a year after David B. Zakkai's death! But if we make Saadyah come to the East in 923, we get 936 as the date of the charge, which is too late; 930⁷ is probably the

¹ Identified by Harkavy.

² P. 219, 6.

³ R. Sherira, in Neubauer's *Chronicles*, I, 40. *Juhasin*, ed. Filipowski, p. 206. Grätz, p. 258. Cp. Pinaker, *Lik. Kad.*, p. 22, ult.

⁴ Dunash B. Tamim, ap. Grätz, p. 457.

⁵ P. 229.

⁶ P. 165, 16.

⁷ According to Nathan Babli (Neubauer, *Chronicles*, II, 81), the date of the *Herem* must have been 930. And the charge is brought *before* the *Herem*.

latest possible date for it. But if we make him come to the East in 917, we shall require either *three* visits to the East, or a visit of seven years' duration for the first. Moreover the supposition of two or more visits conflicts with the assertion of the *Herem* that Saadyah was an unknown man when he came to the East, whose pious airs took people in¹. The true solution seems clearly to be that the author of the virulent chronicle has by mistake made Saadyah's opponent count from the time of Saadyah's arrival in the East to the *time of his death*.

For the present purpose the rough dating from 930 to 936 may be provisionally accepted for the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*; the date of the real work was probably 934 or 935. For Abraham B. Chiyyah in his *Megillath Ha-Megalleh*² mentions the books in which Saadyah dealt with Eschatology in the following order: the Commentary on Daniel, the *Imānūt*, and the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*. There might be some ground for putting the first (as one of a series) out of its proper order; but the order of the other two should be chronological. The time of Saadyah's forced retirement would be the natural time for him to write memoirs. And since he could scarcely have made the mistake about his being in Irak in 926, we have already a double presumption against the genuineness of the Preface.

Let us now look at Saadyah's writings, and see what we can glean from them of his acquaintance with Ben-Sira. We go first to his Commentary on the Proverbs, where we should expect to find frequent reference to Ecclesiasticus, since we are told in this Preface that Ecclesiasticus resembles Proverbs. But we are disappointed; there is not a single reference to Ben-Sira. Yet in this Commentary he is not unwilling to illustrate the Proverbs from extra-Biblical sources. On p. 48 he cites successively several Talmudic Tractates. On p. 160 he quotes *Aboth* three times. On p. 174 he borrows an apophthegm from a Mohammedan *adab*-book. A comparison of the descriptions of Wisdom in Ecclesiasticus, especially in c. xxiv, with that of Proverbs viii, would have an interest for any one familiar with both books; but Saadyah makes no allusion to Ben-Sira's description.

Next we come to the Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsirah*, finished 930 A.D. There is no reference in it to Ben-Sira; but, since several pages of this book are devoted to the fixing of grammatical rules from pointed texts, it is difficult to explain the absence of any such reference, if the author believed himself to possess a text of Ecclesiasticus actually pointed by Ben-Sira. However, he cites from the Talmud

¹ P. 234.

² Grätz, p. 463. I have verified the citation in a Bodleian MS.

two passages which have reference to the lawfulness of metaphysics (p. 6), and one of these, which is really Ben-Sira's (iii. 21), is ascribed by him to Eleazar Ben 'Ira. The natural inference would be that this was a slip of memory on the part of either Saadyah or his scribe, not surprising in the case of a name of no great note¹.

In the Religious Philosophy (*Al-Imānāt*), composed in 933, the subject of the lawfulness of metaphysics recurs on p. 21, but the passage of "Eleazar Ben 'Ira" is omitted, though the other Talmudic passage is quoted. This looks as if Saadyah's mistake had excited censure; and indeed during the years 930-933 Saadyah's enemies doubtless made the most they could of any errors they could find in his writings—there were not many to be found. Later on in the book he does cite Ben-Sira *once* (p. 301), but *from the Talmud* (*B. Sanhedrin*, 100 b); the Cairene text (xlii. 9) differs considerably.

Thus far then we have at least made it probable that up to the year 933 Saadyah knew no more of Ben-Sira than can be learnt from the meagre citations in the Talmud, and felt but small interest in these. If there is an argument from silence, here we have a case of one. Saadyah is a great quoter; in the tenth book of his religious philosophy he goes through the whole range of human pursuits, marriage, parenthood, money-making, pleasure-seeking, feasting, ambition—subjects about which Ecclesiasticus is a mine of aphorisms: but yet he only quotes it *once*, and then from a *Talmudic quotation*. On p. 89 he polemizes against those who say wisdom is an entity apart from God, basing their opinion on Prov. viii. 22. "This theory," he says, "I have already refuted; I have shown that the text means that God created things in such a way as to make his wisdom manifest." This is clearly the view of Ben-Sira in ch. i, whereas in ch. xxiv Wisdom is identified with Holy Scripture; but Saadyah takes no notice of either passage.

The editor of the *Imānāt* gives some reasons for thinking Bk. x later than the rest; in any case it is not earlier than 933. Had Saadyah known the Cairene Ecclesiasticus then, he would have quoted it often, and have quoted it according to what he supposed to be the original, not according to an inaccurate citation in the Talmud. Therefore, if he wrote the Preface to the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*, he must some time after 933 have become thoroughly familiar with the Cairene text. The book was not then one with which he had been familiar from childhood (as we are with our Apocrypha), but one with which he had comparatively late in life become acquainted at Baghdad. And now let us see what the supposed Saadyah says

¹ Ramban at the end of his Preface to the Torah quotes this same passage from "one of our Holy Rabbis."

about it. He asserts that Ben-Sira, who evidently lived before the Maccabees,—for he regularly names the book of Ben-Sira at the head of his list—wrote a book resembling Proverbs which he cut up into verses and *provided with points and accents*. By these points and accents he clearly means those in use in our ordinary Hebrew Bibles, for he identifies those employed by Ben-Sira with those employed by himself, of which he gives a specimen in the fragment of the text of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*. But later on he states most distinctly that the book was not handed down with the sacred books of the Jews¹. For such transmission is one of the constituent elements of inspiration, which Ben-Sira's book did not possess. The question is what can be made of these statements. First, can Saadyah have really thought that Ben-Sira provided his book with points and accents? It is easy to find passages in his genuine writings which prove that he cannot have been so ignorant. In the Commentary on the Proverbs (p. 52) he polemizes against the opponents of the Rabbanites. "None of these persons," he says, "have taken any trouble over the Massorah, the rules for writing the Bible, its 'superfluous and deficient,' its grammar and vowels², nor about the statutes and judgments, and the rest of the religious matters contained in the Tradition. They found all ready made for them, and merely pick a few holes." Hence it is clear that he regarded the vocalization of the Bible as a recent achievement, and this follows from the statements of the Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsirah*. The notion that the author of that book reckons the vowels among the letters he does not tolerate³. The vocalization of the Bible is done partly by observation of traditional pronunciation, partly by principles; "the school of Tiberias double the *Resh* in the Bible, but that of Irak does so in speech, but not in the Bible; I have looked for the rules of the latter, but cannot find them: the rules of the former school shall be given later on⁴." At the close of the Commentary he prays that he may be numbered among the savants who provided the nation with a grammar of their sacred books, and who committed the *Sefer Yetsirah* to writing⁵. The exact parallel to Saadyah's statements about the vocalization of the Bible is to be found in the way in which Mohammedan scholars speak of the vocalization of the Koran. Othman has the consonants fixed, and sends copies to the chief capitals of Islam; but these require experts to read them. Presently vowel and pausal signs are invented and the pronunciation

¹ P. 163, 18.² اعراب و اشكال. It makes little difference whether the second word is pointed as a verb or as a noun.³ P. 42, 5 a. f.⁴ P. 46, 4.⁵ P. 105.

of the most famous readers is artificially recorded. But there is some ground for preferring one reader's pronunciation to that of another; and this may be grammatical or theological¹. If the founders of Hebrew grammar had had pointed texts 1,000 years or more old, these must have been made the basis of their studies. Therefore Saadyah, who took no mean part in founding Hebrew grammar, cannot have written in this ignorant way. Rashi², who is far less acute than Saadyah, and who lived several generations later, betrays himself for a moment into thinking the Gemara speaks of written accents, but immediately recalls the error. Ibn Ezra sometimes charges Saadyah with neglecting the accents; "he ventures to correct the Accentuator!" he exclaims on Exodus xvii. 15; "if Saadyah's rendering were right, why did the Accentuator combine the words otherwise?" he asks on xxxiv. 6³. Now if Saadyah thought Ben-Sira's book pointed by himself, he must have supposed the books of the Prophets to have been pointed by themselves; and indeed the words of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* imply that he did think so. But then he could not have ventured to correct the Accentuator; since the Prophets must (on our author's own principle)⁴ have known best what they meant. From Ibn Ezra's injudicious criticism we learn that Saadyah was well aware that the accents were of very little authority, and could be neglected with little danger; Ibn Ezra should have been more cautious in criticizing the great master.

If, however, Saadyah by any possibility meant *traditional* points and accents, then it is quite evident that such a book must have been included in the religious literature of the Jews. The idea of a non-canonical book with a traditional vocalization and intonation is too absurd for discussion. The only possibility that remains is that Saadyah meant these statements *as a jest*; in his opinion, or in that of the satirist who uses his name, Ben-Sira's book with its points and accents has been suddenly sprung on the Jewish community. Hence he humorously suggests that Ben-Sira pointed it himself!

The next point that should have excited suspicion is the character of the mysterious author Eleazar Ben 'Ira. As has been seen, in 930 Saadyah wrote his name by mistake for Ben-Sira. By 933 he has learnt to write it correctly. By the time he writes the

¹ The best authority for this is Suyuti, *Iḥṣān*, frequently printed. See also Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Korans*. Some further references are given in the Preface to my *Chrestomathia Baidawiana*.

² B. *Berachoth*, 62 a.

³ I owe the references to Ibn Ezra to Dukes, in Ewald's *Beiträge*, II, 84, n. 2. The first is inaccurate.

⁴ P. 181, 14.

Sefer Ha-Galuy he is thoroughly familiar with Ecclesiasticus. Now the fragments edited by Dr. Schechter contain the verse which in 930 Saadyah ascribed to Eleazar Ben-'Ira. Saadyah, who knew it by heart, could not fail to see that the verse was Ben-Sira's, and, if Eleazar had it too, the latter, who is regularly mentioned after Ben-Sira, must have borrowed it from Ben-Sira. But in spite of this Saadyah is apparently incorrigible. He gives three select morsels of Eleazar and assigns the first place to this very verse!

Thirdly, the company in which the work of Ben-Sira is mentioned is most compromising. After Eleazar Ben 'Ira comes the book written by the five Hasmonaids, and indeed pointed and accented by them. Their names are given in full so that there can be no mistake; and a text (ver. 25) is quoted from their work which proves it to be the Aramaic text of the *Megillath Antiochus*, edited by Jellinek (*Bet Ha-Midrash*, VI). This is called by Jellinek "a late liturgical product." Mr. Abrahams has published in the number of this REVIEW for January, 1899, another text of the work, and asserts¹ that it *must be classed with some other mediaeval compilations in Aramaic*. According to both editors, it is based ultimately on the Greek Books of the Maccabees.

Since then Saadyah, according to Jellinek and Abrahams, mistook a "mediaeval compilation," based ultimately on Greek documents, for an original of the time of the Maccabees, he may clearly have made a similar mistake about the Cairene Ecclesiasticus. If his authority is sufficient to prove the latter work authentic, it is sufficient to prove the *Megillath Antiochus* the work of the five Maccabees. If his quotation is in the one case insufficient to identify the document, it is insufficient in the other case to identify the document. *Science has one weight and one balance.*

That the conclusions of the editors about the origin of this document are correct must be apparent to any one who glances at either text. The wide difference between the recensions is sufficient to show that the work was of no authority. We are told that there is a reference to it in the *Halachoth G'doloth*; but this is an error, for the work there cited (ed. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888, p. 615) is the *Megillath Ta'anith*, which is a comparatively old work, ascribed in the Gemara of *B. Shabbath*, 13 b, to Hananiah, son of Hezekiah. Dr. Neubauer has edited it excellently in the second volume of his *Chronicles*. From the *Tosaphoth* on *Shabbath*, 21 b, it may be justly inferred that the author was either unacquainted with the *Megillath Antiochus*, or at any rate paid little attention to it. The story is there told how, after the cleansing of the Temple by the Maccabees, one pot of oil was found

¹ P. 295.

"deposited," with the seal of the high priest. The glossator is interested in the question *where* it was deposited—for if the heathen had handled it, it would have been of no use. It might have been worth observing that in the *Megillath Antiochus*, in which this passage occurs in Aramaic, for "deposited" the word "sealed" is substituted.

The influence of various intermediate languages is traceable in the different versions of this work. The word for "shrine," used in both the copies referred to (פֶּרֶז), seems to be Christian Syriac, and to have been misunderstood by the redactor¹. The names *Baghres* and *Makanee* show traces of the Arabic alphabet. A copy in the Bodleian Library, which has the "Assyrian" pointing, mentions that the river of Jerusalem was dammed, implying that the author was little acquainted with Eastern geography. Mr. Abrahams' copy makes Antiochus issue from "Rome," thereby betraying the influence of Arabic or Persian; for it is chiefly in these languages that that name is used for "Grèce." "When Darius," says Firdausi, "heard that the army of Rome was on the move²." The etymology of the name Maccabee, "slayer of the mighty," seems to be a combination of Hebrew and Greek³. However, even without these clues it is certain that all the texts of this work that are at present accessible are of such a nature that not even the meanest intelligence could mistake it for the autobiography of the five Hasmoneids.

Then, can Saadyah have made such a mistake? The *Sefer Yetsirah* is ascribed to Abraham; but Saadyah expresses himself in the most scholarly way on this subject. "Abraham may have *thought* it; but it must have been put together and clothed with words in recent times, and indeed in Syria, as the double R shows⁴." A number in the text disagrees with an actual calculation; Saadyah collates MSS. and emends the text. In the *Imānūt* he notices an opinion ascribed to the Brahmins, and explains what the Brahmins really think. I doubt whether there has ever been a more cautious writer than Saadyah. Hence, if he wrote in this style about the *Megillah*, he must have been *jesting*; and hence what he says about Ben-Sira is also a jest.

To the present writer, then, it seems that what the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* says about Ben Sira and the other books is by itself sufficient to condemn both it and them. We will now examine it from another point of view. A book bearing this name was known before Firkovitch's time by the quotation in the work of Abraham b. Chiyah,

¹ The Persian has באמרה (= במה?).

² Vuller's *Chrestomathia Shahnamiana*, first verse. The same usage is found in Pehlevi; see West's *Ardak-Virāf*, p. 141.

³ Perhaps סגור *Sa'lovs*.

⁴ Pp. 12, 13.

and another in the *Sefer Ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham b. David (c. 1165), where, after a brief account of the Gaon, we are told (in the style of the Books of Kings) that "the rest of the acts of R. Saadyah, and the good which he did unto Israel, verily they are written in the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*¹." When Firkovitch discovered the document which we are discussing, it was evidently more valuable than had been generally anticipated, as being an *autobiography*; on the other hand, it was evident that only a few lines of the original work survived, all the rest being preface. Steinschneider immediately suspected that it was a forgery. Let us try and find the reasons for his supposition.

The few lines of Hebrew constituting the text of the work offer great difficulties of interpretation. It commences thus: דִּבְרֵי סֵפֶר הַגָּלוּי הַבָּמִים רְאִיָּה וְחִסּוֹן מִסֵּפֶר אֲמָרִי צִוְּתָהּ הֵם אוֹצָרוֹ. The last clause is an imitation of Isa. xxxiii. 6, and doubtless means "correct words are its store," i.e. it, the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*, is a store of correct diction. This agrees with what we read in the Preface. The author divides his work into ten sections, of which nos. 1-7 are special, whereas 8, 9, and 10 are spread over the whole work. In no. 8 he is going to teach the Jews pure or correct Hebrew, "because I have seen that, *since Arabic and Nabataean have got the upper hand*, they have forgotten their pure language and their eloquent speech." In no. 9 he will instruct them in composition and construction generally; this will be, as it were, a torch to guide them in arranging their discourse and their ideas. In no. 10 he will teach them conjunctions; "for no discourse is quite intelligible without conjunctions to knit it together, and make the ideas logical; else it will fall to pieces and be spoiled²." The author foresees the happiest results to the youth of his nation from the study of his work; they will all become eloquent, and realize Isaiah's prophecy (xxxii. 4).

This, then, is his promise; his language is to be faultlessly pure, his grammar and syntax without a flaw. Now from the *Commentary on Sefer Yetsirah* we can gauge Saadyah's ability in this respect; and, though he is unlikely to have boasted in this style, it would have been in his power to keep his promise tolerably well. But what a performance have we here! The first sentence alone contains two words of great obscurity, רְאִיָּה and חִסּוֹן. רְאִיָּה in the next line is from the Targum of Job. The word חִסּוֹן is exceedingly faulty for חֲסוֹן. The form סִלְהָבָה is not Biblical, but Arabic. The syntax of the first verse seems decidedly open to criticism. The author, however, undertakes to help us, premising that, since it is his own book,

¹ Neubauer, *Chronicles*, I, 66.

² Pp. 155, 21 to 157, 7.

he will know best what it meant. But his translation is as bad as his text. He renders the title of the book, "The Banishing Book"—a worse mistake than even a beginner could make; it is bad enough to render it "The Book of the Exile," as some have done. Then the Arabic is also ungrammatical, and appears to follow the principle of substituting for the Hebrew text the Arabic words that most resemble it in sound. Then much of the Hebrew is pointed in an impossible way. Clearly, then, a beginner's exercise could scarcely be more faulty than this model of style and correctness!

From this fact, which is unquestionable, and which Dr. Harkavy recognizes to some extent, some inferences may be drawn.

1. We have here as much of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* in this form as was ever written. Had the author attempted to write a page, he could not have maintained the same level of error. To cram so much bad Hebrew and bad Arabic into eight lines must have taken days, if not weeks. Moreover, an author of whose work Harkavy has discovered a fragment (p. 182) quotes sufficient of this passage to show that Saadyah's Hebrew was correct. For *להכות בחלל* this author has *להכות בחלל*, which is quite unobjectionable; for *בזק אור* he has *בזק*. Now this author tells us that the words were defended by Saadyah in the *Kutāb al-I'tibār*, and that Rab Mubashshir replied to this defence in a somewhat lengthy critique. According to the letter of R. Sherira (p. 40) Rab Mubashshir died in 237 Sel. But we are happily able to correct this to 238 from the statement of another chronicler¹, and now we can arrange our documents. A work on the Calendar, bearing a name translated into Hebrew as *Sefer Ha-Hakkārah*, of which the original Arabic would probably be *Al-I'tibār*, was composed by Saadyah in this very year 238². It was in Arabic. Another quotation, probably from the same book³, shows that it was in reply to "a wicked man," one of the *Minim*. As the last phrase is one which Jews apply to members of a different party from their own, it seems clear that Saadyah's book was in answer to the letter of Ibn Meir, of which Harkavy has published two fragments, in which "next year" is said to be 854 from the Destruction of the Temple, i.e. 924⁴. The Sel. year 238 corresponds with 926. If Harkavy's conjecture be correct, Rab Mubashshir replied to Saadyah's words *at least four years after the former's death*; or else we should have to conclude that Saadyah, although his words, when grammatically correct, had excited criticism, deliber-

¹ Neubauer, *Chronicles*, I, 189.

² *Œuvres de Saadyah*, IX, 149. The *Fihrist* says Saadyah's work on the Calendar was called *Al-'Ubbār*, which is not Arabic in this sense; but the title may have contained both words.

³ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁴ P. 219, 6.

ately turned them into impossible Hebrew, and placed them at the commencement of a work which was to be a model of style!

If, on the other hand, this Preface is by a person whose design is to ridicule Saadyah, he very naturally selected for parody some words of Saadyah's which had become notorious.

Dr. Harkavy strangely prefers the barbarous Hebrew to the correct, and meets the difficulty of the title of the book as follows. Rab Mubashshir purposely altered it, he supposes, "in order not to call attention to the fact that Saadyah had been *banished* by his enemies." But neither the Hebrew nor the Arabic title of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* could have suggested such an idea. The Hebrew title must have suggested to any Jewish hearer the passage in Jeremiah whence it is taken, and where it means "unsealed book." To Syrian Christians *Galuy* might have suggested *Gālūyā*, "exile"; but assuredly this Preface was not intended for their perusal. On the other hand, the Arabic translation of the title given in the Preface means "Banishing Book," "Hunting Book," possibly "Passing Book"; but certainly not "The Book of the Exile," unless Arabic grammar be abandoned.

It may be added that eminent scholars have sometimes erred in identifying books with different titles which cover the same ground. Von Kremer, who knew Abu' l-'Ala's writings well, declared that his *Kitāb Al-Fuṣūl* was another name for his *Luzūmiyyāt*; but he was shown to be mistaken by Goldziher. If Rab Mubashshir (in his grave) had wished out of motives of delicacy to avoid mentioning the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*, surely he would have called it "Saadyah's Memoirs" rather than mislead the reader, who would be at least likely to confuse it with the *Sefer Ha-Hakkārah*. Indeed, in the case of an author like Saadyah, who "wrote books without number," such a wilful alteration would be most undesirable.

2. Saadyah cannot have seriously given this as a specimen of pure and correct Hebrew. For we see from his writings that he knew exactly what words were to be found in the Bible, the Targum, and the Talmud. This appears from his commentaries, especially from that on the *Sefer Yetsirah*. He there observes¹ that by transposing the radicals you get different roots. Several transpositions of the radicals פש are to be found in the sacred tongue; פש only in the Targum; קש is not found "in this language at all" (though it is found in Arabic). Therefore he must have known that מן was a word of the Targum, which must not be used in a pattern of correct Hebrew; and that עש was "not used in this language at all."²

¹ P. 51.

² I should not affirm that Saadyah could not have written Hebrew of

Some of the points in this satire can be understood without difficulty. Saadyah has been criticized for guessing at the meaning of Hebrew words from the Arabic words that most resembled them. He rendered כסנז in Deut. xxxii. 34 by the Arabic *maknūz*, and this translation is reproduced here. כסנז = *makhzūn*, similarly reproduces his rendering of Isa. xxiii. 18. צחזח contains a hit at the title of one of Saadyah's books, and its employment as an abstract singular is to ridicule Saadyah's note on Prov. ix. 10.

3. But since Saadyah is the object of the satire, it is unlikely that he can be the author of it. It has no point unless Saadyah or persons who follow Saadyah are hit. And though his Arabic translation of the Bible is obliquely assailed, it must be some performance in bad Hebrew which was associated with the Rabbanite party that is mainly attacked. And one of the points of attack will be the employment of Arabic and Nabataean words. I know of no book which can be more effectively attacked on the score of Arabizing than the Cairene Ecclesiasticus. That such words as חלק "create," רצד "watch," רעה "respect," רצה "illuminate" are Arabic, and indeed Mohammedan Arabic, need not be proved. And the employment of Arabic words could be justified by the usage of the Mishnah. *Shabbath*, 51 b, with *nāḳah*, *khiṣām*, *zimām*, takes us into the heart of Arabia, and the employment of words like these amid what professes to be Hebrew justly provokes ridicule.

What the author means by *Nabataean* words is not at first sight so clear. A contemporary of Saadyah, Ibn Al-Fakih¹, tells us that the

this sort, but only that he would not have placed it at the head of a book which was to be a pattern of pure and correct language. For by "pure Hebrew" every one means "Biblical Hebrew," and he had only to consult his lists to see whether the words occurred in the Bible or did not occur; he might have forgotten to do this in the body of the work, but could not have failed to do so at the outset. The fragment printed by Harkavy, p. 187 sqq., which he thinks comes from the Commentary on the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*, shows that the author allowed himself considerable licence—as indeed from his words in the Commentary on the *Sefer Yetzirah* we should expect that Saadyah would—but not on this scale. Moreover, the words about Wisdom, "The Lord God has reserved it for his might, and given to his *Gaon* its dwelling-place," contain an ambiguity that the *Gaon* himself would surely have avoided. The habit of some Oriental writers, of making their works purposely obscure, so as to need comments by themselves, is well known, and Saadyah may have done as others did. But then in his Preface he would have explained that it was the difficulty of the text which rendered a commentary necessary—and to this point there is no allusion.

¹ *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, V, 35.

Nabataeans were "the barbarians of the Sawad." Another contemporary, the learned and accurate Mas'udi¹, adds that they were the relics of the ancient Babylonians; and he tells us that in their language *arya* meant "lion," with plural *aryan*. This word is familiar to us in Aramaic, and it is likely that Mas'udi's informant purposely altered the plural *ary'wān* with the object of deriving the name *Iran* from it. A number of Nabataean words are reckoned by Suyuṭi² among the foreign elements in the Koran; and a still more interesting collection can be made from the Mu'arrab of Jawaliḳi³, who does not confine his observations to the Sacred Book. The authorities followed by Suyuṭi and Jawaliḳi include the most distinguished names of Arabic philology. Al-Asma'i made the remark that the Nabataeans alter the Arabic *Ẓ* to *Ṭ*; he illustrates this by *Bar-Ṭulla*, which, he says, means "son of the shade." We have no difficulty in recognizing this as Jewish Aramaic. Another point noticed by the Arabic philologists is that in Nabataean the soft aspirate *Ḥ* is pronounced *H*, and by the aid of this observation we can recognize many Aramaic words. LA DAHLA⁴ is Nabataean for "do not fear" (לא דחלא); HASS for "back" (Syriac and New-Syriac ܚܝܬ); MHRZK "imprisoned" (ܡܚܪܩ) *B. Nedarim*, 91b, ap. Levy); HNDKUḲ "lotus" (Syriac and Talm. ܚܢܕܩܬ); finally, the name HUB⁵, said to be a woman's name in Nabataean, which by an extraordinary coincidence is actually found, with the spelling ḤuBU, in a real Nabataean inscription⁶. Now this substitution of *H* for *Ḥ* not only appears in the spelling of certain words in the Babylonian Gemara⁷, but we may infer from some of the etymologies there given that the latter sound had become unpronounceable. Thus, in the interpretation of dreams it appears that if you see a HASPED, it implies that you will be "spared" (ḤAS) and "delivered⁸." The parallel substitution of *N* for *Ṣ* is certified for the language of the Gemara by the famous various reading at the commencement of *Abodah Zarah*, but also by some express statements⁹. A similar change may be inferred for the language called Nabataean by the statement of Suyuṭi that עברת meant "I killed" (אוכרת) in the latter tongue.

These facts and a certain number of further coincidences in vocabulary justify us in identifying the language of the Babylonian

¹ *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, VIII, 38.

² *Iḳān*, pp. 317-26 (Calcutta, 1857).

³ Ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1865.

⁴ *Jawaliki*, p. 67. Both Suyuṭi and Jawaliki give the words in alphabetical order.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶ Euting, *Nabatlische Inschriften*, Index.

⁷ So ܚܪ for ܚܪܪ (Syriac).

⁸ *Berachoth*, 37a (cf. *Moed Qaṭon*, ad init.).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 32a.

Gemara with these authors' "Nabataean." נבטא, says Jawaliḳi, is Nabataean for *ḥurdi*, "match-boarding." This word occurs in *Baba Bathra*, 6a, but the Rabbis are not clear about its meaning. נפנא, according to the same author, is Nabataean for "wind"; it has that meaning in Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic. נבמא, according to Suyuṭi, meant "vineyard" in Nabataean; it has that sense (with *ē* for *ā*) in *Baba Metsia*, 73a. נבבא in Nabataean, says the same, means "our writing"; he probably refers to the familiar נב, which properly signifies any form of contract¹. נבבא in Nabataean means "readers"; as the word is meant for the plural of נבא, this is sufficiently accurate². We should be glad to know whether the Nabataeans formed their present tense with *K*, as this idiom, which the researches of Mr. Arsen Aidyanean might show to have been borrowed from vulgar Armenian³, is probably the most characteristic of all the peculiarities of the dialect we are discussing.

It appears, then, that in the language of good Arabic authors of the tenth century "Nabataean" meant the vernacular language of Irak, which, owing to its large borrowings from Persian, was by some authors coupled with that language, and by others even identified with it and Syriac⁴. By the "Nabataean, which had ousted the pure Hebrew," the author of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* means the language of the Babylonian Gemara, and probably has in mind in this sentence the gross Talmudisms which have been noticed in the Cairene Ecclesiasticus. But would Saadyah have either called the language of the Gemara "Nabataean," or complained that it was ousting pure Hebrew? It seems clear that he would have done neither. He is responsible for making the Babylonian Talmud the chief study of the Jews, while he has also the merit of having helped to reduce the Hebrew language to rules; but he doubtless was certain that the two studies could be carried on simultaneously without the one endangering the other.

4. Had not Saadyah been the founder of a school, he would only have been satirized in his lifetime. But it must be remembered that he was the champion who won the cause of the Rabbanites. His place in the history of Judaism corresponds remarkably with that of Abu'l-Ḥasan Al-Ash'ari among the Mohammedans. Owing to Saadyah the Rabbanites are the orthodox Jews and the Karaites a sect. Now

¹ Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hdw.*, p. 176.

² נבבא, for "son of man," is mentioned as Nabataean by a very early writer, Ibn Kṭaibah, *Adab al-Katib*, p. 176. Most of the above words have been identified by Nöldeke and Fränkel.

³ *Critical Grammar* (Vienna, 1866), II, 76 (in modern Armenian).

⁴ *Mafatih Al-'Ulum*, ed. Van Vloten, p. 117.

the defeated are apt in such a case to hate the conqueror for a long series of generations. That this was so in Saadyah's case is proved by what Jepheth Ibn Ali (who was two generations after Saadyah) says of him. When "the Fayyumi" is referred to in Jepheth's writings, the reference is accompanied with a curse, or at least an expression of contempt. "He ruined Israel¹;" "God shall take vengeance on him and his like²." These expressions occur in a book written forty years after Saadyah's death. Unless I am mistaken, wherever Jepheth calls attention to a grammatical, linguistic, or other error on the part of "those who do not know the language," Saadyah is the object of his criticisms. How long this bitterness was kept up by the Karaites I do not know; but as Jepheth's writings were (in spite of their feebleness) copied and read for some four centuries, it probably was maintained for a great length of time³. This hatred of the dead is an extraordinary phenomenon, but parallels to it are easy to find. Dozy observes that still when the Shiites come to Medinah, they say over the graves of the three Caliphs, *ḡallāhu 'llāhu*, "may God roast him," for "may God be merciful to him"—such is their affection for Ali⁴. We shall see reason presently for putting the date of the present satire after 962 on internal evidence; how long after must probably be fixed by the nature of the MS., which shows signs of being an autograph. The author must certainly have had the real *Sefer Ha-Galuy* before him; but then that seems to have been read in the twelfth century, as we have seen, and several of Saadyah's writings to which allusion is made are still classics.

That the author should have got up the history of Saadyah with sufficient care to enable him to personate the Gaon at all is surprising; but facts can surprise us without being impossibilities. The documents collected by Harkavy show that the materials for a minute study of Saadyah's history existed for some centuries after his death; unpublished writings of his fell after his death into the hands of Karaites⁵: and we have seen that the desire to present Saadyah in a ludicrous and repulsive light was also present. The production of the retranslation of Ecclesiasticus and the *Megillath Antiochus* gave the witty pamphleteer an occasion for practising his art. The *Megillah* survived, being but gently hit, and being connected with the Jewish liturgy. But the document which to scholars of the nineteenth century proved the genuineness of the Cairene Ecclesiasticus seems to have driven it off the stage in the uncritical Middle Ages.

¹ *Comm. on Daniel*, ed. D. S. M., p. 111, 17.

² *Ibid.*, 20.

³ Pinsker, *Lit. Kad.*, p. 174, quotes an attack on Saadyah of about the year 1050 A. D.

⁴ Dozy, *L'Islamisme*.

⁵ Pinsker, *7''*, appendix, p. 37.

Our conclusion, then, from an examination of the ostensible fragment of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* is that it cannot be genuine on the following grounds. (1) Both it and the Preface lay the greatest possible stress on the correctness of the Hebrew, and this Hebrew is grossly and even scandalously impure and incorrect; but we know from Saadyah's writings that if he had chosen to make such a promise as is here given, he could have performed it. (2) The words are evidently a wilful parody of some words actually used by Saadyah in a book bearing a different title, and criticized by Rab Mubashshir, who died four years before the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* can have been written. (3) We learn from the Preface that the book commenced in a different way¹.

We may now proceed to analyse the Preface.

The author commences by saying that since prophecy has ceased, it is the duty of the learned to chronicle events and write down their ideas; and mentions, as persons who have done so, Simon son of Jesus son of Eleazar son of Sira, Eleazar son of 'Ira, the five Hasmonaids, the people of Kairawan of his own time who wrote a book about what had been done to them by Sa'di the Christian, and finally himself when, during his residence in Irak, he had composed a work called the Book of Feasts in answer to a letter of Ibn Meir. He had also written a book recounting the troubles and vexations he had undergone at the hands of Ibn Meir's(?) friends; which is apparently identical with the *Sefer Ha-Galuy*.

We have had occasion to deal already with most of this humorous list. Dr. Harkavy has a learned excursus on the book of the people of Kairawan, but all that he can show is that Saadyah had intercourse with the Rabbis of that town. I strongly suspect that "Sa'di the Christian" is Saadyah himself. The Book of Feasts of which we know was in Arabic.

After giving this list of books he proceeds to sketch the contents of the present work, which is to be in ten sections—the same number as the *Imānāt* contains. As we shall see, he cannot make out more than seven.

1. "Description of Wisdom, how we found it out, virtues of its lovers, defects of its haters. The reason for my writing this was that those people hated me owing to their hatred of Wisdom, and their desire that there should be neither wisdom nor justice among the Jews."

The spitefulness of this sentence is not sufficient to condemn it, but it seems unworthy of Saadyah. If the account of Saadyah's troubles given by Nathan Babli be correct—and it is followed

¹ See below.

literally by Grätz—the cause of his conflict was not his enemies' dislike of philosophy, but their attempt to extort money unlawfully. When Saadyah had an excellent case, it is difficult to see why he should misrepresent it at the outset. We shall see presently that the Preface distinctly asserts that the book began in quite a different way; and in any case it is more likely that an enemy (such as we suppose this satirist to have been) would conceal the real cause of the dispute than that Saadyah would substitute a vague and arrogant statement of this sort for a simple and veracious epitome of the facts. I may add that Maš'udi was told that whereas the rank and file of the Jews followed the Tradition, the Ananites were the party who pursued *justice and true monotheism*¹.

2. "Calculation of the number of years during which Prophetic Inspiration remained among the Jews, in which I show that it was 1000 years; number of years which it took to complete the Mishnah, which I show to have been 500 years after that; length of time it took to complete the Talmud. How both Mishnah and Talmud remained orally handed down till they were written. The reason which causes me to write this is that I find those who call themselves 'Rabbonim' in our time do not understand this, *neither do they follow the example of the ancients who live in their mouths (or, 'in whose mouths they live'), and by whose trade they subsist.*"

According to the document published by Harkavy, p. 194, Saadyah's calculation was 510 or 530 years, starting from the year 41 from the building of the Second Temple. Clearly in this epitome he ought to have given something less vague than the statement, "Prophecy lasted 1000 years, and the Mishnah took 500 years to compile after that!" The next statement is also a piece of chaff; "both Mishnah and Talmud were handed down orally until they were written down." Who could deny this proposition? The real question that Saadyah would have handled would have been the same as that with which Rab Sherira Gaon's letter starts: "*How was the Mishnah written down? Did the men of the Great Synagogue commence writing it?*"

It has been suggested that the name *Rabbonim* betrays the hand of a Karaite, but we learn from the Commentary on Proverbs, p. 52, that this is not necessarily the case. The jibe at the end (that it is one can scarcely be denied) surely refers to the *תורה שבכל פה*, "the Law which is on the mouth." Since the earlier Rabbis lived by the Law which is on the mouth, why do the present Rabbis live by a written book? Precisely the same question is asked by Salmon

¹ Loc. cit., p. 112, 18. The word rendered "true monotheism" in later times stands for "religious philosophy."

ben Yerucham in his onslaught on Saadyah¹: "Why have you written the Oral Law? If God had wished to write it, he would have made Moses write it. Ought you not to recite it orally, seeing that it was not to be written in a book? They have *changed their ways* and written it, transferred it from recitation to writing. They have written both Laws, rejecting the Commandment of God." Hence it must be confessed that our Karaite makes a point. But could Saadyah, who hopes he may be included among those who have endeavoured to preserve the literature of the Jews², have ridiculed his own party in this style?

3. "Account of what happens in a country when a wicked man seeks to make himself head there. My reason for writing on this subject is the affair of David b. Zakkai."

The statement that David b. Zakkai was a wicked man who sought to make himself head is so inaccurate that it can scarcely have been made by Saadyah even in a moment of irritation. Saadyah derived his title of Gaon from David b. Zakkai; and the latter was a perfectly legitimate ruler. Saadyah took the unconstitutional step of endeavouring to oust David from the "Headship of the Captivity" in favour of a less authorized person.—Hence it is likely that this passage is aimed at Saadyah. It is noteworthy that Mas'udi uses the same word "make himself head" of Saadyah.

4. "To show that God never leaves his nation without some scholar in each age whom he instructs and enlightens, so that he may give judgment, instruct it, and manage its affairs aright; my reason for writing this is to be found in the gifts which I feel within my soul to have been conferred by God on me and it."

Here again it is impossible to say that Saadyah did not boast in this style; but his genuine writings contain little that would justify us in supposing that he could be capable of making himself so absurd. In the Commentary on Proverbs, p. 52, he polemizes at length, but in a very different style from this.

5. "Explanations of the Principles of the Commandments and of the Future which I have set forth in this book in an order intelligible to any reader. My reason for this is that I see the nation greatly needs them."

Since Saadyah wrote at length on the Principles of the 613 Precepts, and also gave in his *Imānāt* a graphic account of the future, it is difficult to see why the nation needed a further account of these matters³. Surely this paragraph is only meant to ridicule Saadyah's

¹ *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, 1846, p. 167.

² Comm. on *Sefer Yetzirah* ad fin.

³ That he did treat of the future in the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* is otherwise attested.

account of both. In Book VIII of his *Imānūt* he fixes the date of the end of the world with precision, and describes exactly what is going to happen. We shall find this fancifulness ridiculed a little later on, and Jepheth Ibn Ali the Karaite is delighted to be able to say that Saadyah's "marvellous inventions" have been disproved by the event, for the date assigned by him to the world's end is passed. Since such a prophecy can be better ridiculed after it has been disproved than before, we shall scarcely be mistaken in supposing it disproved by the event when this Preface was written; whence the Preface is brought to a later date than 962 A.D.

6. "Narrative of the persecution, cruelty, and attempted assassination that I endured at the hands of the persons named therein, and how I prayed to God, and demanded his help. I have written this to provide a model to other just persons who may be persecuted and worried by wrongdoers, who are therefore to pray and hold out and not flag, nor hasten to conciliate their opponents and to make terms with them."

Saadyah had a great reputation for being uncompromising: his troubles were due to his refusing to countenance injustice. But would any man boast of his unwillingness to come to terms? Even Caesar, in his Civil War, tries to show that his enemies were uncompromising, not he. This passage therefore seems to be satirical; and indeed it would appear from Nathan Babli's account that Saadyah did all he could to avoid a rupture.

7. "Description with lampoons of each of my persecutors; which I was forced to write owing to its being a warning to any one who might try to persecute like them, and indeed a warning to themselves, which may induce them to stop and repent."

Perhaps this might be a genuine epitome of a paragraph. Yet that Saadyah should boast of the sharpness of his tongue seems unlikely. In his *Imānūt* he speaks without harshness of the Karaite doctors whom he refutes.

He then proceeds to describe the three general sections, which we have discussed above.—But could a *real* book be divided in this style? Seven subjects are given seven separate divisions; three others are spread over those seven sections; and these three are pure Hebrew, correct grammar, and correct logic! A more illogical method of dividing a work was surely never suggested.

Having given us an epitome of his work, the author proceeds to boast in the following style¹. When the nation read the book and the young men learn it, they will gain numerous advantages. They will become experts in the Hebrew language, grammar, and logic.

¹ Pp. 157-9.

Every saint who is tried will learn courage. The nation will thank God all the more for never leaving them without an inspired teacher. People will know what is going to happen in the future, and in how many years the end of the world is coming, for the ignorant do not know all this, whereas the wise know it. All these boasts are illustrated in Saadyah's style by quotations from the Bible.

One of these salutary results is worth noting in particular. "The nation will be on their guard in the future against appointing a chief save after examination and thorough knowledge¹." This professes to be aimed at David b. Zakkai, but it clearly applies to Saadyah himself. Saadyah, as we have seen, came to Sora as a stranger, to preside over the college; David b. Zakkai excuses the appointment on the ground of his imperfect acquaintance with Saadyah. Since Saadyah derived his own title from David, it is unlikely that he could have ventured on such dangerous ground.

That Oriental writers boast immoderately of their writings is certainly found sometimes to be the fact. But Saadyah does not appear to belong to that class. The modest wish with which he closes his Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsirah* is very different from the ludicrous self-laudation which the pages before us contain. Hence it seems highly improbable that these pages can proceed from any one but an enemy of Saadyah's school.

"Having enumerated²," he now proceeds, "these ten sections and the benefits to be derived from them, I will now explain the reason which induced me to interpret it."

"My persecutors, seeing that I had composed about them a Hebrew book with verse-divisions, points, and accents, began to calumniate and say, 'This is to claim inspiration,' which is simply to ignore what I have said at the *beginning*³, since I *start*⁴ by saying that prophecy is over. (Two Hebrew fragments are here quoted.) Now he who confesses that it is over cannot himself profess it."

How are we to reconcile this statement with the foregoing analysis of contents? Surely this must have come in section 2. Yet the author states most distinctly that these statements were at the *commencement*.

In the 'scandalous chronicle' the charge is put, it would seem, in the mouth of David b. Zakkai. "He wrote a book aping the Prophets⁵." It must be confessed that Saadyah's answer so far seems sound. The point, however, is to nail Saadyah to the confession that *Prophecy ceased with the Bible*; for this, the Karaites think, is sufficient to discredit the Mishnah. This very argument is adduced by Salmon

¹ P. 159, 16.

² P. 161, 12.

في أوله.

⁴ قد صدرت.

⁵ P. 229.

b. Yerucham¹ in his attack on Saadyah. "What right have men like ourselves, *who are without the Holy Spirit*, to transcribe the Oral Law and make a Law of it? If it existed in the time of the Prophets, it should mention them;" otherwise, it is of no authority.

"They say too 'This book will weaken the hearts of the nation till it make them doubt concerning the twenty-four books, and make them think these equally recent.' But this too is ignorance on their part of the definition of an inspired book: they define it as a book cut up into verses and provided with points and accents; but it is not so; for these operations (I mean the verses [&c.]) can be performed by any one, as did Ben-Sira, and Ben 'Ira, and the Hasmoneids, and the Africans, none of whom professed prophetic power. The true definitions of the prophetic books are three: (1) there must be in them a mention of revelation, either 'God spake' or 'Thus saith the Lord,' &c., or mysterious information as in Proverbs, Koheleth, and the Scroll of Esther; (2) the author of such a book must be proved to be a prophet by a miracle or the testimony of another prophet; (3) the nation must introduce such a book into the number of their sacred books, and hand it down together with them. And if these three conditions be wanting, or one of them be wanting, such a book is no prophecy: how much more then if *none of them be found*, even as they are not found in this book, *nor in Ben-Sira's book*, nor in Ben 'Ira's, and the like? Such a book can by no possibility be called a prophecy."

We have had occasion to notice this passage before; let us suppose for a moment that the passage is genuine and the argument intended to carry conviction. It certainly seems—but this must be left for further development—as if the reason why traditions were not written by Mohammedans and Jews was the fear that such writings might be confused with the Law. When the points and pauses were invented in both cases the danger ceased²; the purpose of the Mohammedan pointing was certainly religious, and the Jewish equally certainly so. Now is it really credible that Ben-Sira's book could have been given a traditional pointing, without the Talmud knowing a great deal about the book? But if it was pointed by some editor in Saadyah's time, could Saadyah have ventured to say that Ben-Sira had pointed it? Grant that Saadyah was so anxious to meet the charge of having aped the Prophets that he would have grasped at any straw—why need he make so astounding a misstatement, when he has in any case the book of the people of Kairawan to fall back on? Moreover, we have seen that Saadyah knows nothing of this book in his earlier

¹ Loc. cit., p. 215.

² The Mohammedan pausal marks are never used except for the Koran. The vowel points are meant to help foreigners to read the Koran.

writings; we have noticed that the author of Chronicle No. VI in Neubauer's first collection (p. 167) obtains his knowledge of Ecclesiasticus from the Greek: and the author of the *Juhasin* does likewise. The former author, according to Neubauer (who gives good reasons for his opinion), lived early in the twelfth century. How is it that the Hebrew Ben-Sira has such a meteoric existence?

Whether Saadyah pointed his *Sefer Ha-Galuy* seems uncertain. It may be that his employment of the third person instead of the first and his use of Biblical phrases was what caused the charge; but the statement that the production of such a book would weaken people's faith in the authority of the canonical books seems somewhat far-fetched, if it be applied to Saadyah's *Apologia pro Vita sua*. If on the other hand the books ridiculed are the Retranslation of Ecclesiasticus and the *Megillath Antiochus*, there is more sense in the charge; for that these might conceivably be mistaken for canonical books we know only too well by recent experience.

The author then¹ proceeds to defend certain expressions which he had used of himself by showing that they are used in the Bible of knaves, idolaters, &c. He had said of himself "And Saadyah supplicated" which they say is an imitation of "And Moses supplicated." But is not the same phrase used in the Bible of an idolater like Jehoahaz, "who did evil in the sight of the Lord"? So with "And Saadyah watched" compare the phrase "Watchers of evil."—Saadyah may have defended himself in this clumsy style; but it is at least as likely that this is a mock defence. The writer shows purposely that the phrases used by Saadyah of himself were used of the worst villains mentioned in Holy Writ.

The next charge² is that of tracing his pedigree to Shelah son of Judah, when he had remained "all that length of time" without claiming descent from him. This too was a real charge if the Herem is to be believed.—The answer is that he did not state his pedigree till it was necessary, and in this he followed the example of Benaiah son of Jehoiada, whose pedigree is not given in Samuel or Kings, but who is called High-priest in Chronicles! Now what the Herem declares is that Saadyah was accused of being no Israelite and replied that he was descended from Judah;—surely his defence would rather have been that his Israelitish descent had never been questioned till the dispute arose, when, being accused of being a foreigner, he had explained how he called himself an Israelite. The quibble about Benaiah is evidently in the style of the Gemara; but it may be doubted whether the author could have seriously urged it.

¹ P. 165.

² Ibid., 14.

Next, he says¹ "People ask: 'Why do you praise yourself and assert that God has given you knowledge of beasts, plants, minerals, stars?' &c. The answer is (1) The book is intended for people who do not yet know me. (2) It is to prevent the bystanders reflecting on my services to the nation, lest he who wishes to do harm may not do it, and those who otherwise might be too weak to help may help."

These words probably admit of no other rendering; yet surely they cannot be serious. Saadyah certainly did possess extraordinary knowledge of all the sciences of his time; but he claims omniscience *because he is writing for strangers!* If he had said "for people who have not read my works"; but his ground seems to imply that he is writing for people on whom he can impose! The second ground, of which the original Arabic is given in a note², is yet stranger; if the bystanders do not know him, why should they in any case remember his services to the nation? And why should he wish to prevent them? But if the sentence could by any possibility mean "in order that they may remember," &c., it is difficult to see how his claim of omniscience could effect this. There would seem to be a reference to a miraculous healing which Saadyah either effected or failed to effect, and which caused considerable scandal. "For the same two reasons I have mentioned my piety and straightforwardness: some of the saints in the Old Testament did the same." Viz. because he is writing for those who do not know him!

"Still I only said I had been supplied with *some* wisdom, not with all; then they object to my saying 'and my being answered from on high'—which is a common phrase in our liturgy.

"Then³ they disapprove of my mutilating my opponents' names—calling David *Yiddod*, Khalaf *Keleb Meth*, &c. Surely they might remember that it is God's way to improve the names of his saints, e.g. Abraham for Abram, and to disfigure the names of evildoers, e.g. Hophra for Pharaoh, Pashhur, meaning 'curtain of ease' into 'terror round about.' Similarly to interpret Zeph. ii. 4 aright our plan must be to divide the names into two: *Ashkelon* becomes *Esh* 'fire' and *Kalon* 'shame,' *Ashdod Esh* 'fire,' and *Yiddod* 'runs away.' These alterations are intricacies of the language which I have imitated in altering my opponents' names."

Derivations of this sort are certainly to be found in the Babylonian Gemara; those of the names Tigris and Euphrates given in *Berachoth*, 59 b, are very like the supposed Saadyah's. But the great scholar who wrote the Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsirah* is not likely to have

¹ Ibid., 22.

² إرداعاً للمحاصرين ان يتذكروا انتفاع الأمة بى فلا يسىء المرید الاسماء.

³ P. 167, 14.

talked seriously in this way. Moreover how can he claim a privilege which according to his own statement is assigned in the Bible to God? Is not this claiming to be a prophet or something higher? The question then is whether Saadyah did lampoon his enemies in this fashion; and without the real *Sefer Ha-Galuy* it is impossible to say. Very small men do resort to this device; J. Leclerc in his answer to Bentley's *Emendations on Menander and Philemon*, called Bentley "Thrasonides," and Burmann "Giton." Dorville in his *Vannus Critica* called de Pauw "Pavo," and was called by his opponent "Orbilius" or "Magistellus"; it is the custom of the Mohammedan satirists to call a man whose name is Abu 'l-Faḍl, Abu 'l-Naḳṣ, and the poems of 'Umarah of Yemen, recently edited by M. Derenbourg, offer several examples of this process. My own edition of Sibṭ Ibn Al-Ta'awidhi will contain some more. But has any really great man condescended to such an expedient? The epigram of Joseph Scaliger on a certain Feuardent, whose name he translates literally Pyriphlegethon, is something like this, but in reality far less degrading. The names by which the Jews speak of Christian and Mohammedan objects of reverence, e.g. Kalon for 'Koran, Maccoth for Meccah, Pasul for Rasul, are partly intended to conceal their meaning. It does not seem to me that the authority of this Preface is sufficient to justify us in crediting Saadyah with so silly a trick, and with so absurd a defence of it¹.

"I² have not undertaken," he proceeds, "to answer every charge brought against my book; this I leave for the place for discussion in the assembly, should it be requisite."—Saadyah was accused of refusing to meet the Karaites at a public discussion. They summoned him to do so, but he declined, according to a writer excerpted by Pinsker (p. 37).

"The conduct of my persecutors in seizing on these trivial phrases in my book, and neglecting its great virtues, was similar to that of Manasseh, king of Judah, in neglecting the miracles, &c. of the Law and picking some trivial holes, as e.g. when he said Moses need not have given the pedigree of the Edomites, nor have told the story of Reuben and the mandrakes." Here again, be it observed, Saadyah falls into his old error of making himself equal to the prophets.

Then follows his answer to Manasseh, king of Judah, who, he says, disgraced himself by such objections. Now the limit between the impossible and the possible is not easy to draw; and therefore the comments that follow may be serious. Yet I cannot believe it. In

¹ In the scandalous Chronicle (227, 9 sqq.) it is evidently David b. Zakkai, not Saadyah, who calls his opponents by fictitious names.

² P. 169, 22.

such of Saadyah's comments as are accessible he speaks like a scholar and a man of sound judgment. "Where the text of the Bible and the reason conflict" his principle is "follow the reason." The absurdities that the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* proceeds to adduce in answer to King Manasseh seem more like a satire on the Talmudic style of interpretation than anything that Saadyah could have seriously put on paper¹.

The genealogies of the Edomites are given for the following reason. Some tribes an Israelite was allowed to rob and murder, others he was not allowed to rob or murder. When therefore he met a man, the Israelite would ask him his pedigree. If the man confessed to belong to one of the doomed tribes, then the Israelite could rob and murder him with a good conscience!—Truly one might have requested Saadyah to consider whether in this case his theory about the text and the reason had not better be applied.

As for the verse, "Reuben went out in the days of the wheat harvest," what we have to learn from that is that mandrakes which you may take are better for you than fruits which you may not take.

Having thus happily defended Moses against the attacks of King Manasseh, recorded in the Babylonian Gemara, the author proceeds to answer some other objections that had been urged against the Penta-teuch. A similar criticism has, he says, been made on what Lamech said to his wives: *כִּי שָׁכַחְתִּים יָקָם קַיִן*. "But I have answered it. Its object is to tell us one of two things. Either that Lamech repented of his sin, in order that we may repent of our sins. In this case we are to interpret the words affirmatively. If multiple vengeance is to be taken on the slayer of Cain, when Cain only slew one man, how much more vengeance shall be taken on Lamech, seeing that he killed *both* a man *and* a child! Consider too that a child cannot possibly have deserved to be killed. If, however, we take the words negatively, then what we learn is that he declares himself innocent of the guilt of Cain. If, he says, merely because Cain repented, though he had committed murder, Cain's murderer shall be punished, certainly some very dreadful punishment will fall on the murderer of Lamech, who has killed neither man nor child! The word child is added to suggest a trivial offence. The word *כִּי* is negative, as in Job vi. 22, where *הֵכֵן* is so used."—A noble specimen of exegesis! In explanation (1) we assume that child-murder is a particularly

¹ The passage about King Manasseh occurs B. *Sanhedrin*, 99 b. "Saadyah" plagiarizes in part of this passage from B. *Hullin*, 60 b. The select comments of Saadyah given by Weiss, *ו'קכ*, IV, pp. 143-145, bear out the above opinion. For Karaite ridicule of the Talmudic exegesis, see Pinaker, loc. cit., p. 18.

heinous form of murder; in explanation (2) we regard it as a peccadillo. Then the founder of Hebrew grammar thinks 'נ can be used for "not," and evidently does not know the meaning of the interrogative particle. But if we look at the real Saadyah's translation of Job, we find he renders the particles there quite correctly and elegantly by *atarā*, "think you?"

Others criticize the author of Deuteronomy for mentioning (iii. 9) that the Sidonians called Hermon Siryon, whereas the Amorites called it S'nir. This is an old difficulty, noticed in B. *Hullin*, 60 b, and by Rashi ad loc. The import of the supposed Saadyah's answer is not very clear. Apparently he means, "the Hebrew name Hermon became applied to the whole mountain, so that the part to which it had originally applied could only be identified by comparison with the Sidonian and Amorite names." Thus, e.g. the original Hellas was what (say) the Macedonians call Thessaly; now that the name Hellas has extended all over Greece, if we wish to know what Homer meant by Hellas, let us find out what the Macedonians mean by Thessaly.—That this comment has some merit is clear; but few will guarantee that it is serious.

He then concludes, as is his wont, by boasting of what he has accomplished in this line, especially in his refutation of Huyayy (as I suppose his name should be spelt) of Balkh, "whose book remained (unanswered?) among our people sixty years." But the phrase "whose book remained among our people sixty years" is curious, and must contain some hidden meaning. If these comments be all satirical, we are to infer that Saadyah's refutation of Huyayy was no better than his refutation of King Manasseh.

He is about to commence his translation, but he stops once again to treat us to a few dainty bits from the Hebrew books he has mentioned so often. Seven are quoted from Ben-Sira; in all these something absurd in the phraseology or the thought seems to be ridiculed. (1) v. 6 d, "and upon the wicked shall his might rest," not a very reverent mode to speak of God. "Might" is a mistranslation for "anger." (2) vi. 5, attention is called to the grammatical errors שלמיך and שלמיך¹. The satire appears most clearly in his quotation of xvi. 15, which, he says, is a warning to people not to think too little of themselves, or consider themselves of too slight importance, which may cause them to sin. He also calls attention to the misuse of the phrase עַם כָּבֵד for "multitude," which in Num. xx. 20 and elsewhere refers to proportional number. The few words that are pointed in these verses are all intended to call attention to something

¹ Compare the letters collected by Pinaker, p⁷ 25-27, where the wrong insertion of the *yod* is severely criticized.

infelicitous. Why the writer chose nothing more ridiculous than these verses it is not easy to see: perhaps he wished to keep the effect of the supposed Saadyah's exordium to the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* unmarred.

Of Eleazar Ben 'Ira we have spoken already. The second passage from his work is "to show us that the obstinate of mankind can only be broken by severe pounding"! The verses are: "Not by the hand of rocks shall they be broken: for they will soften a sledge-hammer. For the kidneys of wheat are to be pounded with a flail, whereas a wallet of green ears is cut with the hand." His third verse is of the same intellectual calibre, but very much worse in point of grammar. Probably therefore the loss of his writings need cause us no serious regret. Of the Book of the Five Hasmoneids he selects one point only: we are to learn that when a saint invokes God's assistance, he should urge that it is undesirable that the enemy should attribute his success to his idol. In other words, the saint should endeavour to work on the jealousy of the Divine Being!

This article has taken up more room than the subject probably deserves. If the leaflet be after all Saadyah's, then he must come down from the pedestal whereon those who study either his life or his writings would naturally place him. Many bad qualities appear in this Preface—spite, boastfulness, ignorance, meanness, carelessness, stupidity—of good qualities it appears impossible to find one. Since in the opinion of the impartial Mas'udi Saadyah gained a brilliant victory over his opponents, he had not the excuse of the defeated for writing in this style. Whether David b. Zakkai can really have assailed Saadyah with the blackguardism of which the scandalous Chronicle makes him guilty seems also exceedingly doubtful; but it appears from history that David b. Zakkai was in the wrong from the beginning, and was defeated, whence he may perhaps have forgotten the demands of dignity and decorum. However, the character of Saadyah's writings and conduct is the very feeblest of the arguments by which the genuineness of this Preface has been assailed; and if in this case, as in some others, chronology and common sense are to have no voice, I may still fall back on the fact that *Steinschneider expressed some doubts concerning the genuineness of the Preface.*

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE FRAGMENT OF THE "SEFER HA-GALUY¹."

THE editors of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW forwarded to me, with the author's consent, a proof of an article on the above subject by Prof. Margoliouth, asking me to subjoin any counter-arguments I may have to bring forward. Such confidence in the editor of the fragment of the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* makes the latter's duty all the more stringent, to discard all preconceived notions in favour of the text edited by him, and to approach the question in a purely objective spirit. I hope that my readers, and even Prof. Margoliouth himself, will admit that I have, at least, endeavoured to be strictly impartial.

The result arrived at by Prof. Margoliouth in his learned and ingenious inquiry is astounding. It amounts to this, that the fragment is no fragment at all, but a fabrication by some Karaite, composed after the year 962, and intended to serve as a lampoon directed against Saadiah Gaon, satirically imitating and parodying the latter's philological method and style, and inserting some of Saadiah's opinions. I call such result astounding, because no scholar, and probably up to the present moment not even Prof. Margoliouth himself, has ever detected this personation².

But this can scarcely serve as an argument against Prof. Margoliouth's assertion, living as we do at a time of most surprising discoveries of monuments and MSS., buried in the earth. Why should not, for once, a discovery be made in a printed book? It is, therefore, purely and simply a question of demonstration. In one respect we

¹ [Editorial Note.—Dr. Harkavy wrote the following reply to Prof. Margoliouth on the basis of an unrevised proof of the latter's article. Dr. Harkavy was unable to introduce the slight changes in detail which the revision of Prof. Margoliouth's proof entailed.]

² Prof. Margoliouth, at the end of his article, refers to an eminent authority on Judæo-Arabic literature, namely, to Steinschneider. But he does not notice that the latter expressed his doubts *before* my edition appeared. Afterwards he discussed some personal points occurring in the volume of my *Studien und Mittheilungen*, which deals with Saadiah (Berliner's *Magazin*, 1892, p. 260), but he does no longer speak of falsification. Nor did the late J. Derenbourg, whose special life-study Saadiah was, ever conceive the slightest doubt as to the genuineness of the fragment edited by me.

must certainly do justice to Prof. Margoliouth, he has not made the matter easy for himself. He has, industriously and sagaciously, collected a whole arsenal of weapons, and has brought forward a number of historical and philological objections, tending, in his opinion, to cast suspicion upon the fragment of *Ha-Galuy*. He also, honestly and candidly, has produced his whole critical apparatus, particularly such points as were taken from Saadiah's own writings. But there are a few things which Prof. Margoliouth has omitted to do, to the detriment of his inquiry. In my monograph on Saadiah's *Egron* and *Galuy* I gave, in the introduction to the former, all historical data known to me, and quoted all philological data in my notes to the text. The latter, however, were not subjoined to the *Galuy*, because the society *Mekitze Nirdamim* hurried on the publication. But, as will be shown below, the short text of the *Galuy* can be explained from references produced in the *Egron*. It is much to be regretted that Prof. Margoliouth, who so thoroughly discusses the second part of my work, entirely disregarded the first. He might have saved himself much trouble. Besides, he ignores also, inadvertently, of course, several data produced in my second part.

Before entering in detail upon the proofs brought forward by Prof. Margoliouth, I must preface two observations regarding the standard of judgment and the methods applied by him. As to the standard of morality he applies to the *Galuy*, we find that he compares quantities which are altogether incommensurable. He contrasts the calm and delicate tone employed in such works of Saadiah's as are of purely scientific character, to the violent, irritable, and, frequently, indecorous tone met with in the *Galuy*, without considering how different Saadiah's position was in either case. It is in most cases easy for us, who write our works, even our polemical writings, whilst seated in our comfortable studies in complete tranquillity of mind, to preserve calmness and politeness. This Saadiah also understood, and acted accordingly in his scientific works. But now consider the position of a man who, having risen, through his merits, to the pinnacle of social distinction, became involved in a struggle with a dishonest but powerful opponent. He succeeds at first in overthrowing his enemy, but afterwards succumbs to the latter's unscrupulous machinations and those of his party. Insulted, and even personally maltreated, Saadiah is obliged to wander about homeless, compelled to hide himself to save his life. This not being enough, mud was thrown at him in public manifestoes and lampoons; the filthiest slanders were levelled at him, and he was threatened with moral annihilation. Are we entitled to expect such a man to preserve polite and parliamentary speech when replying to such opponents?

What should we think of a musical critic, acquainted with Tamberlik's and Mazini's melodious song as heard in the theatre, who afterwards hearing them howl and screech in an unnatural voice when attacked in a forest by robbers and murderers, would come to the conclusion that these cannot be the same persons? On such occasions it is always as well to think of the Talmudic apophthegm **אין אדם נחמס בשעה צערו** (*Baba Bathra*, 16 b).

In another respect also, the standard applied by Prof. Margoliouth has not taken the right direction; namely, in regard to the philological side of the question. Of course, if we were to take into consideration the newest edition of Gesenius' *Hebrew Dictionary*, together with the most recent comparative grammar of Semitic languages, bearing in mind at the same time our conceptions of style and poetical composition, it would be very easy to show that the fragment of the *Ha-Galuy*, seen in the light of the above-mentioned guides, appears to be an abnormal and tasteless production. But the question obtains quite a different aspect on considering that we deal with a product of the beginning of the tenth century, when Chayyug's great discoveries as to the triliteral nature of Hebrew roots, and the *verba quiescentia* and *defectiva* were still entirely unknown; when the Arabic-Spanish school of poetry had not yet arisen, when the *Pajetanin* were still the only masters of Hebrew poetry, and Kalir's productions were held to be standard works. That such were the conditions of the time can be seen from the first half of my work, cf. *infra*, and they account for the character of the *Galuy*, which thus presents nothing strange or striking. Considered in the light of the grammatical and stylistic knowledge of the time, it rather turns out to be a tolerable poetical production. More than this. Even if Saadiah's name had not been mentioned, an intimate acquaintance with Saadiah's grammatical and exegetical views, and with such of his works as have already been printed, should be sufficient to point to him as the author of the fragment of *Galuy*. All this will be further shown in detail.

After these preliminary remarks, we proceed to examine Prof. Margoliouth's objections to our text, and to see whether they really possess the value he ascribes to them. I shall observe the same order as he follows in his article.

1. Prof. Margoliouth asserts that, had the *Galuy* been translated into German or English, it would not have been taken notice of in connexion with the Ben Sira controversy; but since we possess it only in the Arabic original, and in a faulty Hebrew translation, alleged to be the work of a relation of Firkovich, the difficulty to form a judgment is considerably increased for many who are

interested in Ben Sira. I am very grateful to Prof. Margoliouth, that, in spite of my distinct notice (p. 149, and note 2 *ibid.*) that the Hebrew translation is mine, and that, at the time, I had not yet before me the one composed by a grandson of Firkovich, he yet asserts the contrary, probably, for the purpose of attenuating my fault. I have committed some errors of translation; these I have afterwards noted myself for the most part, and were at the time also noted by others (Prof. Bacher and Dr. Porges in *R. É. J.*). Not a single error of mine has, however, hitherto been discovered, which bears any reference to the genuineness of the Arabic original, which after all should be of the most importance to Prof. Margoliouth. But if no error of that nature occurs in my translation, and the Hebrew tongue in which it is composed must be known to all those scholars who alone can have a voice and a vote in the Ben Sira and *Galuy* questions, it is difficult to understand why a German or English translation of the *Galuy* would have been of particular use for Prof. Margoliouth's assertion. Can the *Krethi* and *Plethi*, can those who possess English and German but have no knowledge of Hebrew, express an opinion on such a complicated question, which enters so deeply into philology and Hebrew etymology? And what value would such opinion have for a man of Prof. Margoliouth's strict philological training?

2. Prof. Margoliouth looks for, and finds, support in an Arabic author, Abulfaradsh Ibn-Alnadim, who wrote about 987; his work *Fihrist* contains also additions leading up to the year 399=1008-9 (vid. Flügel's preface, p. xii). This author gives a list of the Hebrew canonical writings, and another list of Saadiah's works. The former he says that he received from one of the most distinguished Jews (סן מפאצלהם), but he does not give the authority from which he derived the second.

Whosoever knows anything about information from Arabic sources as to Hebrew literature should be able to gauge the value that is to be attributed to it, even if produced by otherwise trustworthy Mahommedan writers. It would be certainly an easy matter for Prof. Margoliouth to compile a thick volume about curiosities of that kind. Besides, if we wish to utilize the notice in the way of proof, we can only do so by accepting Prof. Margoliouth's many conjectures at the same time. Both lists of Abul-Faradsh were *presumably* given him by the same Jew. This Jew, who praises Saadiah, was *presumably* either a pupil or a follower of the latter. But a pupil or follower of Saadiah's would *presumably* also have known Ben Sira if the master had made use of him. If therefore that pupil had known anything about Ben Sira, he would *presumably* have given

information about him to the said Arabic author, who would have given him a place in his list.

But apart from the many-storied construction of this hypothesis, which deprives it of all force of demonstration in a controversial question, all its constituent parts are improbable in themselves. In the first place, the two lists can hardly have originated from the same source; for the Arabic author designates in the first list "a distinguished Jew" as his authority, but in the second list, which follows immediately after, he refers to the opinion of "the Jews" at large (וְיָעֶם אֱלִיהוּד), and not to that of "the same Jew," as is the custom with Arabic authors. In the second place, both lists scarcely originate from a pupil or learned follower of Saadiah's. As to the first list—apart from linguistic blunders, such as, for instance, ספטי, הפטרה (pl. במטארת) for כטאר, פסוק (pl. מבסוקא) for מלכי, שופטים (probably not *status constructus* as Flügel conjectures, but an Aramaic form), &c.—the statement that the Torah consists of five parts, each of which is divided into two books (אלתוראה וזי כמסה אכמאס וינקסם כל כמס אלי ספרין), can hardly have been made by a learned Jew. Nor is it at all possible that the notice, that Moses was the author of the Mishna, can have originated from a pupil of Saadiah's who was acquainted with the latter's writings, for Saadiah himself distinctly names Jehudah Hanasi as the author of the Mishna. Flügel's conjecture to *Fihrist* (ii. 2) that Deuteronomy = משנה תורה is meant here, is untenable; for, firstly, the Arabic author had already mentioned the *five books* of Moses, and, secondly, it would contradict the description of the book as given in *Fihrist*, where it is stated: "the Jews take from this book their jurisprudence, the laws and the sentences; it is a comprehensive work in the Chaldaean and Hebrew language" (וסנה יסתכרז אליהוד) (עלם אלפקה ואלשראע ואלאחכאם וזו כתאב כביר ולגתה כסדאני ועבראני). This description can only apply to Mishna and Talmud, as Prof. Margoliouth also assumes.

The second list can, as little as the first, belong to a pupil of Saadiah's or to anybody who was intimately acquainted with his works, for it contains several absurdities, which, evidently, have their origin in ignorance and misunderstanding. Thus we know now, that Saadiah wrote, in the first instance, the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, accompanied by a very diffuse commentary, of which latter fragments have been preserved in MSS., and quotations in Rabbinite and Karaite writings. Subsequently there arose the need of a translation only, without a commentary. Saadiah himself names the former work in the preface to his translation (ed. Derenbourg, p. 4) כתאב תפסיר אלתורה אלכביר, and the latter (ibid.) כתאב תפסיר

כתאב תפסיר. The latter is described in *Fihrist* as: בסימנין אלתורה בלא שרר. אלתוראה נסמא בלא שרר. But instead of the former we find in the list something which makes no sense: "Explanation (or translation) of the third book of the second half of the Torah with commentary" (כתאב תפסיר אלספר אלתאלת מן אלנצף אלאכר מן אלתוראה משרוח). This could only have been written by an ignorant man, who had no knowledge of Saadiah's chief exegetical work; for, in the first place, the Pentateuch is not divided into halves (נצף) but into books (ספר, ספאר). Secondly, it contradicts Abul-Faradsh's own notice, as given above, that each of the five books of the Torah contained two books; consequently, the third book can only be the first half of Exodus, which, again, cannot belong to the latter half of the Torah. Thirdly, we know that Saadiah's large commentary comprised the whole of the Pentateuch, a fact of which a pupil or follower of Saadiah's cannot possibly have been ignorant. Again, we find in the list an altogether fabulous book, which in *Fihrist* has the title of "Book of explanation (or translation) of the sentences of David" (כתאב תפסיר אהכאם דאוד). Whatever may be the origin of this notice, it is enough to stamp the informant as ignorant in *Judaicis* and not as a pupil of Saadiah. After such examples, we cannot be surprised to meet with yet another curiosity in the same list, namely, a book of Saadiah's entitled: "Book of parables, divided into ten sections" (כתאב אלאמתאל וזו עשר מקאלאת). Several conjectures have been made as to the origin of this false notice; at any rate, the *curiosum* belongs to the original of the *Fihrist*, for the MSS. offer no various readings. Consequently its author can scarcely have been a pupil of Saadiah. One might object, that, after all, it is possible that the Jew had given Abul-Faradsh correct information, which, however, became corrupt by the latter's fault. This is, of course, possible. But even if we grant this, we are not able to make any use of the corrupt notices, and, at all events, the Arabic author loses all value for demonstrative purposes, such as Prof. Margoliouth is inclined to attribute to him.

3. Nor can I find any grounds for assuming, with Prof. Margoliouth, that a pupil or a follower of Saadiah would have inserted Ben Sira in his list. The first list only enumerates the canonical writings of the Jews, but the Talmud distinctly excludes the book of Ben Sira from the Canon (Babli *Sanhedrin*, 100 b and *Jerush.*, X, 1), and allows only citation of beautiful sayings (מלי מעלייתא) out of it. The same is found in *Midrash Rabba*, *Kohleth*, sub fin., and times out of number we find, in the old Jewish literature, the Canon quoted as the twenty-four books (ארבעה ועשרים), to the exclusion of the Apocrypha. Saadiah himself, in our fragment of the *Galuy*, points out that Ben

Sira, and the other books quoted by him, were secular books, and then we are to expect a pupil of his to count the Ben Sira in his list of canonical books! The only non-canonical book mentioned in the *Fihrist*, the Mishna, is only quoted in *parenthesi*, because it was alleged to have belonged to Moses. The Christians, on the other hand, always used to embody the Apocrypha in their Bibles, and for this reason Ben Sira is in the *Fihrist* also enumerated among the Christian holy writings.

4. Another proof that Saadiah could not have possessed the Ben Sira in the Hebrew original, Prof. Margoliouth believes to find in the circumstances that the author of the so-called *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* knew nothing of the Hebrew text and only knew the translation. But I do not think this argument to be valid, for the author of the said *Chronicles* lived, either in South Italy, according to Dr. Neubauer's conjecture, or, as Dr. Gaster recently tried to prove in his learned introduction to the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, p. xli, in Spain; at any rate, in Europe. He drew his information from Latin or Greek sources¹. On the other hand, as I tried to show (pp. 198-203, a point not noticed by Prof. Margoliouth), Saadiah most likely discovered the original of Ben Sira, after his dismissal from office, among the hidden treasures of the Academy of Sura, together with the *Book of the Jubilees*, and other apocryphal writings, about which discovery contemporary information is extant (cf. Kirchheim's *Commentary to the Chronicle of the Tenth Century*, p. 36, and the parallel passages alleged, *ibid.* in the marginal note). The name אִפְּרָיִם (Apocrypha) had therefore, at that time, its real meaning in Babylonia. How could it, therefore, have been possible, for a European author, to make use of the original Ben Sira which was hidden in Babylonia? He had to be contented with European sources.

5. Prof. Margoliouth creates difficulties for himself where there are none, and in spite of my having satisfactorily explained everything. Namely, Saadiah's words: "I was then in Irak," refer to his first visit to Babylonia, at the beginning of the twenties of the tenth century, when he arrived there for the purpose of, conjointly with the Exilarch, David, and the chief of the Academy of Pumbeditha, Cohen-Zedek, bringing to a conclusion the struggle with the Palestinian Pretender, Ben Meir (vide my *Studies*, &c., I. c., pp. 212-224). Of course, Saadiah returned home after the strife had

¹ I wish to notice, *en passant*, that the original form אֲוִיָּה (Onias) is not, as it is believed, taken from the Greek, but from the Talmud (*Megillah*, 10 a, *Menachot*, 109 a). This name is probably *Theophor*, and identical with *pm*, only in the sense of a prayer: "God be gracious!"

been concluded and Ben Meir defeated. There is therefore an interval of *thirteen years* between Saadiah's first visit (921-2) and the time that he composed the *Galuy* (934-5), as I have fully shown (*ibid.*, pp. 145, 229). Prof. Margoliouth takes no notice whatever of all this, he puts irrelevant questions, gives useless answers, and invents unsuitable chronological data. He also tries to prepare artificial difficulties regarding the *Galuy* fragment, where everything is in perfect order, whilst, at the same time, he commits several small errors and inaccuracies, which are here of particular significance. Thus the date of Ben Meir's letter is not, as Prof. Margoliouth states, 923, nor even 924, but 1233 of the Seleucid era = 921-2. There is just as little contradiction between the expressions "in Irak," and "in Bagdad," as there would be between "in England," and "in London." The former is a more general, the latter a more special expression. The Arabic Jews always use the term *אלערקאן* for Babylonia, in contradistinction to *אלשאם*, Palestine (Syria). The Arabic geographers also identify the same. Thus e.g. Yakut, in his geographical dictionary (ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 631), writes: *והוא אלוי זכרנאה ענהם מן ארל דליל עלי אן אלמראד באלערקאן ארץ באבל*. The expression *אלוי שם* (l. c., p. 233, l. 12) does not mean "an unknown man," as Prof. Margoliouth translates it, but "of an unknown family," "of low descent," in contrast to the preceding (l. 11) *נכבד במשפחתו*, "honoured through his family," "of honourable descent."

6. The above-mentioned circumstance that Saadiah had found the original Ben Sira, in 934-5, in the library of the Academy of Sura, serves also as a reply to Prof. Margoliouth's questions: why Saadiah never mentions Ben Sira, either in his commentaries to the Proverbs, or to *Sefer Yetzira*, or in his *אלמאנאח* *כתאב*, for these works were written before 934. The commentary to *Sefer Yetzira* dates from the year 931 (ed. Lambert, pp. 52-76), the *אלמאנאח* *כתאב* was written in the year 933 (ed. Laudauer, p. 72), and there are several indications to show that the commentary to the Proverbs was written even earlier than this. It is also possible that the Gaon, on account of the aforementioned *semi*-prohibition in the Talmud, had at first scruples against citing from the apocryphal work unnecessarily. After he had been violently attacked by his opponents, because of his first edition of the *Galuy*, he permitted himself to make use of Ben Sira as a weapon of defence, since the book contains irrefragable proofs, that already in ancient times non-canonical books had the external attributes of canonical writings, and that, therefore, no reproach could be made him that he had given these attributes to his "book

of the Exiled " (for this meaning of *Sefer Ha-Galuy*, vid. infra). The former alternative appears, however, more likely.

7. Saadiah was of opinion that the punctuation and accentuation belonged to the period of the second temple, probably to the school of the ancient *Soferim*. According to the results of modern historic-critical investigations, this was an erroneous view, for we can now maintain, with tolerable certainty, that our system of punctuation and accentuation did not exist before the second half of the sixth Christian century. Saadiah, as a scientific man, and also, because in all matters religious he took the Talmudic-Rabbinical Judaism for his guide, did not attribute any sacredness or obligatory function to the punctuation and accentuation, which is not mentioned in the old Rabbinical literature, although certain uncritical writers are of a different opinion. Thus, for instance, the author of the *Manuel du lecteur*, edited by the late Derenbourg (the real title being מחברת הורניאן), Moshe Hanakdan, the Karaite Jehuda Hadasi, &c., who maintain that the punctuation and accentuation were delivered to Moses from Mount Sinai. The same view was only recently defended with much acumen and learning by Jacob Bachrach, now deceased, in a work of two volumes (אשתרלות עם ש"ל, Warsaw, 1897). Saadiah's opponents evidently embraced this same view as to the obligatory sacredness of the punctuation and accentuation. They reproached him bitterly with having dared to provide his productions with the holy attributes of the ancient Prophets. Apart, therefore, from the erroneous view, shared also by Saadiah, that the punctuation and accentuation belonged to antiquity, the Gaon's opponents committed another important error. Namely, they confused the notions of *ancient* and *holy*, an error which Saadiah avoids. We see the latter, in his interpretation of Scripture, frequently deviate from the conception of the accentuation, we also find that, although usually following the Targum of Onkelos and the Halachic exegesis of the Talmud, he very frequently opens up a way for himself, and, in his explanation of the text, deports himself in quite an independent manner in the face of the Agadic interpretation. Of course, a sound critique must, on this point, unhesitatingly side with the Gaon of Sura. It is, therefore, surprising that Prof. Margoliouth commits here the same error as Saadiah's opponents, and the inconsistent Ibn Ezra. He also confuses the notions of *old* and *sacred*. The drift of Saadiah's argumentation is that, in spite of the *antiquity* of the points and the accents, they are, nevertheless, not holy, as shown by the examples of Ben Sira and other secular writings. Prof. Margoliouth protests against this, and maintains that, if *old*, they must be *holy* and must not be meddled with, but if they are not holy, and if it is

permitted to deal freely with them, in the way the Gaon evidently does, in that case they must be young and of late origin. Prof. Margoliouth moves in reference to Saadiah in a vicious circle. In doing so, he entirely disregards that it is possible to consider the *whole system* of punctuation and accentuation as extremely old, and even as traditional, without, at the same time, believing in the traditional transmission of the points and accents of every word. Rashi's grandson, Jacob Tam, was certainly not more broad-minded than Ibn Ezra, and yet he writes unhesitatingly that the punctators and Massoretic writers have committed errors (הכרעות.—מעו הנקדנים), ed. Filipowsky, pp. 11, 12).

The evidences which Prof. Margoliouth thinks he has found in the Gaon's commentaries to the Proverbs and to *Sefer Yetzira* for the lateness of the points and accents, are without force. In the former (ed. Derenbourg, p. 52) Saadiah accuses the new opponents (the Karaites), that, whilst the Rabbinites had fixed the number of chapters verses, and words of the Bible, of which they had established the correct divisions, and noted how many times each word occurs therein, not a single one of the new opponents had been concerned in establishing the biblical text, the *plene* and *defective*, and the grammatical changes of the forms of words. The latter term may include the various forms of words in respect to conjugations and declensions, and also, in respect to punctuation and accentuation, for the Massora deals with both. It appears unintelligible how any indication of the lateness of punctuation and accentuation can be found in this remark. It is true, Saadiah afterwards deals specially with the Halachic traditions. But this proves, that, granted even Prof. Margoliouth's assumption that by the word וּמִשְׁכָּחֵלֵי the vowels are meant, the latter do not rank the same as the Halacha, and are not obligatory like the latter. But this only confirms the view developed in the *Galuy* as the profane character of the punctuation, in which there is nothing sacred. But there is no allusion here to its lateness.

Nor can anything be found in the passages quoted by Prof. Margoliouth from Saadiah's commentary to *Sefer Yetzira*, which would in any way contradict the views expressed in the *Galuy*. His objections to the method of reckoning the vowels among the letters can only be assented to. It is very doubtful whether the words וְקִרְיָן שְׁמֵי אֱלֹהִים, at the end of the commentary, ought to be translated, with Prof. Margoliouth, "a grammar of their sacred books." We should rather take it, with the editor Lambert, to mean: *comprendre le détail des préceptes (de Dieu)*; for neither in the אֲמָרָה, nor anywhere else, is mention made by Saadiah of an ancient Hebrew

grammar. Moreover, if Prof. Margoliouth's translation were correct, the term דקדוק לנה אלשראיע or דקדוק כחאב אלשראיע would be required. But granted even that Prof. Margoliouth's translation is right, yet it would be impossible to conclude from the circumstance that Saadiah attributed the establishment of the rules of grammar to the same scholars who transmitted the laws and the oral tradition, or, in other words, to the oldest Talmudical Rabbis, that according to the Gaon the points were rather *late* than *ancient*.

8. As to Eleazar ben Irai, I willingly admit, as I have already observed (l. c., pp. 204-5), that the reason why Saadiah attributed to him a saying of Ben Sira is still unknown. I only wish to add here, that there is a possibility, that in the copy of Ben Sira, which was in the hands of the Gaon, the first three chapters, or, at least, the sheet containing the third chapter, was missing, or that, by an error of the copyist, verses 20-21 had been omitted, and that therefore Saadiah quoted these verses in the way they were transmitted by the said Eleazar. But whatever the cause may have been, the fact that this same passage was quoted in the commentary to *Sefer Yetzira* in the name of Eleazar shows that Saadiah had before him a work of Eleazar's in which that passage occurred, and that he had forgotten the citation from Ben Sira as mentioned in the Talmud and the Midrash. Such a lapse of memory on the part of the Gaon in the year 931 (commentary to *Sefer Yetzira*) may very well have recurred in 934 (*Ha-Galuy*). Under no consideration can this accident constitute a reason for suspecting the genuineness of the *Galuy* fragment, in which we also become acquainted with two verses from Eleazar's own production. These latter are all the more interesting, because they belong to those literary productions that served Saadiah himself as a pattern of elevated style. I see from Prof. Margoliouth's Essay that the verse, or verses, quoted in the name of Eleazar, occur also in Dr. Schechter's edition of Ben Sira. (That edition is, unfortunately, not accessible to me, and I must, therefore, refrain in these observations from discussing the "Ben Sira" itself.) But I do not know in how far the verse in Dr. Schechter's edition is in accord with that quoted in *Ha-Galuy*, and in the commentary to *Sefer Yetzira*, in which the text is in complete agreement (except for the unimportant difference that in the latter ב occurs, instead of the second נ in the former). Prof. Margoliouth completely ignores my conjecture (l. c., p. 204), that the Eleazar mentioned in *Yerushalmi*, *Chagiga* (66 d, 73 c), *Bereshith Rabba* (c. 8), and *Tanchuma*, *Miketz* (ch. 10), who produced citations from Ben Sira, was, perhaps, identical with Eleazar Ben Irai. I will add here two more sentences of Eleazar's, which seem to have been taken from Ben Sira: כִּמְנוּ שֶׁל

לעולם יקדים אדם תפלה לצהר (דבא ומאמא מקימין רגלא, XLI, 27, (Babli *Pesachim*, 119 b, cf. Ben Sira, ed. Bensew, 44 b, cf. Ben Sira, *ibid.*, XVIII, 11: עד לא חמטך (עקתא צלא).

9. Prof. Margoliouth takes things very easy in respect to the book of the Maccabees, which is quoted in *Ha-Galuy*. He simply ignores everything set forth by me (l. c., pp. 208-9). He disregards the mention of *Megillat Beth Hashmonai* in the *Halachot Gedalot*, to which attention was already drawn by Rappoport, and which passage in the latest critical edition of that work (Warsaw, 1874, p. 282) was carefully noted by me. He only consults the notoriously late recension of the Vatican manuscript, into which an obvious mistake has crept, which was already pointed out by the editor (p. 615, note 9), and observes in a dictatorial manner: "but this is an error." Prof. Margoliouth should be a little more cautious in matters of Jewish literature when dealing with Rappoport.

Again, Prof. Margoliouth makes no mention whatever of the evidence of Nissim of Kaïrouan in *ספר המעשיות* (written about 1030-50), which was also referred to by Rappoport and by myself. In the Hebrew translation of that work, hitherto known, the Book of the Maccabees is called *מגילת חשמונאי*. But according to the Arabic original, discovered by me, the title was *מגילת בני חשמונאי* (*Steinschneider-Festschrift*, Hebrew part, p. 19); almost the same as in *Halachot Gedalot*. It is known that, in the latter work, the authorship of the book is ascribed to the elders of the schools of Shammai and Hillel. Let us now see how Nissim expresses himself about it: *פאנני לא אכליה מן דבר חרית נרי ללאמה אנמע פי ציקה כאנו פיהא ותפרנו מנהא סוי מא הו מרח מתל מגלת אסתר ומגלת בני חשמונאי וסאיר מה חצמנה אלארבעה ועשרין ספרא ממה נרי עלי אלאבא ואלאולין מן אלמאצין* ("I shall not neglect to tell in this book the events that happened to the nation, when they were in distress and were rescued, with the exception of such as have already been described, as for instance the *Megillat Esther* and the *Megillat Bni Hashmonai*, and all that is found in the twenty-four books about the oppressions and misfortunes that have befallen the fathers and the patriarchs and from which they were delivered; for all this has been described already and is found everywhere"). Consequently, this testimony of Nissim proves that as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, the Book of the Maccabees was already universally known in eastern countries as the biblical books. This fact is confirmed also by old oriental MSS. of our book and of prayer-books in which the latter is embodied in connexion with the

feast of Hanukah. I noted such MSS. from Yemen from the beginning of the fourteenth century (l. c., p. 209) ; afterwards, I had the opportunity of seeing MSS. of that book which date, at the latest, from the twelfth century, but belong more likely to the eleventh. Such data have, after all, quite a different value from that of an occasional phrase of Jellinek's that the book was a later liturgical work, a phrase quoted by Prof. Margoliouth with evident complacency. From the present standpoint of Jewish science we can rather maintain that the Book of the Maccabees was just as little composed for liturgical purposes (and in the Middle Ages forsooth !) in order to be read on Hanukah as the Pentateuch was written for the purpose of being recited at prayers, or the Prophetical books for the sake of the Haphtarot, or the Book of Esther for the Purim liturgy. In the first place, there is no trace in the book itself of any liturgical use, else it would have concluded with some form of prayer for the present and the future times (something like "as the Lord has helped us miraculously at the time of the Maccabees, so may he," &c.); secondly, in that case, the liturgical use of the book would have been much more extended. But we find that it is not in use at all in western countries, and the writers on decisions and ritual do not know it ; only Isaiah di Trani, the older, who lived in the thirteenth century, quotes it, and even in the east, it was only very sparingly made use of in the liturgy. The inference is obvious, that it was not written for liturgical purposes but as an historical work. Thirdly, up to the present time, we know of no historical book written in the Middle Ages in pure Aramaic (*Seder Olam Suta*, *Seder Tanaim Ve-Amoraim*, and the Epistle of Sherira Gaon were written in the mixed Talmudic-Aramaic dialect). For this reason also we must assume that the Book of the Maccabees belongs to antiquity. The positive assertion of the *Halachot Gedalot*, that the work belonged to the schools of Shammai and Hillel, is therefore by no means objectionable ; it is much more objectionable to declare that a work, which was already considered as ancient at about the middle of the eighth century, was a late compilation of the Middle Ages. Not a single alleged indication of a late authorship, which Prof. Margoliouth tries to establish by the aid of philology, can be decisive of anything in regard to our question, for it is impossible for us, at the present time, to maintain categorically, that such and such a word, which is at the present day known to us only from kindred Semitic dialects, could not have been in colloquial use in Palestine in the first Christian century. Many words in the Mishnah and Gemara can only be explained by us with the aid of Arabic, but nobody will therefore assert, that this points to Mahommedan influence. In

addition to this, there is the circumstance that as yet no restoration of the text of the Book of the Maccabees according to the oldest and best MSS. has been undertaken, so that it is possible, that some words have found their way into it from the hands of later copyists. But if the work belongs undoubtedly to antiquity and not to the Middle Ages, it would be historically unjust to demand of Saadiah, that he ought to have recognized it to be non-Maccabean, according to the light of the critical aids at our disposal. He produces the grounds that induced him to attribute to Abraham no more than the ideas contained in the *Sefer Yetzira*, but not the text as it stands; these grounds could be discovered even at his time, but not those which prove that the book in question was not Maccabean. And if he himself did not believe in a Maccabean authorship of the work, he might, for all that, have made use of it as an argument against his enemies, believing as they did in the latter. It was, at any rate, good enough for them, their reproaches and accusations against the Gaon were thus proved to be unfounded.

10. We have now arrived at that part which should form the main point in Prof. Margoliouth's criticism, namely, the philological part. I have already alluded to it, but it deserves to be more specially dealt with. I called the philological side of the question the most important one, because if treated scientifically, and with regard to a Babylonian writer of the tenth century in the position of Saadiah, it cannot possibly rest on purely personal ideas and considerations of that which is fit and unfit, proper and improper, &c. Nor can a philological critique base itself upon hypothetical, mere arbitrary chronological, or moral combinations, &c., by the aid of which a literary controversy can scarcely be finally decided. On the other hand, it is easy for so thorough a Semitical linguist as Prof. Margoliouth categorically to prove with the aid of documents, from a philological standpoint, that which is possible and that which is impossible. For the literary monuments of each epoch and of each writer are, on the whole, known and recognized by the students. We might therefore expect that the chief attack against the *Galuy* fragment would be made from that quarter, should we really have a supposititious document before us. For, not even the most subtle falsifier of texts has as yet succeeded in imitating his counterfeit productions so artificially, that the critique could not detect in it some treacherous weak point. Unfortunately, Prof. Margoliouth has refrained from making use in his criticism of those decisive points which are offered us in the history of the Hebrew language, of the development of the Hebrew poetical style, of the observation of the mannerisms of the neo-Hebrew writers in general, and of those

of the tenth century in particular. More than that, Prof. Margoliouth forgot, most peculiarly, to take into consideration the philological position and the poetical style of Saadiah himself, notwithstanding the fact, that these are the most momentous ones in regard to our question, and should occupy the principal place. Instead of this, he again enters on excursions into remote and vague subjects, and is contented with referring to conjectures, and even to incorrect assertions.

I shall therefore be permitted to make some introductory remarks on these points:—

(a) It is known that Abu Zacaria Jahia Chajjug (at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century) was the first to make the important discoveries of the trilateral nature, and of quiescence and defectiveness, of Hebrew roots. Until that time, biliteral, and even monoliteral roots were universally assumed, and there existed a rule, that radical letters could never disappear in the various grammatical permutations of the roots. Consequently, the absence of one or another letter in the words of the Bible proves that such letter could not have belonged to the root, but was merely an additional (servile) one. They therefore considered the *verba quiescentia* and *defectiva* as biliteral roots. This is not only illustrated by numerous instances taken from the Pajetanim, proofs of which can be found in the appendices to Zunz's *Synagogale Poesie*, but Saadiah distinctly enunciates it (in the first part of my work, p. 57, ver. 25 of the *Egron*). It was also recognized by his opponent Mubashir (*ibid.*, pp. 71–73), by Ben Asher and Menachem ben Saruk (מחברת, *passim*), and Dunash does not object to it. It is easy to verify from the above-mentioned lists of Zunz, that the Gaon acted upon that principle in his poetry, which, to him, was identical with Pijut (*vid. infra*), e. g. נָא (from תָּאָה; תָּתָאָו, Num. xxxiv. 7), נָר (from נָגַר, thus also Kalir), חָז (for חָזָה, like Kalir), עָט (for עָטָה, like Kalir), עָש (for עָשָׂה, like Kalir), צו (for צוּחַ, like Jose ben Jose and Kalir), צַת (for יָצַת, like Kalir), רֶש (for יֶרֶשׁ). These examples Zunz took from the Gaon's עֲבוּדָה, תְּרִי"ג מִצְוֹת, and אֲזָהָרוֹת, which are printed in קִיבוץ מַעֲשֵׂי יְרֵי נְאוֹנִים קְדֻשָּׁנִים (Berlin, 1856). We could add now several other instances from Saadiah's הוֹשַׁעְנוֹת, printed by the late Kohut; e. g. חָן (for חָנָה, like Kalir), חָק (for חָקַק), פֶּץ (for פָּצָה, like Kalir), צָר (for יָצַר, like Kalir), דָּר (from יָדָר, like Kalir and Ben Asher).

(b) We know now that the Gaon had a deep respect for the Pajetanim, Jose ben Jose, Jannai, and particularly for the prolific Eleazar Kalir. This appears from the passages collected in the first part of my work (pp. 51, 107–110), in which he calls them “the

ancient poets" (אלשערא אלאלין), and "the excellent poets" (אלשערא אלמאלין). He quotes examples from their poems in his dictionary, written especially for the use of poets (אנרון). We noticed before that he imitated Jose and Kalir in his liturgical poetry. But in his secular rhetorical epistles he also followed Kalir's style (נתן דאימא); this is evident from his commentary to the *Sefer Yetzira* (p. 23; where the correct reading seems to be ברכותי, from the Talmudical חסב, חסביה). Saadiah's method was the same as that of the Pajetanim, who sought to increase and expand the Hebrew vocabulary by the creation of new, and often unsuccessful forms of nouns and verbs, by the frequent use of *hapax legomena*, and by employing Targumic and Talmudical terms. Besides the great number of examples of words of that kind used by the Gaon, which have already been given (l. c.), and which could be considerably augmented, we know now, that even in his exegetical works, and in his secular Hebrew productions, he did not shrink from the boldest interpretations and formations of words. It is greatly to be regretted that the little book, *Kritik des Dunasch ben Labrat über einzelne Stellen aus Saadia's . . . Schriften*, edited by R. Schröter (Breslau, 1866), seems to have been entirely unknown to Prof. Margoliouth. He would have found there that Saadiah, e. g. explained בנר (Gen. xxx. 11) as בא ההניד (No. 14), מרם (Ps. xvi. 4) as מריים (No. 18); that he derived בחותי (Ps. lii. 9) from הון (No. 20), זכרני (Gen. xxx. 20) from זכר (No. 21); that he identified ורים (Isa. i. 7) with ורם (No. 23), לחומי (Deut. xxiii. 24) with חום. Dunash quotes, in the same booklet, any amount of such monstrous words of Saadiah's, as הוֹדֵר (from the interjection הוֹדֵה), אוֹסֵם (from the interjection אוֹהֵה), אִיתָהּ (from the proper noun אִיתָהּ), קוֹעֵץ (from the proper noun קוֹעֵץ), אִיתָהּ from אִיתָהּ, and דוֹתָהּ from דוֹתָהּ. Prof. Margoliouth should be consistent, and apply his hypothesis also to the Saadiah's liturgical poems, and to the passages just quoted from Dunash, and maintain that they are only satires against, and parodies of the Gaon's works. Again, to be fully consistent, Prof. Margoliouth ought to apply the same assumption to many passages in other works of Saadiah's, which he himself recognizes to be genuine, e. g. the *Commentary to the Proverbs*, xxx. 1 (ed. Derenbourg, p. 183), where יקה is derived from יקהל, בחל from בחלק, איתאל from איתאל, and למואל from מול; also to many other passages in the Gaon's works, which are in no way superior to those in *Ha-Galuy* to which Prof. Margoliouth takes exception. We see, therefore, that Prof. Margoliouth's method would lead us too far.

11. Having thus prefaced some general remarks about Saadiah's position in reference to language, we can now proceed with the consideration of Prof. Margoliouth's philological observations on

the short text of the *Galuy* fragment. We shall again see that Prof. Margoliouth's criticism of that text is quite untenable.

Prof. Margoliouth writes: "The first sentence alone contains two words unknown to the Dictionary, חסן and ראח." To this we reply that ראח is a *hapax legomenon*, occurring in Ezek. xxviii. 17, and it is quite legitimately used in Saadiah's elevated style. For apart from the innumerable examples of the use of *hapax legomena* and rare forms (Arabic נואר) employed by the Pajetanim and Spanish poets, and also in the Gaon's liturgical productions, we find also two examples in his brief rhetorical address in his commentary to *Sefer Yetzira* (p. 23), וטמור (Gen. xxi. 16) and חצני (Isa. xlix. 22, and two more places); not less than five instances in the address (apparently to the Academy of Sura) in Dunash's *Critique*, No. 87: ברקת (Exod. xxviii. 17), יחלם (ibid., xxviii. 18), ראמות and כדכר (Ezek. xxvii. 16), מחלמח (formed from מחלמח, Exod. xxviii. 19); several examples in the preface to אגרת (in my work, first part, pp. 52-7), e.g. ver. 2: ויאצל (Num. xi. 25) and עדין (Mic. iv. 8 and Job iv. 5); ver. 3: להקח (1 Sam. xix. 20) and נפלטה (Gen. x. 25); ver. 4: להחזר (Eccles. iv. 13), ויפצו (1 Sam. xi. 11 and 2 Sam. xx. 22), בחסם (Jer. li. 39), and העתידות (Deut. xxxii. 35); ver. 5: ירעה (Isa. xv. 4) and ותרץ (Dan. xi. 4), &c., &c.

We are also able to give the authority for the other impugned word חסן, which occurs in *Ha-Galuy* as synonymous to ראח, in the sense of "treasure," "treasured store"; namely, Isa. xxxii. 18, where the *hapax legomenon* יחסן is also used synonymous to ראח. In Saadiah's translation, *Œuvres compl. de Saadia* (III, 1896, p. 33), both words are rendered by two Arabic synonyma, one of which is, just as in the *Galuy*, formed from the root כִּן. It is therefore to be regretted that Prof. Margoliouth did not include the third volume of the *Œuvres compl.* among his critical apparatus; had he done so he would have found in the impugned word rather a confirmation of, than an objection to, Saadiah's authorship.

Prof. Margoliouth writes further: "גִּיָּה, in the next line, is from the Targum of Job." In regard to this we wish to observe, that granted even that Saadiah considered the word גִּיָּה as *Targumic*, there would yet be nothing surprising in the fact of the Gaon making use of it. Saadiah followed the example of biblical poetry, in which Saadiah, after Dunash's *Critique*, declared the words חסין (No. 26), ויזרעו (No. 27), כיקר (No. 40), למחות מלכין (No. 48, cf. the *Commentary to Proverbs*, xxxi. 3, ed. Derenbourg, p. 197) and others to have been borrowed from the Aramaic, and in which, after the method of his well-known little work, there are over seventy (91)

words which must be explained from the Targum and the Talmud. This was the method he applied to his poetical productions. Thus, in his liturgies he constantly makes use of Targumic and Talmudic words, and in his vocabulary, אֲנִי, specially composed for the use of poets, he included words from the Targum and the Talmud. Cf. the first volume of my work (pp. 69, 71). The impugned word can certainly have been used by Saadiah, for Zunz showed already (*Synagogale Poesie*, p. 394) that Saadiah had used the word נִיחָה, probably as a *nomen actionis*, in a *Selicha*, and that Kalir also had used the word נִיחָה (p. 390). We have already seen that Saadiah held Kalir in high esteem and that he was fond of imitating him (cf. *infra*). We would therefore be entitled to assume *a priori*, that if נִיחָה belonged to Saadiah's vocabulary, the same may have been the case with נִיחָה. This is now confirmed by the *Galuy* fragment. But we can go even further than this. Zunz and Prof. Margoliouth consider נִיחָה as Aramaic; this is philologically correct. But for Kalir and Saadiah, the word was pure Hebrew, because, according to their grammatical views, that the נִיחָה verb נִיחָה, of which the Bible has the forms נִיחָה (2 Sam. xxii. 29) and נִיחָה (Job xviii. 5), נִיחָה only could be considered as the root, and they could form נִיחָה from נִיחָה, analogous to נִיחָה (in their opinion formed from נִיחָה) and נִיחָה (in their opinion formed from נִיחָה).

Prof. Margoliouth proceeds: "The word נִיחָה is exceedingly faulty for נִיחָה." The reply to this is, that according to my remarks (l. c. pp. 23, 181, 188-9, 192, 238) the use of the incriminated word is fully justified. I showed there that, according to Saadiah's own evidence, it was a universal poetical custom in those days to transform feminine into masculine words, that Saadiah himself had, most probably in another fragment of *Ha-Galuy*, transformed נִיחָה into נִיחָה, and that Saadiah's pattern, Kalir, also used the word נִיחָה. All this is entirely disregarded by Prof. Margoliouth, although, I think, that it is, at least, worthy to be refuted. I can now add, that many similar words used by Saadiah belong to the same category; e. g. אֲחִלָּה, quoted in Dunash's *Critique*, from the Biblical אֲחִלָּה, אֲחִלָּה, in his *עֲבוּדָה* (p. 12), from the Talmudical word אֲחִלָּה (Ezek. xxi. 20), אֲחִלָּה (ibid., p. 13) from the Talmudical word אֲחִלָּה, Aramaic אֲחִלָּה (p. 14) from אֲחִלָּה (p. 15) from אֲחִלָּה, &c., &c. But the matter is clinched by this, that already Zunz (ibid., p. 384) cited the *corpus delicti*, the word נִיחָה, from a liturgical poem of Saadiah's, commencing with the word נִיחָה (Saadiah's dirge נִיחָה is probably meant, vid. *Literaturgeschichte der synagog. Poesie*, p. 97).

Prof. Margoliouth says further: "The form נִיחָה is not Biblical, but Arabic." This cannot be asserted so offhand, for we have already

in the second verse of Genesis the form מרחפת, cf. מבשרת (Isa. xl. 9), מדברה (1 Sam. i. 13), מנבחות, plur. (1 Kings xi. 8), &c., &c. Saadiah has himself כספרת in אגרון (l. c., p. 54, ver. 12). Prof. Margoliouth probably meant to say that a verb was formed here from the noun להב, but such mode of proceeding is sufficiently known to us from Saadiah's poetical productions. I quote a few examples: In the עבודה he has השיל from שולים, שולי, האשיל from אשיל (p. 10), הרטיט from ויללה, פולסם from the Talmudical פולסם (p. 12), הרטיט from רטט (Jer. xlix. 24), אלקיט from אלקיט (Ezek. xiii. 11, p. 13), &c. In a fragment quoted by me (p. 189) תתבחת from ברת (Esther i. 6). Most instructive are in this respect the instances quoted by Dunash in his *Critique* (No. 88), for we learn from them, that the Gaon formed אותת from אות, דותת from דת, and even transformed proper nouns like קיע, and interjections like הידר and אהה into verbs!

The Hebrew and Arabic titles ספר הנלי and אלכתאב אלטארד present difficulties to Prof. Margoliouth, as they did to other critics before him, but without reason. I have already given the only correct explanation (l. c., pp. 142, 180), namely that the words mean "the Book of the Exiled" (of the exiled one), I only forgot to add that we ought to read in the Arabic אלטריר כתאב (or also אלטרד, in a passive sense), just as in the Hebrew the word גלי is taken as the passive of גלה (to exile). Thus he has also in the other fragment (p. 189) חבו, analogous to the Biblical רצוי, and נסוי in Ben Sira. After my above remarks about Saadiah's artificial style, Prof. Margoliouth will, I hope, admit that my explanation does not prove at all that "Harkavy strangely prefers the barbarous Hebrew to the correct," &c., but that every author must be judged according to the conditions of his age, according to the linguistic stage of his period, and, principally, according to his own works and mannerisms.

12. Having thus shown how groundless Prof. Margoliouth's reasons are for suspecting the work, it will be sufficient only briefly to refer to the remaining points of his criticism, which rest either upon premises, which can be proved to be incorrect, or upon arbitrary assumptions, and I shall only enter upon a detailed discussion of the following remarks should the specialists on these subjects find that my defence of the *Ha-Galuy* fragment is faulty, and that the genuineness of the book is doubtful.

(a) Saadiah's opponent Mubashir Halevy, who wrote after Saadiah's death (942), as noted by me in the first part (p. 68), cannot, of course, be identical with the Gaon Mubashir, as Prof. Margoliouth thinks. The latter Gaon was no Levite, and was already dead in 926.

(b) Saadiah's work ספר ההכרה, quoted by Abraham bar Chija in

the ספר העבור, was recognized long ago to be the כתאב אלחמין, which was written in Arabic, and directed against the Karaites. It is the same book as the one entitled ספר המבחן, in the translation of Moses ibn Ezra's אלהוריקה.

(c) Saadiah, like the Arabic authors, understood under *Nabataean* the Arabaic mixed with Aramaic and Persian words, which was spoken in Babylonia.

(d) Prof. Margoliouth's supposition that the *Galuy* fragment is a complete composition is obviously erroneous. Both its external shape and its contents (it commences in the middle of a phrase with the *et* conjunctive) prove clearly that it is ἀκίφαλον καὶ ἀτέλειον. The supposition is also refuted by the quotations from the work: הענותו, וכחכמת, ויער ה' את רוח סעדיהו (p. 165), ויחל סעדיהו (p. 163), ונחתום חזון ונביא, לחם יתר הנביאים, במרום (p. 167).

(e) Neither is the MS. whole, nor is it an autograph from the year 962, but it most likely belonged to a copyist of the twelfth century, who has not copied everything correctly.

(f) Prof. Margoliouth's positive assertion that Saadiah's book of the festivals was composed in Arabic, will hardly impress anybody, unable as he is to give a single quotation from it. He does not take any notice of the fragment printed by me (l. c., p. 220).

(g) Prof. Margoliouth's fantastical combination, about a Karaite fabrication of the *Galuy* fragment, is hardly worth a serious refutation. Not even the cleverest forger could have fabricated a literary production composed in Saadiah's style, written in words peculiar to Saadiah, and so thoroughly impregnated with the ideas and the spirit of Saadiah, let alone a Karaite of the tenth century.

In every Karaite forgery, both old and new, a great number of which the writer of these remarks has first recognized and pointed out, it is always an easy matter to find out the *cui prodest*, and the Karaite character is always more or less glaringly conspicuous. Where are the signs of Karaism in our fragment? Should its general object, the ridiculing of Saadiah, be its caricature? But it contains nothing which does not correspond with the Gaon's position at the time, or which could not *per se* be proved, from other works, to be his property. It would indeed be a rare curiosity in the history of Jewish literature, such a Karaite satire upon Saadiah, which was never used by a single one of the Gaon's many Karaite antagonists, but which was naively used by Nissim of Kairouan, a zealous Rabbinite of the first half of the eleventh century, who had constant intercourse with Babylonia, and who wrote polemical writings against the Karaites (vid. my remarks on this in Steinschneider's *Festschrift*). It would be a rarity far beyond anything hitherto considered rare.

(h) The unjust proceedings, which according to Nathan Babi's report, were the cause of the strife between Saadiah and the Exilarch, can only explain the latter's hatred against the former, but not the antagonism of the academy of Pumbeditha, of the Gaon Cohen Zedek, of the later Gaon Aaron (Chalaf) ibn Sarjado, and of all other opponents of Saadiah. We learn from the *Galuy* fragment—what the introduction to the *Amanath* already made appear probable—that Saadiah's learned aspiration was also one of the causes. There is, therefore, no contradiction between Nathan's report and the preface of *Ha-Galuy*. For the rest, the expression *לֹא עָדָל* (*and no justice*) in the preface shows quite clearly, that justice had been infringed by Saadiah's opponents, and this subject was of course fully dealt with in the work *Ha-Galuy* itself.

(i) Prof. Margoliouth has overlooked the fact that the title of *אֱמוּנָתוֹת וְאֶלֶּוֹת* (people of monotheism and justice) was in reality the title borne by the Arabic *Mutakalemin*, and that it was appropriated by Mutakalemite Karaites from a love of imitation. This was known since Delitzsch (1841). Cf. also Schreiner, *Der Kalam* (Berlin, 1895, p. 5).

(k) Prof. Margoliouth disregarded also my remark about the title of *רבנין* (p. 153, note 10). There the matter is quite satisfactorily explained. Namely, Saadiah launches against his opponents Cohen Zedek, Sarjado, &c., the reproach, that they had no proper historical knowledge of Rabbinism, notwithstanding the fact that they now were called Rabbis and constantly had that title in their mouths. This is, therefore, directed against the *present Rabbis*, i.e. against Saadiah's opponents, and not against the Rabbis in general. How is it possible to recognize here, with Prof. Margoliouth, "the Karaite hand," and how is here "Saadiah's own party made ridiculous"?

(l) Prof. Margoliouth, in discussing David ben Zakkai's claims to the position of Exilarch, forgot that the latter had been first deprived of his office by Saadiah, and superseded by his brother, and that only afterwards David's party gained power, of course, by means of bribing the Mahomedan authorities. Consequently, Saadiah could justly consider Ben Zakkai as an illegitimate Exilarch.

(m) Prof. Margoliouth thinks it to be "impossible" for Saadiah to speak boastingly of himself, but he disregards the distinct evidence of Ibn Daud (in Neubauer's *Mediaev. Chron.*, I, 66), who says: "דברי רב מעדיה המצבות אשר עשה לישראל הנם כתובים על ספר הגלוי." It may be that, according to our present ideas, one or another boastful expression may appear improper; but when we take into consideration the time when it was written, the literary fashion of the Arabic writers of the age, and the personal position of the Gaon, we shall become more lenient in our judgment.

(n) The readers of Saadiah's writings were long aware of the fact that he repeatedly dealt with many subjects in his various works. Abraham bar Chiya gives distinct evidence (cf. my work, pp. 133, 143, 155) that Saadiah fully discussed the time of Israel's deliverance (the *Yp*) both in *Ha-Galuy* and in the *Amanath*. Most probably he considered it necessary and useful to treat this subject in a pamphlet also, after having discussed it in his large work on philosophy of religion, which was only written for scholars. I have a conjecture about this, but it would lead me too far here to enter upon it. At any rate, it is unintelligible why the time of the deliverance when fixed by Saadiah as 933 may have been meant seriously, but when fixed as 934, it must, in spite of Abraham B. Chiya's evidence, be put off to 962, and be meant satirically.

(o) It is true that Saadiah had done all he could to avoid the strife; but it became inevitable when it transpired that the Exilarch would not yield anything of his criminal demands, and made use of violent measures. On what compromise with the Exilarch could the Gaon enter after this?

(p) Everybody will think it only natural that Saadiah's polemic in the book *Amanath* and elsewhere is calmer, milder, and more modest than in *Ha-Galuy*. In the former, the polemic is not, as in the last, directed against personal enemies, who had taken everything away from him, who had personally illtreated him, had imperilled his life, and had publicly boasted that they had acted thus. And since Saadiah was usually calm and moderate, we can only conclude, that *Ha-Galuy* was a book written with a purpose (in self-defence against personal enemies), which if not justifiable, was at least excusable, in view of the conditions of the time.

The foregoing remarks are, I think, sufficient to set aside Prof. Margolionth's principal strictures upon the *Galuy* fragment. Should it, however, be deemed necessary, I am prepared to disprove many other alleged proofs of Prof. Margolionth. I only want to draw attention to this, that the assumption, that we have to deal here with a Karaite satire, entails greater difficulties than Prof. Margolionth believes he has found. How is it possible that a Karaite satire against Saadiah existed since 962 without a Karaite having made use of it? That the famous head of a school in Kairouan of the eleventh century should have taken it, without any misgivings, for a genuine work, and should have borrowed from it forged verses of Ben Sira, and even Menasseh's argument, so strongly censured by Prof. Margolionth! And we are to believe that this Karaite forger of the tenth century undertook the difficult task, without considering that any Rabbinate could unmask and disgrace him by producing the

genuine *Galuy*! Prof. Margoliouth may pardon me—but were it not that his esteemed name appeared at the bottom of the article, and if the latter did not contain some side issues, discussed with great erudition and acumen, it might be more reasonably taken as a satire against many a modern critic (especially in the field of Bible criticism), rather than the *Galuy* fragment as a satire against Saadiah.

A. HARKAVY.

ST. PETERSBURG, *January*, 1900.

NOTE ON SIRACH, L. 9.

THE editors of the Cambridge fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus (1899) discuss the best way of filling up בְּכֵלֵי זָהָב... וְכֵלֵי כֶסֶף, and suggest (p. xlvii) the reading בְּכֵלֵי זָהָב חֲפֹרִי וְכֵלֵי כֶסֶף (or כְּכֵלֵי). M. Halévy (*Le nouveau fragment hébreu*, p. 4) suggests as the last word בְּכֵסֶף. I venture to express the opinion that כֵּסֶף is evidently a corruption of כְּכֵסֶף or כְּכֵסֶף. כְּכֵסֶף occurs in Ezra i. 9, where the versions (LXX, Vg., Syr.) give the sense “bowl” or “bason.” The English Version gives “bowls of gold, silver bowls.” Should we not read (correcting and transposing) כְּכֵסֶף וְכֵסֶף? So the sense becomes, “A vessel of gold and (or) a bason of silver.”

March 15, 1900.

T. K. CHEYNE.

ECCLESIASTICUS: THE RETRANSLATION HYPOTHESIS.

THE close resemblance of the names Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes might suggest, on a superficial view, that there is an equally close internal relation between the two books. Such a relation does not, however, exist. It has been justly remarked that the affinity of Ecclesiasticus is with the Book of Proverbs rather than with Ecclesiastes. This affinity or relation is of considerable importance with regard to a fact strongly insisted on with respect to the alleged dual origin of the newly found text of Ecclesiasticus. That there are in this text doublets or verses more or less identical in language or in meaning cannot be denied. But this phenomenon presents itself in sufficient abundance in the Book of Proverbs. One proverb even occurs in precisely the same form in two places of the same section of the Book, xiv. 12; xvi. 25:—

יש דרך ישר לפני איש
ואחריתה דרכי מות

“There is a way that seemeth right unto a man;
But the end thereof are the ways of death.”

Approximating to this absolute identity, instances may be cited of proverbs nearly alike in both form and meaning. Here are two, with regard to which it is noteworthy that they occur near together in the same chapter. Thus, at xix. 5, we have—

עד שקרים לא ינקה
ויפיה בזבים לא ימלם

Then the ninth verse gives us the same words, with the exception that **יאמר** is substituted for **ימלם**. If we were disposed to give the reins to our imagination, we might argue that the substitution was made under Syriac influence, as the reader may see, by consulting the lexicon under **ܣܠܟܐ** and **ܕܒܐ**. In the English version the fifth verse is translated,—

“A false witness shall not be unpunished,
And he [that] speaketh lies shall not escape.”

The ninth verse substitutes "shall perish" for "shall not escape." If the reader desires other examples, he may compare xi. 21 with xvi. 5; xix. 25 with xxi. 11; xx. 10 with xx. 23; xxi. 9 with xxi. 19; xix. 12 with xx. 2. These last examples are antithetic, and so are xi. 25, 26, verses apparently placed close together on account of the antithesis; and the editor may have been influenced also by the word בִּרְכָה. The precise causes influencing the arrangement of the proverbs in many cases it is difficult or impossible to determine. Proverbs of similar or identical meaning may be placed near together, as the examples cited show. And there would appear to be no reason why such proverbs should not be arranged consecutively, if the collectors had been so disposed. And it should not be forgotten that Ecclesiasticus is, like the Proverbs, a collection. At xxxiii. 16 the author describes himself as "one that gathereth after the grape-gatherers," but, he continues, "by the blessing of the Lord I profited, and filled my wine-press like a gatherer of grapes." If he met with proverbs in an Aramaic dress, there would be nothing to prevent his incorporating such proverbs in his collection, at the same time retaining more or less of the original diction; and he might, for the sake of comparison, purposely place such proverbs in close juxtaposition with others of similar import¹.

The British Museum fragments, which were edited and annotated by the Rev. G. Margoliouth for the October number of this REVIEW, contain interesting and illustrative examples of doublets. Passing over the curious example of the evil eye, xxxi. 15, on which the editor himself comments, we come to verses 15 and 18, where the editor translates,—

"Know thy neighbour like thyself,
And carefully consider all that thou hatest.
Take thy seat like a man who is chosen,
And do not rush ²lest thou be disliked.
Know that thy neighbour is like thyself,
And eat like a man that which he has placed before thee."

¹ It is due to Mr. I. Abrahams to mention that he called attention to the doublets in the Book of Proverbs in *J. Q. R.*, October, 1899, p. 176, and even said of Ben Sira that "he must have perceived these doublets, and as I venture to think may have proceeded to imitate them."

² Perhaps a better rendering would be "do not clear the board," following the Sept. *μη δαμασῶ*, "do not gobble up." The Greek translator seems to have regarded עָנַן as derived from a verb עָנַן, with the sense of the Syriac. "Disliked" appears scarcely strong enough as a rendering of תִּלְוֶה. The use of such a verb as לָוַי agrees with the interpretation of עָנַן לָ, which I have suggested.

Here between the two elements of the doublet a verse, or at least two lines, are interposed. A very little further (vers. 18 and 27) we have another example of the doublet with a still longer portion of the text interposed between the two occurrences. As in several places of the Book of Proverbs, the first member of the verse is exactly the same in both cases, but the second member differs greatly. Mr. Margoliouth translates,—

- (1) "Surely a little is sufficient for a man of understanding,
And he does not burn on his bed. Pain," &c.
- (2) "Surely a little is sufficient for a man of understanding,
And even if thou hast been constrained with dainties, keep
on hoping, and thou shalt have ease."

It would be, I am afraid, a hopeless task to attempt to prove that the one is derived from the Greek, and the other from the Syriac, either as it now stands, or as it may be supposed to have stood originally. The probability would seem to be that there is a designed repetition for the sake of what is to follow.

Immediately following the last quotation we have an example of the doublet which agrees very well with Mr. Margoliouth's theory of two or more recensions, the one member being taken from one, and the other, in close juxtaposition, from another :—

"Hear, my son, and despise me not,
And in the end thou shalt lay hold on my words.
Hear, my son, and accept my instruction,
And laugh not at me;
And in the end thou shalt find my words."

Again the theory of duplex derivation could scarcely lead to success, even though, in the opinion of Mr. Margoliouth, the first member agrees more with the Greek, and the second with the Syriac.

Then we have two proverbs which we may regard as originally distinct, but placed together on account of their similarity to a certain extent. I still follow Mr. Margoliouth's translation :—

"The furnace proveth the work of the artificer,
So is the wine with regard to the quarrelling of the scornful.
A man of understanding proveth every work,
So is strong drink with regard to the strife of the scornful."

The difference here is so considerable as to make the reader hesitate with regard to the one proverb being derived from one recension and

the other from another. The recension theory may suit better the following,—

“What life is there to him who is without wine?” &c.

and,

“What life is there to him who is without new wine?” &c.

But the difference may be ascribed to a divergent development of the proverbs previous to the composition of Ben Sira's book. Again, moreover, the derivation from Greek and Syriac would be at fault.

In the *Revue des Études Juives*, M. Lévi adduces several examples of the doublet with the view of showing that one member is derived from the Greek and the other from the Syriac. Most of these examples he allows the reader to investigate for himself *à son gré*; but two of them he discusses more particularly, namely, xxx. 17 and xxx. 20. The first of these may be translated,—

“To die is better than a life of vanity,
And eternal rest than continual pain.
To die is better than an evil life,
And to go down to Sheol than enduring pain.”

The first member can scarcely be said to be a translation of the Greek *κρείσσον θάνατος ὑπὲρ ζωῆς πικρᾶς ἢ ἀργασίας ζήμνοντος*. The second member agrees sufficiently well with the Syriac; but it might, according to Mr. Margoliouth's view, be derived from a different recension, or the original collector may have placed together two proverbs varying somewhat in expression. The other example may be regarded as at once more difficult and more interesting:—

כֹּאֲשֶׁר סִרְיִים (סִרְיִים) יִחַבֵּק נַעֲרָה וּמִתְאַנֵּחַ
כֵּן עֲשֵׂה בְּאִנָּם מִשְׁפָּט
כֵּן נֶאֱמָן לֵן עִם בְּתוּלָה
יִי מִבְּקֶשׁ מִיָּדוֹ

Dr. Taylor translates,—

“As an eunuch (?) embraceth a maiden and groaneth,
So is he that doeth judgment with violence (?).
As an eunuch (?) that lieth with a virgin,
And the Lord requireth it at his hand.”

It is noticeable that in the Hebrew the two couplets have a quite different sense. The first (with the pretty certain emendation סִרְיִים) speaks of a eunuch fruitlessly embracing a maiden. The second, where נֶאֱמָן may well have been translated in the Syriac סִרְיִמָּנָא, with the sense, “one who is faithful or trusted” lying during the night

with a virgin, and presumably, by the intercourse violating his trust. Otherwise it is not easy to see how "the Lord requireth it at his hand," which agrees with the Syriac, could follow. There is not that equivalence of meaning in the two members of the doublet which the retranslation hypothesis requires.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, of Oxford, also refers in the *Guardian* for November 8 to two alleged doublets. He says, "In xxx. 12 b the Greek and Syriac texts both bid a father 'thump' his son's back. But the Greek word for 'thump' might be rendered 'crush,' and so we have one Hebrew verse bidding the father 'crush' his son's back; and the Syriac word for 'thump' might be rendered 'split,' and so we have another Hebrew verse in which the father is bidden to 'split' his son's back. Now if the Hebrew advised the parent *either* to 'crush' *or* to 'split' his son's back, we should be told that this was excellent advice; but it requires more than ordinary hardihood to maintain that Ben Sira advised a father to do both. Should he split it first and crush it afterwards?"

Without assenting to this philological disquisition, I may say that Professor Margoliouth appears to disregard the fact, alluded to above, that Ecclesiasticus is a collection of proverbs. Proverbs expressed in language savouring somewhat of hyperbole may have been placed together without at all implying that they are to be carried into practice consecutively. And it should be observed that the correction or punishment of youth is a matter repeatedly and strongly expressed in the canonical Book of Proverbs. I need only refer, without quoting, to xiii. 24; xix. 18; xxii. 15; xxiii. 13; xxix. 17.

The other passage which Professor Margoliouth adduces is xxxi. 4, with reference to which he says, "The Greek and the Syriac tell us that the poor man labours in deficiency of life (i. e. livelihood)." But the Syriac word for "life" also means "house." And the Greek word for life (*βίον*) is very like a word meaning "strength" (*βίαις*). Hence we have two alternative renderings in the Hebrew, one with "house," and another with "strength." It may make the matter clearer to give the Hebrew:—

נַע עֲנִי לְחֶסֶד בֵּיתוֹ
וְאִם יָנַח יִהְיֶה צָרִיד
עֲמַל עֲנִי לְחֶסֶד כֹּחַ
וְאִם יָנַח לֹא נַחַח לוֹ

"The poor laboureth on account of the penury of his household,
And if he rests, he becomes needy.

The poor toileth on account of the lack of his strength (means,
Taylor),

And if he rests, he is without (real) rest."

Though בית pretty clearly means "his household," little difficulty need be felt about the Syriac translator rendering בית by ܒܝܬܐ. But there is a good deal of difficulty about Professor Margoliouth's suggestion that his supposed translator from Greek into Hebrew read *βίον* as *βίαι*: *βίαι* occurs only once in the Greek Ecclesiasticus, xx. 4, and there the meaning is "violence," a sense which can scarcely be suitable here. The word for strength in Ecclesiasticus is *ισχύς*, and this word is found in sufficient abundance. A very good and illustrative example is to be seen in xxxi. 30, *ἐλαττώσιν ἰσχύν* (Heb. מחסר כח).

From the acrostic or partial acrostic in chap. li, I do not see that any valid argument in favour of the retranslation hypothesis can be drawn.

We may now proceed to the consideration of some positive evidence in favour of the genuineness of the newly found Hebrew. But this evidence need not blind us to the fact that this Hebrew, even so far as it goes, is both imperfect and corrupt.

There are in the Cambridge text two places to which I desire to call especial attention as giving pretty conclusive evidence. And there are probably other passages, the testimony of which would be just as valid, though they may not yet have been detected. Of those which I now adduce, the first is xiii. 26. Dr. Charles Taylor translates the versè thus:—

"A token of a merry heart is a bright countenance; and study and meditation is wearisome thought."

To the verse thus translated a note of interrogation is added, to show that the translator regarded the rendering, at least of the last member of the verse, as more or less doubtful. The last part of the verse I should prefer to render, "But the close study of problems is toilsome" (וְשִׁיחַ וְשִׁיחַ מַחֲשַׁבַּת עִמָּל). As Dr. Taylor indicates, *שִׁיחַ וְשִׁיחַ* ("retirement and meditation," or "close study") is in all probability derived from 1 Kings xviii. 27, where we have *לֹא שִׁיחַ וְכִי שִׁיחַ* לו, referring to Baal in Elijah's ironical address. The plural *מַחֲשַׁבַּת* is used in Ex. xxxi. 4, xxxv. 35, of skilfully devised works, or, rather of the plans or designs for such work. From this sense the transition is tolerably easy to difficult and involved subjects of thought, or, briefly, "problems." The Greek is in general accordance with this view, *καὶ εὗρεσις παραβολῶν διαλογισμοὶ μετὰ κόπου*, "and the finding out of parables [requires] laborious reasonings." While it is easy to see in the Greek a reflection of the Hebrew, it is difficult or impossible to imagine that, in a retranslation from the Greek, *שִׁיחַ וְשִׁיחַ* would have been borrowed from the passage in Kings, and it is still less credible, perhaps, that *παραβολῶν* should have been rendered by such

a word as מַחֲשַׁבָּה instead of the usual מַשְׁלִים. From the Syriac, "And an abundance of stories are the thoughts of sinners," the Hebrew could not possibly have been derived. But, with the newly found text before us, it is easy to detect the Hebrew through every word of the Syriac. This juxtaposition may make the matter somewhat clearer:—

שֵׁן שִׁיחַ מַחֲשַׁבַּת עֵמֶל
כּוֹנָאן שׁוֹעִיתָא תְּרַעִיתָא חֲמִיא

The incoherency of the Syriac rendering, caused no doubt by the translator failing to understand his text, affords a strong argument for the genuineness of the Hebrew. The misunderstanding of שֵׁן scarcely needs comment, unless it be to say that even the misunderstanding affords strong evidence that the Syriac translator had the Hebrew text before him. As to עֵמֶל, with moral significance, Isa. x. 1 and other passages may be compared.

The other place to which I refer is xiv. 11, where Dr. Taylor translates,—

"My son, if thou hast wherewithal, minister to thine own self;
And if thou hast, do good unto thyself;
And according to the power of thy hand make thyself fat."

The conclusion of this verse which may be given as, "And if you are able to do so, make yourself fat (וְהִשְׁמַנְתָּ)," is certainly a singular piece of advice to be found in a quasi-Biblical book. The Greek diverges remarkably, "My son, according to thy ability, do good to thyself, and present worthy offerings to the Lord (καὶ προσφορὰς Κυρίῳ ἀξίως πρόσταγε)." The newly discovered Hebrew affords a reasonable explanation. The Greek translator, repelled by so coarse a piece of advice as "grow fat," changed this into a religious admonition, "Make fat (and therefore worthy) offerings to the Lord." The Syriac translator may have cut the knot by omitting the clause altogether. It appears sufficiently evident that the Hebrew could not possibly be a retranslation from the Greek and Syriac, either separately or conjointly. With regard to the Greek, Edersheim speaks of it as "an attempted combination of enjoyment with piety"; and this can scarcely be regarded as harmonious with the context. As to the Greek translator modifying a coarse expression, xxxi. 20 may be compared, where we have קִירָב צוֹלֵל, which Mr. G. Margoliouth translates "a purged belly"; and with regard to the Greek he observes, "צוֹלֵל (purged) is toned down into μερπίς (moderate)." It is possible that other examples are to be found in connexion with ver. 19 (יִשִּׁי, see Margoliouth's foot-note), and קֹה קֹה of ver. 21. Mr. Margoliouth seems to think, and he is probably right, that the meaning really is

"vomit, vomit," though this sense, as he says, is not given by "the usual Greek and the Syriac." In the curious verse xxxvi. 18 there may be another example, what is said of eating, as in Prov. ix. 17, having reference to *res venereae*.

In the *Guardian* for February 17, 1897, I called attention to the remarkable resemblance between certain expressions in Eccles. xii. 12, 13, and the Hebrew of Ecclus. xliii. 27:—

עוד כאלה לא נוסף
וקץ דבר הוא הכל

"More like these we will not add;
And the end of the matter is, He is all."

The analogy with expressions in Ecclesiastes is at once obvious, and this alone would tend towards proving the genuineness of the Hebrew. Dr. Edersheim imagined that he saw "a spurious Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide"; a remark to which the editors of the Cambridge fragments direct attention. Now, however, we can take quite a different view of the matter. But, in relation to our present subject, the expression קץ דבר is particularly important. The Syriac is absent here; and, so far as we can tell, never existed. The Greek gives συντέλεια λόγων, a translation from which would, no doubt, have given the plural. But instead of קץ דברים we have the remarkable קץ דבר, a fact well worthy to be noted in addition to what has been said above.

I may conclude with the observation that, however great may be the value of the recent discoveries, the text of Ecclesiasticus still presents a very difficult and complicated problem.

THOMAS TYLER.

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THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1900

THE JEWISH SUNDAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE history of any living movement must record its beginning, its progress and its present condition, and it must outline the specific end toward which the moving tends. The exact beginning of the American Jewish Sunday schools is obscured by uncertainty and difference of opinion; regarding their present condition there is less uncertainty but a greater difference of opinion; but there is neither uncertainty nor difference of opinion as to the specific end towards which the movement is travelling. To aid in the development of a generation of better Jews and Jewesses, of better men and better women because better Jews and better Jewesses; to be a factor in producing a higher and truer Judaism; to teach children their obligations to God, to man and to the congregation; to implant in each childish heart a deep reverence for God and for his holy cause; these are what constitute the aim of the Jewish Sunday school, and surely herein there is room for neither uncertainty nor difference of opinion.

To properly discuss the subject it were best to view it in its three aspects of past, present and future. I have been at some pains to collect the data of the past; but unfortunately the earlier records of our older congregations

were often carelessly kept, and all that can be done is to narrate events exactly as they have been recorded, or as tradition has passed them down through two or three generations. And here I would gratefully acknowledge the help in this direction extended by Mr. Max J. Kohler, the Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, the Rev. Dr. A. S. Isaacs and the late Mr. Myer Stern, of New York City; Mrs. Dinkins, of Charleston, S. C., the Rev. E. N. Calisch, of Richmond, Va., and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, formerly of Philadelphia, all of whom supplied me with valuable material. Some of the facts here stated have been disputed; different cities lay claim to the honour of having established the first Jewish Sunday school; but wherever records exist of which copies could be made, I have merely inserted them, and hence disclaim all responsibility for their accuracy or inaccuracy. The past I give as I have found it; a mere statement of events, of small beginnings and developments, uncertain, crude and tentative. The present I shall portray as it appears to me, desiring to be absolutely fair, lauding where praise is due, condemning what seems blameworthy, and ready to assume complete responsibility for what is, after all, only my personal view of existing conditions. The future, alas! no gift of prophecy is mine, and at best, I can but sketch a Promised Land, one which I am well aware I shall probably not be permitted to enter. Yet perhaps the sketch may prove sufficiently attractive to lure others from the wilderness of mistakes in which they are sojourning, and to cause them to turn their faces towards the land within reach if not yet within sight. This is the hope in which I undertake my task of love as well as of duty, and even its partial realization will be one of the proudest achievements of my life.

THE PAST.

The American Jewish Sunday school, like every other phase of American Judaism, is partly a development and partly a compromise. Originally the *Cheder*, the school,

was an integral part of congregational life, and instruction in Torah, in Talmud and in secular branches was daily imparted. This for a time sufficed for the needs of the earliest American congregations, but under the influence of Western civilization it soon proved inefficient. The *Cheder* was unequal to satisfy the demand for a better and broader general education, and, as they prospered, members withdrew their sons from the congregational school (the daughters had rarely been admitted), sending them to secular schools and employing the rabbi or some other Hebrew scholar to give them, either at home or in small classes, private lessons in the Hebrew language. The eventual discontinuance of the school was the natural sequence.

This method, if not wholly satisfactory, at least was not entirely unsatisfactory, but it weighed heavily upon the poor man. To contribute his share to congregational support was at times a hardship; but to pay besides for private instruction in Hebrew for his children, and children were many in those days, was often beyond his means. Then, too, the girls, in most families, were wholly shut off from regular religious instruction; hence most of the American congregations soon established, in connexion with the synagogue, some sort of a school for the teaching of religion; but, with one or two notable exceptions, they admitted to them only the children of their own members. Children of parents who could not or would not join a congregation were thus entirely debarred from these advantages.

It was left for a woman, Miss Rebecca Gratz, of Philadelphia, to organize the first free school for the religious instruction of Jewish children, rich and poor alike. The following minute is taken from the records of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society (of Philadelphia):—

“The Board met at Mrs. Hart’s, February 4, 1838.

“Resolved: That a Sunday school be established under the direction of the Board, and teachers appointed among the young ladies of the congregation (*Mickve Israel*).

Mrs. Allen, Mrs. R. Moss, Mrs. Hays and Miss Gratz were appointed a committee to procure a schoolroom ; Mrs. Allen, Mrs. R. Hart and Miss Gratz to procure books and make all necessary arrangements."

Little time was wasted in making arrangements, for the school opened four weeks later, on March 4, 1838, by a curious coincidence, the fifty-seventh anniversary of Miss Gratz's birthday. Miss Gratz became the superintendent, a position which she held until 1864, when, almost eighty-four years of age, she resigned, and was succeeded by Miss Louisa B. Hart. The first teachers in this school were Miss S. C. Peixotto, Miss M. G. Etting, the Misses Moses, Miss Louisa B. Hart, Miss R. Peso and Miss Ellen Phillips¹.

When the Sunday school opened it was discovered that there were no suitable text-books other than Leeser's translation of *Johlson's Catechism*, and this was fitted only for older pupils. A *Bible History* published for Christian Sunday schools was used, the objectionable passages being expunged or pasted over. The following year the *Leeser Catechism for Younger Children* was issued, and Miss Simha Cohen-Peixotto published her *Bible Questions*. In 1840 the MS. of a rhymed catechism for the youngest children was presented to Miss Gratz by the author, Mrs. Eleazer Pyke, who, as Miss Rachel Cohen-Peixotto, had been a teacher in the school; and it was published the same year.

"An 'Infant Class,' for the oral instruction of children unable to read, was begun as an experiment by Miss Rebecca Moss in 1873. It has become a permanent feature."

"For twenty years Miss Gratz was Superintendent, Society and Constitution. In 1858 'The Hebrew Sunday School Society' was incorporated, Miss Gratz being elected the first president."

¹ The above facts, and the notes which follow, are taken from an Historical Sketch written by Dr. S. Solis Cohen, of Philadelphia, and published in the programme of the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Hebrew Sunday School Society of America (1888).

Miss Gratz wrote in her report of 1838, concerning the opening of the Sunday school: "The Board have commenced their long-desired object of establishing a school for religious instruction to the children of the congregations residing in this city. It is not limited to any member or class of children; all who are hungry for the bread of life are welcome to the banquet; all who desire to read the Scriptures understandingly are invited to partake of instruction, given and received with reverence, and at no other charge than attention." Later was added this note: "This good work has already met with a reward. Our sisters of New York and Charleston, hearing of the success that has attended our attempt, and sensible that much good must result from early lessons of piety, have determined to establish similar institutions in their respective cities."

The late Rev. Dr. S. Morais makes the following statement, after referring to the opening of this school: "It has been stated that a Jewish Sunday school was previously started in Richmond, Va. This question, however, admits of some doubt, as the Hebrew Sunday school in Philadelphia has in its possession a tablet whereon it is precisely stated that the school in this city was the first in America. There were fifty children at its opening; in 1894 there were 1800¹."

Miss Gratz's school was not only the first free school but it was also the first to be conducted on lines similar to those followed in Christian Sunday schools.

Miss Sally Lopez (now in her ninety-fifth year), assisted by Miss Sarah C. Moise and by other ladies and a few gentlemen of the congregation *Beth Elohim*, organized the first Jewish Sunday school in Charleston, S. C., in 1838, after the destruction by fire of the old synagogue and before it was rebuilt. This school, still in existence, has been under the direct supervision of the rabbi since 1875. Mrs. Dinkins, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, writes: "The great difficulty that

¹ Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 147.

the pioneers of this noble work had to contend against was the want of books, and they were forced to take Christian Sunday school catechisms which they scanned carefully, erasing the name of 'Christ,' 'Saviour' and all objectionable phrases. After a time Miss Lopez obtained, through Miss Gratz and Mr. Leeser, some books written or compiled by Miss Simha Peixotto, of Philadelphia, and these are still used in the primary classes. Death in her family brought responsibilities that forced Miss Lopez to resign her position. It was filled by Miss Penina Moise, and, after her, by others as willing and zealous. It is a cause for much satisfaction to all concerned, that even when the schism took place, due to a controversy over the introduction of an organ into the rebuilt synagogue, and resulting in the formation of a second congregation, *Shearith Israel*, the school was not abandoned nor was its harmony impaired, as some of the ablest workers were on one side, some on the other." At the close of the Civil War, the two congregations again became one, and the Sunday school continued uninterruptedly.

None of the carelessness which marred the early records of the others is evident in those of the Portuguese congregation of Richmond, Va. These were so well kept that they were offered in court as evidence during a controversy relative to the burying-ground, and it was while in the Court House that they were destroyed in the great conflagration that followed the evacuation of the city at the end of the Civil War, in April, 1865. The following facts, however, can be relied upon. A Sunday school, such as we now understand the term, was opened in 1839, as an adjunct of the Portuguese synagogue *Beth Shalome*, with two teachers, Miss Ellen Myers and Miss Emma Mordecai. The date 1839, given authoritatively by descendants of those connected with the original work, decides in Miss Gratz's favour the contention between Richmond and Philadelphia as to prior organization. Regardless of their rival claims to priority, it is evident that all three cities

were the pioneers in the good work, and in each one the movement was begun and personally conducted by women belonging to Portuguese congregations.

During the next ten or fifteen years many German-Jewish congregations sprang into existence throughout the United States, the great influx of Jews from the German and Austrian states during the "forties" and "fifties" having for the time being changed the aspect of American Judaism. One German congregation, born at that time, rose quickly to the leadership that it still maintains. Let Temple *Emanu-El*, of New York City, speak for itself:—

"Temple *Emanu-El* has ever appreciated the importance of religious education, and one of the objects of its organization was to enable the members to provide for the religious instruction of the rising generation. Accordingly, at the meeting held on May 4, 1845, the minister, cantor and sexton were required to take charge of the religious education of the children. Larger quarters were sought for school purposes, and the school committee was directed to report a comprehensive plan. It was agreed to open the religious school on June 2, 1845¹."

"It will surprise many to hear that, as early as 1846, an effort was made by the Jews of New York to establish schools for the Jewish children of the community. Yet such was the case, for we find that, on March 22, 1846, a conference was held between the directors of *Emanu-El* congregation and a committee from the *Talmud-Torah* and Hebrew Institute with this object in view. The directors, however, looked upon the project as impracticable, and therefore discountenanced it²."

"Steps were also taken for the reconstruction of the elementary school, and on October 18, 1848, under the superintendence of Dr. Merzbacher, assisted by a number of teachers, it once more sprang into existence. By dint of

¹ Myer Stern, *History of Temple Emanu-El*, pp. 19-20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

great exertion, it was kept up until the year 1854, when overwhelmed by insurmountable difficulties, the undertaking was abandoned. In its place a religious school was instituted, and the Sabbath and Sunday were set apart as days devoted to such instruction¹."

"The attention of the congregation (1857) was next turned to the school of religion, which was but poorly attended. It was very deficiently supplied with school-books in the English language, which were the only ones that the children could understand properly. A *Bible History*, abridged from Emanuel Hecht's manual, and a *Guide to Religious Instruction for Jewish Children*, were drawn up, and arrangements were made for their translation into English²."

The early history of the Temple *Emanu-El* religious school is practically the history of almost every congregational school established earlier than twenty-five years ago. The newer congregations have, of course, been able to profit by the experiences and the mistakes made by their older sisters; and many which have been organized in recent years have had from the beginning fairly successful, modern Sunday schools. But the Temple *Emanu-El* school is not the oldest in New York; that of the Spanish-Portuguese congregation (*Shearith Israel*) was organized under the name of the "Polonies Talmud-Torah School," in the year 1808, to which was added twenty years later a "Society for the Education of Poor Children." This school, however, was a day school, in which English branches received as much attention as matters Jewish. It was not until the Rev. H. S. Jacobs, in 1874, became the preacher of the congregation that a Sunday school, as such, was introduced.

In addition to the honour of its being the birth-place of Miss Gratz's school, Philadelphia has earned first rank in

¹ Myer Stern, *History of Temple Emanu-El*, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

another direction. The congregation *Rodeph Shalom*, one of the first established by Ashkenayzim, and now preparing to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary, has the following note in its minute-book :—

“At the meeting of the Board of Directors of *Rodeph Shalom* congregation, held January 3, 1841, a committee was appointed to engage the Rev. Dr. Solomon as orator, and to preach, and to superintend the Sunday school.” The wording of this minute leads to the assumption that the Sunday school was in existence prior to this time. On January 10, 1841, three school directors were appointed.

The limitations of a magazine article prevent even mention of the many Sunday schools which now form so important a part of the Jewish life of hundreds of our American towns scattered throughout the length and breadth of the United States; suffice it to say that the work of a few earnest women in Philadelphia, Charleston and Richmond originated the present widespread Sunday school movement. The secular congregational school could not thrive on American soil, and our congregational fathers soon recognized that fact. In this country we are not Jews first and Americans afterwards; we are American Jews, imbibing loyalty to our country in our American schools and under American influences, and drawing our Jewish sentiment from family tradition and congregational life. An exclusively Jewish training imparted by foreign-born Jews could never have made the children of these and other foreign Jews real Americans. Yet the abandonment of the Jewish secular school would have menaced the fate of American Judaism, had not some form of Jewish religious training been substituted for it, for the benefit of the Jewish children who were being educated in American schools. The afternoon Hebrew classes came first; these in turn made way for the Sunday school, to which in some places a Saturday session was added.

The curricula have been many and varied. Sometimes, and in some places, the sole instruction given was in reading

and translating Hebrew ; then a certain amount of catechism was added, and later came scriptural history. In my day as a child, and in the congregation of which my father was a member, we were confirmed at twelve, having completed a question-and-answer course of instruction, which started with Creation and ended with the death of Moses. To-day, in all congregations where real thought is displayed in Sunday school management, the age of confirmation is fifteen, and confirmants are required to have a fair knowledge not alone of the Bible history, but also of post-biblical history. But with the extension of the course in history has come a curtailment of the work in Hebrew. In many of the largest and most prosperous Sunday schools in the United States, the study of the Hebrew language has been abolished, with the result that Jewish boys and girls of fifteen are often able to read Latin, Greek, French and German, but cannot do as much as "spell out" the *Shema*.

In 1864, in order to counteract the proselytizing influence of certain Protestant mission schools established in the heart of a section of New York City, inhabited largely by Jews of the poorer classes, the Hebrew Free School Association was organized and incorporated. It differed in its function from the parochial schools of America, and from the Jews' schools of London, mainly in the facts that no secular instruction was given, and that no child could be admitted to one of its classes unless at the same time a regular attendant at one of the city's public schools¹. The sessions were arranged to complement public school hours. Instruction was given in Hebrew and in Jewish History and Ethics, and incidentally, manners, morals and American customs were inculcated. The number of pupils in these schools has for years averaged

¹ For the benefit of English readers it is necessary to explain that in America a public school is a free school, tolerating no kind of sectarian instruction, resembling the English Board School to a certain degree, but differing from it in being patronized by children from every stratum of social life.

between five and six thousand per year. Within the past year the work of the Hebrew Free School Association has become merged in that of the Educational Alliance, and the religious training of the children is under the control of the Committees on Moral Culture and Education of the latter society, the direct instruction being given by two principals, each assisted by a corps of paid teachers. This work is carried on in that section of the city, by common acceptance, termed the ghetto. Several other cities in the United States have a system of Hebrew free schools, in the main like those of New York City, but a history of each would make this article unduly long.

Just when, how and by whom the ceremony of confirmation was first introduced into American Jewish Sunday schools is not authoritatively stated, but in New York City this innovation was due to Temple *Emanu-El*. "On October 11, 1847, the annual confirmation of boys and girls was resolved upon by the congregation. The first confirmation took place on the following *Shebuoth*¹." In Richmond, Va., the first confirmation took place on July 4, 1852, the class consisting of two confirmants.

The use of proper books in Jewish Sunday schools has been a matter of concern since the days when those indefatigable Jewesses in Philadelphia, Richmond and Charleston erased objectionable passages from Christian manuals. The last few years have brought about a change, and better material is now available. But after all, it is the teacher behind the book, just as it is the man behind the gun, on whom depends defeat or victory. In many schools, libraries have grown up, and children have ready access to good books. Unfortunately, good Jewish books for children are rare; the Jewish Publication Society has put forth two or three volumes, but these are not sufficiently interesting to create in the child a desire to read more of the kind. The librarian of a finely-equipped library, in probably the best Jewish Sunday school I have

¹ Myer Stern, *History of Temple Emanu-El*.

ever visited, told me this story: A child applied for *John Halifax, Gentleman*: the book was out. The librarian said so, adding, "But here is another book by the same author." The child picked it up—it was *Hannah*—and laid it down again with the remark, "I don't want that; the name sounds too Jewish!"

Surely, surely! herein lie both a lesson and a warning! We have learned or borrowed from our friends of an alien faith so much of what is good in our present Sunday school system; can we not also learn from their practices how to give our little ones a taste for Jewish religious literature? The gladness with which my own Sunday school class welcomed and read Abrahams' little volume on Jewish Literature showed me very plainly that the taste can be developed, and the appetite whetted if skilful pens will but furnish the material to gratify them.

Before leaving the question of reading-matter, let me record four attempts made here in America to provide a juvenile magazine for Jewish children.

In 1871, the late Mr. Louis Schnabel, then Superintendent of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York, began the publication of a monthly, *Young Israel*. It was published for about five years, when for financial reasons the publication was discontinued.

The first Sunday school paper, the *Hebrew Sabbath School Companion*, was published in New York in 1872 by the late Adolph L. Sanger, Esq., the Rev. Dr. A. S. Isaacs and Mr. Morris S. Wise. It lived only one year, dying of financial starvation.

The Sabbath School Visitor was started in Cincinnati in 1874 by the Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal. It was edited successively by Dr. Lilienthal, Dr. Voorsanger, Dr. K. Kohler, Mr. Isidore Wise and Dr. D. Philipson. It lived somewhat longer than its predecessors, but its ultimate end in January, 1894, was but "the common fate of all."

Early in 1896, recognizing how far behind our Christian friends we Jews are in providing proper ethical reading for

children of our own faith, two active members of the New York section of the Council of Jewish Women made the next attempt to provide a paper on lines similar to those adopted in all Protestant Sunday schools, and *Helpful Thoughts* made its appearance. Associated with these two women (Mrs. Kohut and the writer of this article) as co-editor was Prof. Richard Gottheil, who was eventually succeeded by the Rev. Dr. M. H. Harris. The editors are satisfied with the progress and the influence of their little magazine, but the publisher is dissatisfied with the financial returns and the indifference to it displayed by most Sunday school authorities. It is very likely that in a few years *Helpful Thoughts* may go the way of all Jewish juvenile periodicals; a sad commentary upon the mistaken and short-sighted policy of Jewish Sunday school boards.

The evolution of the American Jewish Sunday school has now been set forth. Its origin represents the impulse of a few earnest thinkers; its growth has been slow, oftentimes most unsystematic; by degrees new customs have been introduced and new demands have crowded out the habits and traditions of centuries; far too often it has been controlled and shaped by people who understood neither the nature of children nor the nature of Judaism; but being here it is bound to stay, having in the rush and hurry of American life proved its right to continued existence.

In 1862, Israel Joseph Benjamin, a German-Jewish traveller, wrote in his *Drei Jahre in Amerika* that "the Jewish school-system has not yet reached its desired development," and notwithstanding the remarkable forward strides since then, the candid critic and honest chronicler in 1900 must repeat that statement, for our schools have not even yet reached the desired development. In isolated cases we occasionally find a fine school, but this is the exception. Most of our Sunday schools are still enslaved by traditions, hampered by the blundering zeal of those who mean so well and do so badly, and by the lack of co-operation on the part of the parents. But this belongs to

THE PRESENT.

To attempt a statistical record of the present condition of our schools would invite disappointment. From time to time this attempt has been made, but in no case is the record complete. The task was undertaken by Dr. K. Kohler, of New York, during his editorship of *The Sabbath Visitor*; later, statistics were gathered by the Hebrew Sabbath School Union; a third effort was made by the present writer as the Chairman of the Committee on Religious School Work of the Council of Jewish Women¹. Not one of these records was complete or wholly accurate. There are certain facts, however, that are undeniable. The United States possesses to-day hundreds of congregational schools, a large number of free schools, and many so-called mission schools. The latter are supported by voluntary effort and contributions, the free schools by incorporated societies. The number of pupils attending all these schools cannot be less than thirty thousand; it is probably nearer the fifty thousand mark, and possibly may be still higher. Less creditable is the statement that many thousands of Jewish children are growing up in our large communities absolutely untaught on religious lines. Many, too many, of these are the children of the poor living in the overcrowded tenement sections; but alas! far from few is the number of those whose parents, Jews by birth and association, have cut themselves off voluntarily from all synagogue influences, and care not that their children are growing up little better than civilized pagans.

What is the duty of the congregation toward such children, with parents having the means but not the inclination to attach themselves to a synagogue? Because the parents will not, must we say to the children, "You may not"? Have Sunday school authorities the right to

¹ See report of the Convention of 1896, published by the Jewish Publication Society.

visit the iniquities of the parents upon the children, even to the first generation?

It is the old vexatious question; and they offer the old apology, "We cannot afford it." The handsome synagogue building encumbered by an enormous mortgage; the high-salaried rabbi, cantor, organist, soloists and sexton; a corps of paid Sunday school teachers; lighting, heating and repairs: these tax our congregations, not to the uttermost, but in many cases far beyond the point of prudent financiering. Only two congregations in New York City are free from debt; and the same tale is told of nearly every other Jewish community here in the States. This has a most unreligious influence upon all congregational deliberations. Time which should be devoted to discussing vital religious issues is spent in trying to solve the unsolvable problem of making a small income cover a larger expenditure. Men are selected to serve on congregational boards not for their learning, nor their piety, nor their true Jewish characteristics, but for their financial ability either to help pay expenses, or to devise means for meeting monetary obligations. Such men, not intentionally, but unknowingly, interfere with the spiritual advance of Judaism, and their inability to comprehend religious needs is the cause of much lack of progress in congregational schools.

Such financiering results in the erection of beautiful buildings "with all the modern improvements," including a heavy mortgage; and the question of how to meet the quarterly interest on the mortgage is of more moment than religious progress or spiritual development. "We cannot afford it" is responsible for the presence of inferior teachers in many schools, and for the lack of professionally trained teachers in all schools; "we cannot afford it" shuts children of indifferent parents out of the congregational schools; "we cannot afford it" causes many thousands of poor Jewish children to be excluded from all the good influences a proper religious training might give them; "we cannot afford it" prevents the adoption of proper juvenile Jewish

literature in the schools. Some day, perhaps, we may hope to see our congregations in the hands of those who will say, "We cannot afford to leave undone a single thing which will strengthen the influence of the synagogue, no matter what it costs!" but that day is still far off.

The Sunday school of to-day is a matter of pride to one who remembers the school of twenty years ago. The teachers, to-day, are mainly Americans by birth; and if they know less of Hebrew Scripture and Talmud than did the foreigners who taught us a generation ago, they know more of children and children's needs. All of the congregations that can afford the expense are now employing only paid teachers in the Sunday schools. This plan has two distinct advantages: it enables school boards to secure the services of professionals, and it provides an excuse for dispensing with the services of incompetent volunteers, who in far too many cases proved that their willingness to serve was their only qualification as teachers. Even these professional teachers are not professional save in a secular sense. They are proficient in neither Hebrew, Bible lore, Jewish ethics nor Jewish literature. Many have done wonders with their imperfect equipment. What might have resulted had there been added to their zeal and pedagogic skill a true and comprehensive, if not a scholarly, grasp of Judaism in all its bearings, is beyond computation.

Now and again, here and there, efforts are made to give to teachers in our religious schools a better training. Three distinct organizations are now working toward this end in three different ways: first and oldest the Hebrew Sabbath School Union; then the Jewish Chautauqua Society; and a recent arrival in the field, the National Committee on Religious School Work of the Council of Jewish Women. In the larger communities, there have been organized local Religious School Unions; in smaller towns, the rabbi often calls together the teachers of his school for instruction. All these things help and help much; but attendance is not compulsory, and until congregational boards refuse to

accept services, whether voluntary or paid, from young men or women not trained to such sacred work, so long will the already good teacher be the only one ready to profit by these advantages, and the poor, indifferent or self-sufficient one will continue to turn his or her back upon all such opportunities, and remain to the end incapable and inefficient. When school boards will accept only certificated teachers of religion, then and then only will all teachers qualify for certificates.

Since reference has been made to the three organized movements which are striving to aid religious teaching, a short sketch of the aims of each may not be out of place.

The Hebrew Sabbath School Union of America was organized in the city of Cincinnati, in July, 1886. The constitution adopted at that meeting stated the object of the new organization to be "to provide a uniform system for all Hebrew Sabbath schools in the United States, by promulgating a uniform course of instruction and by training competent teachers." The Union was the first attempt at concerted action in the interest of the religious schools of the country. Its chief activity has lain in the publication of text-books for the classes and guides for the aid of teachers. The following publications have been issued under its auspices: *A School Edition of the Proverbs*, by A. and I. S. Moses; *Selections from the Psalms*, by M. Mielziner; *The Ethics of the Hebrew Scriptures*, by A. and I. S. Moses; *How to Organize a Sabbath School*, by Henry Berkowitz; and *A Guide for Sabbath School Teachers*; this last-named publication contains papers on Instruction in Biblical History, by K. Kohler; a Post-Biblical History, by B. Felsenthal; a Religio-moral Instruction, by David Philipson; and on the Teaching of Biblical History in Primary Classes, by E. N. Calisch. To these must be added two papers on allied themes, published in the proceedings of the meeting held by the Union at Louisville, Ky., in December, 1896, viz. one on the Instruction of Post-Confirmation Classes, by Joseph Stolz,

and the other on the Formation of Sabbath School Libraries, by Charles S. Levi. In the annual report of 1897-8 the Union published a "Plan of Instruction for Sabbath Schools"; this is a graded plan for eight years' instruction, six in the school proper and two in post-confirmation work. The plan also includes directions for the instruction in normal classes organized with the view to the training of Sabbath school teachers. Possibly the most marked feature of the work of the Union has been the publication during the past three years, at regular intervals of a fortnight or a month, of leaflets in biblical history and religion. This work was undertaken at the suggestion and upon the initiation of the president, Dr. David Philipson. The leaflets were intended primarily for use in such localities as had no regularly trained teachers. It was also hoped that by the aid of the leaflets, schools might be organized in small towns in which there are but few Jewish families living, not enough to form a congregation. This hope has been partly realized. The leaflets have proved of great assistance to many earnest men and women who have formed schools in the small cities. Two series of twenty numbers each in biblical history have been published, the first series extending to the death of Joseph and the second to the death of Moses. During the current year the Union is issuing monthly leaflets in religion; thus far the following have appeared: *The Love of God, Our Love for God, The Story of Chanukah, Truth Speaking, Love and Respect for Parents*. The Union has also been active in gathering statistics of the Sabbath schools of the country, and its last two annual reports contain, in tabulated form, statistical information regarding the schools, the number of children attending, the number of classes, the superintendent, &c. The Union has its seat in Cincinnati, includes in its membership about seventy-five schools, and meets biennially at the same time with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society was called into existence

by the Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Rabbi of Congregation *Rodeph Shalom* of Philadelphia. The Chautauqua System of Education is of American birth, and of the same age as her English cousin "The University Extension System." The methods of popularizing knowledge to which the name Chautauqua has come to be universally applied, have been adapted to the sphere of Jewish readings. "Home Reading Courses" are provided for individuals or Chautauqua Circles either as independent organizations, or connected with schools, congregations, Young Men's Hebrew Associations, the various sections of the Council of Jewish Women, and the Lodges of the Secret Fraternity, Independent Order of *B'nai B'rith*. There is an introductory two years' course, called "The Young Folks' Reading Union." It supplies the needs of the post-confirmation classes of our religious schools. A new and improved plan for this department has been recently prepared. In order to remove the irksomeness of class-drill, interesting programmes of exercises, with debates, essays, music, &c., are prepared, based on the assigned readings in Jewish history and Jewish literature, interspersed with poems and selections from English fiction bearing on these topics. At the close of the course, those who have complied with certain requirements in the nature of a test become the recipients of a certificate issued by the Jewish Chautauqua Society. A four years' course in Bible Study follows, and likewise entitles the reader to a certificate. A guide for two years' readings, called the "Open Bible," has been prepared by the Chancellor of the Jewish Chautauqua Society, Dr. Henry Berkowitz. The text-books are *The Bible for Home Reading*, by Claude G. Montefiore, Esq., and *A Literary Study of the Bible*, by Prof. R. G. Moulton. The third year's course is on *The Minor Prophets*, edited by Mr. D. W. Amram, of Philadelphia. The fourth year's syllabus is in preparation. There are a number of special courses in Post-Biblical Jewish History, with excellent guides in pamphlet form, prepared by Prof. Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University,

and a later period prepared by the Rev. Dr. M. H. Harris, of Temple Israel, New York. Eventually the whole ground of Jewish history will be covered. These courses are arranged with such simplicity as to bring them within the range of the abilities of the general reader, but through carefully selected bibliographies of "Recommended Readings" the more advanced student also finds them of great service. For any one of these Chautauqua Courses a nominal enrolment fee of fifteen cents is required from each reader, or ten cents from each member of circles of ten. The Society is maintained by the dues from annual members paying one dollar or upwards. The General Chautauqua takes its name and inspiration from the Summer Assembly held on the banks of the beautiful Chautauqua Lake in New York State. More than fifty similar Chautauqua Assemblies in various parts of the United States conduct summer meetings, in which it is sought to make "of pleasure a wise pursuit, and of study a pleasant pastime." The Jewish Chautauqua Society has held three successful Summer Assemblies. Excellent programmes have been provided, and hundreds attend from all sections of the land. The ablest Jewish teachers, ministers, and communal leaders have participated, so also have some Christian leaders of note. Women have taken a prominent part in these meetings. Much enthusiasm has been aroused. The most significant result of the gatherings is the work of "The Teachers' Institute"—a sort of summer normal training-class for the teachers in Jewish religious schools of the United States. The practical problems of the class-room here receive earnest consideration in discussions led by competent and experienced educators. Illustrative or practice lessons are also given to classes of pupils, in Jewish history, ethics, Hebrew and kindred themes, followed by a discussion of the matter, manner and method of instruction. A conference of directors, superintendents and teachers of religious schools was a prominent feature of the last assembly, July, 1899,

and an exhibit of Sabbath school appliances, such as models, charts, maps, &c., was made. Altogether the Jewish Chautauqua Society is contributing a notable force of practical and useful influences which are doing much to vitalize religious education among the Jews of America. Its pamphlet reports of the summer sessions, and full descriptions of the reading courses, are sent free on application to P. O., Box 825, Philadelphia.

The Council of Jewish Women does its work through its three general committees on philanthropy, religion (for adults) and religious school work. The National Committee on Religious School Work consists of five members who are specially charged to study and introduce into Sunday school work the most advanced methods and reforms, to raise the standard of teaching and of teachers, and to attempt to bring every Jewish child in touch with Jewish teachings. Each section of the Council, and there are now more than fifty, has its local committee on Religious School Work, whose duty it is to carry out as far as possible the suggestions of the National Committee, and to bring about better Jewish conditions among the children immediately under its control. Under the direction of these committees, mission classes have been established in many of the sections. Many hundreds, possibly some thousands, of Jewish children are now receiving religious instruction, who but for the work of these Council women would never have been reached. In small communities, notably where there is no synagogue or possibly only a small Russian congregation, the Council classes represent the first attempt ever made to give these American-born Jewish children class instruction in religion. The special reforms towards which the Council is bending its best efforts are: (a) the placing of every Jewish child in a class where religious instruction is given; (b) the raising of the age of confirmation; (c) the improving of Sunday school methods; (d) attention to the proper physical conditions in the buildings used for Sunday school purposes, notably sani-

tation, lighting, heating, ventilation and furniture; and (e) the placing of competent women on Sunday school committees. Advance has been made along all these lines, but the future still holds tremendous possibilities hidden within its folds.

The Religious School Unions have attempted much, but as yet the net result is not very brilliant. Some of them were organized with the hope of eventually developing into a training-school for religious school teachers, a hope that will never be realized until congregations require their teachers to hold Union certificates. When they do this, then the next step, the establishment of an endowed Normal Training School for Teachers of Religion, will be comparatively easy.

It has already been stated that the curricula in our schools are many and varied, but, generally speaking, graded schools are the rule. In some instances the ground covered by the work of the school is limited in quantity and even more limited in quality; in others more work is attempted and a certain amount of real good accomplished; in most of them too much attention is given to unimportant details and too little to the development of Jewish ideals. This is particularly true in schools where the committee in charge consists of men who only vaguely comprehend the lofty spiritual possibilities of a well-planned school. The Council of Jewish Women has been of great service here also. In many sections they have succeeded in having one or more of their women placed upon the local Sunday school board, and in every such case where their petition to the heads of the congregations met with success, the result has been most gratifying. America is producing a large number of capable women who have the desire to aid in any attempt toward developing a better Judaism, as well as the leisure to give their services to the cause. Such women cannot fail to better present conditions, and only the short-sighted or bigoted refuse to avail themselves of such excellent help.

In some congregational schools Hebrew is taught to all the children, in others it is an optional study, and in still others it is not taught at all. In none of the reform congregations has the result been encouraging, for proficiency in Hebrew is rare amongst American children. It is hardly more than fair to state that the largest number of our well-taught, well-attended schools are to be found among those where instruction in Hebrew has been abolished, or where it is an optional study. In the great Hebrew Free Schools of New York, Philadelphia, Newark, and also in certain other cities, somewhat better results have been gained in the teaching of the Hebrew language. But it must be noted that the pupils of these schools are mainly foreign-born, or children of foreigners of recent immigration.

Until recently text-books for instruction in Biblical History and in Hebrew were of poor quality and most unsatisfactory in other respects. The last few years have wrought some improvement, but excellent publications are still rare. However, it must be admitted, the book is not absolutely essential; after all is said and done, it is the teacher, not the book, that is responsible for the results. A good teacher with a bad book is more to be desired than a bad teacher with the best book that could be compiled; some day, let us hope, we shall see the ideal combination of the good book in the hand of the good teacher.

Regular sessions are held on Sunday mornings from September to June. In many places the hours are from nine to twelve. A few school boards have recognized that a session of three consecutive hours devoted to the same line of thought is pedagogically wrong, and in one or two places the school does not assemble until 9.30. About thirty minutes of each session is devoted to a general assembly, when some form of service or special exercises are held. Usually the rabbi or superintendent or some invited guest delivers a sermonette at these assemblies.

Many of the schools where Hebrew is taught hold a session on Saturday morning one hour earlier than the

regular synagogue service. Others hold this additional session on some afternoon during the week.

A few congregations have separate buildings in which the Sunday school work is done, but the general rule is to use the basement of the synagogue for the purpose. In building a synagogue, special attention is now given to the plan for the basement, and almost all of the newer buildings contain fine class-rooms, and an auditorium or assembly-room where from two to three hundred children can be well seated. Few of our Congregational schools register more than three hundred pupils. Occasionally these Congregational schoolrooms are placed at the disposal of the Council of Jewish Women for mission class purposes, always, of course, with the proviso that the sessions do not conflict. Our public school buildings are never used for sectarian teaching. The policy of our country is ever to separate State and Church, and any application for the use of schoolrooms for Congregational purposes, even though accompanied by an offer to pay rental for such use, would be promptly denied.

The prize and award system prevails in most of our schools. This is neither the time nor place for a discussion of the benefits or injuries that accrue to children from prize distributions. Personally I am opposed to all prize-giving; but in religious work there can be no justification for making use of material incentives, of themselves begetting feelings foreign to godliness, to put it mildly, as a substitute for that high sense of duty to be done toward man and toward God.

The custom of confirmation obtains in all our reform congregations. In most places, the standard of confirmation is now set fairly high, much study on the part of the child and its special preparation by the rabbi being generally demanded. The rite of confirmation is given in public in the synagogue on the first day of Pentecost. The services are beautiful and impressive, but to those to whom Jewish ideals are dear, there comes year after year the feeling

that elaborate attire and extravagant gifts form far too important features in what should be the most solemn hour in a child's life. The custom, too, of singling out one or two of the confirmants to offer up in public a carefully memorized prayer, written by the rabbi, is productive of much vainglory, envy, and ill-feeling, and in no wise aids our holy cause. Children are eligible to confirmation in some places at the age of thirteen, in others at fourteen, in a few at fifteen. I have heard that one congregation in the West has raised the age requirement to sixteen. I hope the report is true, and I hope still more earnestly that sixteen, and in time perhaps eighteen, may become the minimum age of confirmation throughout the land. The years from fourteen or fifteen to eighteen are the critical years in a child's religious development. It is then that he or she, particularly he, needs the most careful guidance and instruction. Too young to work out his or her own spiritual salvation, too young to be entrusted with the task of passing on to others what he or she has learned, yet not too young to begin to have a wonderful confidence in his or her own opinions, it is not uncommon to find our boys and girls, soon after confirmation, first absenting themselves from synagogue service, and then drifting into the indifference and apathy which here in America is religion's most menacing foe. In many places, an effort is being made to retain influence over these children by the formation of post-confirmation classes. These efforts are not entirely successful. As attendance is optional and the parents not interested, only a small number of the confirmants return at all, and many of these eventually drop out. However, some good work along these lines is being done, and the future looks a bit more hopeful.

Most Sunday schools are controlled, in addition to the school board, by a principal, or a superintendent, or both. Where only one officiates, it is invariably the rabbi, and here is one reason why our Sunday schools have not reached their best development. The rabbi is rarely a pedagogue,

and far more rarely either an organizer or an executive ; then too he is often called away to officiate at funerals or to perform other rabbinical duties. In a few of the schools a layman stands at the head in addition to the rabbi ; usually a volunteer, he brings to his work much zeal and earnest endeavour, extreme conscientiousness and a lofty purpose ; but to be added to these high qualifications, or, strictly speaking, to be subtracted from them, are his total ignorance of pedagogy, of school organization and of the history of education, yielding that weak result that is ever the inevitable sequence of "not knowing how." Rarely, unfortunately so rarely that he proves an exception, is a recognized educator, who is also a good Jew, placed at the head of a religious school. In such instances the result is indeed most gratifying.

But the present need of the schools is a need greater even than that of trained teachers, good textbooks, a uniform curriculum, intelligent school boards, an advance in the age of confirmation and experts for superintendents. It is a need that cries aloud, for parents who will take an interest in the child's progress in the religious school, who will realize that religion in the home is essential to the child's spiritual growth. Such parents exist, but in the same ratio as ideal teachers. If the inferiority of the Sunday school of twenty years ago may be wholly or even only partly responsible for the ignorance in religious matters of so many of the parents of to-day, it is not unreasonable to infer that the relative excellence of the schools of the present will produce a more thoughtful, a more religiously-intelligent parenthood in the years to come. However this may be, such is the hope that quickens and encourages our efforts in the face of present disappointment, and such is the prayer that underlies and animates every onward attempt made by the best and most earnest teachers in our midst.

THE FUTURE.

It is predicted that the United States during the twentieth century is destined to play a part in the development of Jews as important as that of mediaeval Spain and Germany. If this prediction refer merely to the special development of Jewish science by a limited number of scholars and students, its realization, although gratifying, is not vital; but if it refer to the general religious development of the main body of American Jews, then will its realization depend to a great extent upon the character and influence of the instruction given in our Sunday schools. The schools of to-day are accomplishing something, they may be accomplishing comparatively much; for in the face of many obstacles and much indifference they are arousing in the children a desire for better things; and through the children, influences for good are gradually working their way into many homes. What manner of school must be maintained in the future, if these precious influences are to be vitalized?

Each congregation must exert every means to support a well-graded school, in rooms or in a building well-ventilated, well-lighted, hygienically beyond criticism, furnished with proper regard to the physical needs of pupils, and decorated with pictures and banners, &c., attractive to the eye and ethically or historically impressive. At the head of this school there must be a man or woman of high character, of strong personal influence, of professional skill as an organizer, and inspired by noble Jewish ideals. The rabbi and his spiritual influence must pervade the whole atmosphere; he must have no specific duties in the way of teaching or supervising (unless, possibly, the control of the confirmation class), for he must be free to go about from class to class, giving from his store of knowledge to teacher and to pupil, extending inspiration, sympathy, advice, and all those other aids which serve to eliminate all sense of drudgery from the high art of teaching. He must visit other schools of different denominations, to

cull from them suggestions or encouragement for his own ; above all, he must seek to link school influences with the home, not by public preaching to parents in general, but by personal, pastoral calls upon the individual, showing to each indifferent father, to each careless or thoughtless mother, the heavy responsibilities of parenthood, until at last he wins that judicious co-operation on their part that is so absolutely essential. Think you such functions are unimportant or belittle the rabbi ? To my mind such work must lead steadily to a strengthening of faith, and surely this is the rabbi's lofty mission. Pulpit eloquence has its merits, but pulpit eloquence is in itself not always a sufficient strengthener of faith ; and without strong faith, to what future can Judaism, or any other creed, look forward ?

Under the superintendent's control there must be a corps of consecrated teachers, voluntary or paid, according to varying conditions and circumstances ; but specially trained and specially called. I know of no crime against religion more serious than that of entrusting its teaching to one who loves not the work, and who neither comprehends what is expected, nor is in sympathy with the children. Unfortunately, the crime is not uncommon, but in the school of the future it must not be perpetrated.

Classes must be small, twenty pupils to each teacher should be the maximum. In the limited number of hours children devote to religious training, the teacher cannot obtain a personal insight into the character and the soul's needs of many pupils. To be a moral guide to each, to learn to know and sympathize with each child's weaknesses, is a teacher's best opportunity. That opportunity is denied her when too large a number of children divide her thoughts, her efforts, and her prayers. In the free schools and mission classes, the size of the class should be specially small. These children come mainly from homes where poverty and its attendant attributes interfere with the best moral development, and often the personal influence of the

teacher is possibly the only appreciable force at work for the betterment of existing conditions. That force must be utilized; but such utilization becomes a physical impossibility when one teacher is charged with the care of fifty or sixty pupils.

The curriculum in the school of the future must be broad, comprehensive and intelligent. It should begin with a kindergarten class, and continue through youth to early manhood and womanhood. Is this extreme? I know of a Unitarian Sunday school in New York that has a graded course of instruction covering a period of sixteen years. Are the history and literature and teachings of Judaism less vital or less interesting than those of Unitarianism?

The school boards must be composed of men and women who, in accepting the office, will consecrate their best efforts in this service of the Lord; men and women who will strive to bring about a change of heart among the trustees of the congregation; men and women who will try to convince and convert those responsible for errors and for the complete subordination of the school to the limitations of a financial policy that appropriates hundreds of dollars for choral music, and provides no money for the improvement of the congregational school, or towards the support of free schools or mission classes. Such men and women abound in every congregation, and it is time they were called to the front.

And last, but oh! how far, how very far from least, there must be thoughtful, prayerful, intelligent co-operation with and from the home. The religiously-indifferent father, the morally-thoughtless mother, where are their places in all these efforts to better spiritual conditions? What will be the last word in the moral development of a child who is taught in Sunday school that righteousness is the be-all and end-all of earthly effort; that to lie and to slander, to profane the Sabbath, and to gamble are sinful in the eyes of right-minded men and women, as well as in the

sight of God ; and who, leaving school, returns to a home where the father profanes the Sabbath and plays at cards for heavy stakes, and the mother devotes her life to gossip and frivolity ? Yet that child must be taught in the Sunday school to "honour thy father and thy mother !"

The religiously-indifferent, the morally-thoughtless, who shall organize a crusade against these ? Or, better still, who shall make such a crusade unnecessary ? It is my belief, it is my hope, it is my prayer, that such parents may be brought to realize how terrible is the harm wrought by their carelessness unto all Judaism, and that the greater part of them, once recognizing their mistakes, will voluntarily seek to mend their ways. To this task let all—the rabbi, the superintendent, the teacher, the worker, the thinker—bend every energy. Then let us hasten on the day of well-organized schools, specially-gifted superintendents, properly trained and God-inspired teachers, a wise curriculum, high-minded, purposeful school boards, and thoughtful, earnest, self-sacrificing parents. And when that day dawns upon every American congregation, the Jewish Sunday school movement in the United States will have reached its highest possible development.

JULIA RICHMAN.

APPENDIX.

CURRICULUM OF TEMPLE *ISRAEL* OF HARLEM (NEW YORK) RELIGIOUS SCHOOL.

Oral Class.—Bible stories from Genesis and beginning of Exodus taught orally. Commandments in brief. Simple prayers memorized.

Fourth Grade.—The Law : hygienic, religious, ethical, humanitarian laws of Pentateuch grouped. History to death of Moses. Ten Commandments. Calendar, Festivals, Holy Days. Longer prayers.

Third Grade.—History from the Conquest to Solomon. Some Psalms and Proverbs memorized.

Second Grade.—History from the Division to Fall of Northern Kingdom, taking up the corresponding prophets.

First Grade.—History from 720 to Malachi, taking up corresponding prophets. Selections from Job. Notes on Canon, Apocrypha. Text-book, Harris, *The People of the Book* (3 vols.).

NOTE.—A Bible text is taught with each chapter. Summaries of Bible books corresponding to each grade are taught in each class. Ethics are taught from the Bible lessons themselves.

POST-GRADUATE DEPARTMENT.

Graetz's *History of the Jews*, the text-book, with side references to other histories and literature. Period to be reached in each class not limited. May be continued for one, two or three years.

Chautauqua Syllabi on Post-biblical History and Literature introduced this year.

HEBREW DEPARTMENTS.

Classes in Spelling, Reading, Grammar, Simple Translation and Translation of Parts of the Pentateuch.

SCHOOL SESSIONS.

Sundays from 9 to 12, mornings: Hebrew (optional) from 9 to 10; Religion from 10 to 11.30; Children's service at 11.30 in the temple. Service consists of opening prayer, hymn, Scripture reading, a psalm in alternate responses, hymn, address, closing prayer.

CURRICULUM OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOL, AHAWATH CHESED SHAAR HASHOMAYIM, NEW YORK.

HISTORY.

First Year.—Creation to Joseph. No text-book used. The instruction, imparted in the form of simple narratives, has the aim to impress the child with the moral tenor of the stories.

Second Year.—Creation to Decalogue (inclusive). Text-book, *The People of the Book*, vol. I.

Third Year.—Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges. Text-book, *The People of the Book*, vol. II.

Fourth Year.—The two books of Samuel. Text-book, *The People of the Book*, vol. III. Bible Geography.

Fifth Year.—Kings, Prophets, Hagiographa. Bible Geography. Text-book, Deutsche's *Bible History*.

Sixth Year.—Post-biblical History.

N.B.—The Ten Commandments, Festivals and Ethics taught in all classes, with due consideration of the age and mental capacity of the pupils.

HEBREW (COMPULSORY).

First Class.—Consonants and vowels.

Second Class.—First Reading Exercises.

Third Class.—Reading Exercises and Translation of Words.

Fourth Class.—Reading. First elements in Grammar.

Fifth Class.—The Regular Verb. Translation of Hebrew Prayers.

CONFIRMATION CLASS.

Instruction in the cardinal tenets and principles of Israel's Religion.

CURRICULUM OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOL, *RODEPH
SHALOM*, PHILADELPHIA.

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT (*Two Years*).—Instruction oral. Selected stories from Genesis; also stories about Ruth, Esther, Daniel, &c. The Commandments (simplified). Selections from Psalms, texts and appropriate prayers.

Third Year.—Life of Moses (instruction oral). Elementary lessons in Hebrew (*Union Prayer Book*). Bible Ethics: "Duties to others" (*The Bible Ethics*, Krauskopf and Berkowitz).

Fourth Year.—Book of Joshua (*The People of the Book*, Harris). Bible Ethics: "Duties to ourselves" (*The Bible Ethics*). Hebrew (*Hebrew Reader*).

Fifth Year.—Book of Judges (*People of the Book*). "Duties in general" (*The Bible Ethics*). Hebrew: Reading, Elementary Grammar and Translation.

Sixth Year.—Book of Kings. "Religious Duties." Advanced Hebrew Reading, Grammar, and Translation.

Seventh Year.—Kings (continued). "Our Religious Duties" (continued). Hebrew: Selections from the Prayer Book with translation.

Eighth Year.—Prophets to the time of Ezra (*People of the Book*, vol. III). Ethics: "Man and his Mission" (*The Bible Ethics*). Hebrew: Selections from Prayer Book with translation.

Ninth Year (Confirmation Class).—Festivals and ceremonials as the concrete practical expression of Jewish life. Principles and precepts.

All classes in the first eight years receive religious instruction through Sabbath worship, learning to participate in the same by singing of hymns, Hebrew responses, &c. A sermonette is delivered, and one period of the Sunday morning session is devoted to the discussion of the same with special reference to Midrashic teachings, &c., presented in the sermon. The two highest classes of the school and all the post-confirmation classes attend the regular adult services.

The *Tenth Year* (first of the post-confirmation class).—Organization of Young Folks' Reading Union Chautauqua Circle. First half of Lady Magnus' *History of the Jews* is read and discussed, with collateral reading, under leadership of competent teacher.

The *Eleventh Year*.—Second year's course of the Chautauqua Young Folks' Reading Union, Lady Magnus' *History of the Jews* completed, with collateral reading, discussion, &c.

The *Twelfth Year*.—Advanced studies in Post-biblical History, Chautauqua Circle following. Course-book arranged by Prof. Gottheil. These twelve years of graded work have been in actual operation in our school this year. To them we expect to add additional Circles advancing in regular order to cover the entire ground of Jewish history and literature, as arranged in the Chautauqua Courses. From the Confirmation class upwards all Circles unite on Sunday morning for a "Popular Assembly for Bible Study," conducted by Dr. M. Jastrow and Dr. Berkowitz. The basis of all the work in the "Rodeph Shalom Institute" is Bible study.

CURRICULUM OF *BETH EMETH* SUNDAY SCHOOL, ALBANY, N.Y.

First Year (age 6 years).—Creation to Abraham.

Second Year.—Creation to Death of Joseph (*S. S. Union Leaflets*).

Third Year.—Life of Moses (*S. S. Union Leaflets*).

Fourth Year.—Joshua, Judges, Ruth (*People of the Book*, Harris).

Fifth Year.—Samuel to Division of Kingdom (*People of the Book*, Harris).

Sixth Year.—Division of Kingdom to Captivity (*People of the Book*, Harris).

Seventh Year.—Return from Captivity to Jochanan ben Zakkai (*Post-biblical History*, Hecht).

Dr. Kohler's *Guide to Judaism* is used in Confirmation class. Ethical instruction is emphasized in all grades. Hebrew is an optional study: very little is accomplished in this branch.

CURRICULUM OF TEMPLE *EMANU-EL* SCHOOL, NEW YORK.

SYNOPSIS OF INSTRUCTION.

A.—Moral Instruction

is given in every class: 1st, By a study of the Biblical stories with especial reference to the moral principles involved; 2nd, By a graded

series of Biblical texts, referring to our moral duties, which the children memorize; 3rd, By inculcating the Ten Commandments with proper explanations; 4th, By practical work, in doing acts of kindness and charity.

B.—Religious Instruction.

In every class the principal tenets of the Jewish faith are expounded and the origin and significance of the Jewish ceremonies and festivals explained. This instruction is fitted by the teacher to the understanding of the children under his or her charge. In the Confirmation class a fuller exposition of Jewish faith and practice is given.

C.—Biblical Instruction.

CLASS VI (age 9 years).—THE PATRIARCHS.

<i>Biographical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Ethical.</i>
The Creation.	God as the Creator of the World.	
Adam and Eve.		Obedience.
Cain and Abel.	Beginnings of Worship.	Envy.
Noah and the Flood.	The Covenant of the Rainbow.	Righteousness.
Abraham.	Beginning of Jewish Faith. The promised land.	Obedience; kindness to strangers.
Isaac.		
Jacob.	Finding God—(Israel).	Consequences of deception.
Joseph.		Brotherly love; fidelity; magnanimity.

CLASS V (age 10 years).—THE MAKING OF THE NATION.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Ethical.</i>
Moses.		
Life of the Israelites in Egypt.		
Mission of Moses.		
Flight of the Israelites from Egypt.	Sanctification of the people.	
The people in the wilderness.	Revelation. Decalogue.	Reverence for God, parents and superiors.
Israel at Mount Sinai.	Sabbath and Festivals (Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles).	Care for the afflicted.
Aaron.	First regulation of worship.	Compassion towards man and animals.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Ethical.</i>
Moses' lack of faith. The Brazen Serpent.	Faith.	Lessons from the character of Moses; weakness, attachment to his people, sense of justice.
Division of the Land. Farewell of Moses. Joshua.	Resignation.	
Conquest of Canaan.	God's promise fulfilled	
Distribution of the Land.		

CLASS IV (age 11 years).—THE MAKING OF THE KINGDOM.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Ethical.</i>
Deborah. Gideon. Ruth. Samson. Jephtha.		Faithfulness. Self-reliance. Danger of hasty promises.
Eli. Samuel. Saul. David.	Faithfulness in service. Consecration to God.	Obedience.
Solomon.	Jerusalem the seat of worship; Psalms. The building of the Temple.	Kindness to enemies; devotion to friends. Love of wisdom.

CLASS III (age 12 years).—(a) PURIFICATION OF THE NATION.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Ethical.</i>
The Divided Kingdom. N. S.	Prophecy and the prophetic Ideals.	
Jeroboam I; Rehoboam. Ahab; Uzziah.	Elijah and Elisha.	
Jeroboam II; Hezekiah.	{ Hosea. Joel. Amos. Jonah.	Humility in prosperity.
End of the Kingdom. Manasse. Josiah. End of the Kingdom.	Isaiah. Jeremiah.	

(b) THE NATION A RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Ethical.</i>
The Babylonian Captivity.	Ezekiel.	The Rise of Judaism.
The return to Palestine.	Ezra and Nehemiah.	The beginning of the formation of the Canon.
		Synopsis of the books of the Bible.
		The beginnings of the Synagogue and synagogue worship. Influence of Persia upon religious belief.
The rebuilding of the Temple.	Purim.	

D.—Post-biblical Instruction.

CLASS II (age 13 years).—THE DISPERSION.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Literary.</i>
Alexander's Conquest.	Judaism under Greek Influence.	Closing of the Canon ; Apocrypha.
Egyptian Rule.	Judaism under Ptolemies.	The Septuagint.
Syrian Rule.	The Priesthood.	Philo.
The Maccabean Uprising, and the Hasmonaeans.	Chanukka.	
	Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes.	
Jewish Independence.		
Herod.	Sanhedrin and Synagogue.	Hillel, Shamai, Philo, Josephus.
Roman Rule over Judea.	Christianity.	
Destruction of the Second Temple.	The Zealots — The Rabbis.	Mishna.
Dispersion.		
Attempts to regain independence (Bar-Cochba).	The Schools.	Akiba. Talmud. Jehuda Hanasi.
Jewish Life under the Caliphs (Gaonim).	Mohammedanism. The Karaites.	Saadia. Ibn Gabirol.
Condition of the Jews in Spain till 1150.		Rashi.

CLASS I (age 14 years).—MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN JUDAISM.

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Religious.</i>	<i>Literary.</i>
Jews under Catholic Kings.		
The Inquisition.		Growth of Jewish Literature.
Jews in Central Europe.	The False Messiahs (Sabbathai Zevi, Frankists).	Poetry, history, philosophy, the sciences.
The Crusades.		
Jews in France.		
Life in Germany during the Middle Ages.		Reuchlin and the Talmud.
	Kabbalah and the Kabbalists.	Jehudah Hallevi — Maimonides.
		Menasse ben Israel.
		Uriel Acosta.
		Spinoza.
The Jews in Holland.		
	Development of Talmudism—the Schulchan Aruch.	Nachmanides; Ibn Ezra.
The Jews in England.	Sephardim and Ashkenazim.	Abravanel.
The French Revolution and the gradual emancipation of the Jews.	Beginnings of Reform. Orthodoxy; Conservatism.	Scientific Study of Jewish Literature.
		Mendelssohn.
		Lessing, Rieser.
		Zunz.
		Geiger.
		Holdheim.
		Frankel.
		Grätz.
		The Bible as a literary monument.
Settlement and History of the Jews in America.		

*D.—Hebrew Instruction (Optional)*¹.

In the class for beginners Katzenberg's *Hebrew Primer* is used as a text-book, the instruction being directed merely towards teaching the pupils to read Hebrew correctly. In the advanced class the *Union Prayer Book* and the Pentateuch are used, the pupils

¹ Less than ten per cent. of the school are in the Hebrew classes.

being taught translation into English. Sufficient grammar is taught to enable the children to understand the construction of simple Hebrew sentences.

CURRICULUM OF THE RELIGIOUS CLASSES OF THE EDUCATIONAL ALLIANCE, NEW YORK.

(HEBREW COMPULSORY.)

Sixth Grade.

1. Alphabet and Spelling (Hebrew).
2. Morning and Evening Prayers and Blessings (English).
3. Ten Commandments, in brief (English).
4. Festivals, in brief (English).
5. Stories of Patriarchs, of Joseph, and Birth of Moses.

The Principal will supply each teacher with the exact work he or she desires for Items 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Biblical Stories are to be told only in the form of *narrative*. Teachers must make these narratives as interesting as possible, and should make every effort to encourage originality of expression on the part of the pupils who repeat these stories.

Review both biographically and chronologically.

Fifth Grade.

1. Hebrew Reading.
2. Prayers and Benedictions, and Shema, first part (Hebrew and English).
3. Festivals and Months (English).
4. Ten Commandments (English).
5. Review Stories of Sixth Grade, and continue to the death of Moses.

The Principal will assign the exact work he or she desires for Items 1, 2, 3 and 4. For 5, see note under Sixth Grade.

N.B.—Bible Stories are to be taught as far as possible with the aid of the map, so that pupils may be able to trace journeys, &c., geographically.

Fourth Grade.

1. Hebrew Reading, with simple rules.
2. Shema, completed ; Ten Commandments (Hebrew and English).
3. Commandments with explanations ; Festivals more fully explained.
4. Review Biblical Stories of Fifth and Sixth Grades.
5. Stories of Joshua, Judges¹ and Ruth.

See notes under Fifth and Sixth Grades.

¹ Pay special attention to Deborah, Gideon and Samson.

Third Grade.

1. Hebrew Reading and *Grammar*: Pronouns, persons, gender, prefixes and suffixes, and such rules as are necessary for a proper understanding of the translation.
 2. Translation of המאיר לארץ, ברוך שאמר, מה כבו to end of שמנה עשרה.
 3. Review Commandments; Festivals and Months.
 4. Review Stories taught in the lower Grades.
 5. Stories of Creation (including first eleven chapters of Genesis). Eli, Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, Elijah and Elisha.
- See notes under Fifth and Sixth Grades.

Second Grade.

1. Hebrew—Reading and Translation of הכל יודוך, נשמת to end of שמנה עשרה. אז ישיר and הלל, the entire Sabbath afternoon service and שמנה עשרה for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.
 2. Translation from משפטים and קרושים and the first chapter of פרקי אבות (*Ethics of the Fathers*). Grammar: nouns and verbs.
 3. Explain the Jewish Calendar; Festivals; Creed of Maimonides (English).
 4. Review Biblical History of lower Grades.
 5. Stories of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, Job, Daniel, Esther, the Maccabees, Ezra and Nehemiah.
- See notes under Fifth and Sixth Grades.

First Grade.

1. Reading and Translation from Leviticus xxiii and Exodus xvi; *Ethics of the Fathers*, chapters 2, 3 and 4.
2. Review Second Grade reading and translation.
3. *Confirmation Manual*.
4. Names and principal contents of the twenty-four Books of the Bible; explanation of the Apocrypha, works of Philo, Josephus and Talmud.
5. Review of all the Biblical Stories. Take a synopsis of post-biblical History, according to Hecht's book, up to the present time.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.

II (*continued*).

28. *Mohammedans and Christians taken for Jews and the contrary.*

SOME of the Arabic authors translated at that period appear in the reports sometimes twice, and have been considered as Jews; so, for instance, the problematic alchemist of olden times, KHALID BEN JEZID, perhaps occasioned through a corruption of Indorum into Iudaeorum¹. With that we connect the general warning against making Arabic authors Jews, which has been done in consequence of different circumstances connected with each other, and making an exact classification impracticable; but we shall try to discern some groups.

(a) Arabs have been considered as Jews, because they are mentioned in Jewish sources; for instance, some old Karaïtic writings describe different sects or philosophical schools, of which probably Christians and Jews formed part. The importance of this fact is not to be pursued in this place; we point only to the strange fact that the names of a founder of sects, Abu Haschim al-Djubbai, and his son have been transferred from the Karaïtes to their own heads, Sefet and Levy, as I have stated in the *Catalogue of the Leyden MSS.*, p. 170² (cf. § 20, p. 521, n. 153).

¹ See the correction of my former suggestion (*Zur pseudopigr. Lit.*, p. 50) in *Jeschurun* (German), edited by Kobak, V, p. 188.—Different instances are given in my article, "Pseudo-Juden," in *Monatsschrift*, 1893-4, p. 39 ff.

² Pinsker, 119, has overlooked the words יהושע וזכריה וקן בעל הזכמה in *Catal. Lugd.*, l. c. Geiger first believed my combination to be erroneous.

(b) Some Arabs have been considered as Jews because their works have been transcribed in Hebrew characters or have been translated into the Hebrew language. A striking instance is the family of Ibn Zohr, vulgo *Avenzoar*, whose members figure even in scientific works of the present day as Jews. A similar circumstance arose from the names. The Arabs adopted some biblical names with some slight variation (see § 11); the Jews restored the original form, and the authors so quoted were considered as Jews. In this way the celebrated noble Arabic astrologer and philosopher, abu Jakub Ishak ben Jusuf al-Kindi, and the Spanish astronomer, abu Ibrahim Ishak al-Zarkali, became articles in the *Bibliotheca Hebr.*, by Wulfius; the celebrated Syriac Christian translator, Honein ben Ishak, became first חֲנַיָּה, and already in old sources he is called "the Israelite" (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 1046); in later times he became חֲנַיָּה הַצִּירִי instead of ha-Nozeri (the Christian). The physician, Ali ibn Ridhwan, became ר' עֲלִי, which was pronounced Eli, so that this name became equivocal (see above, § 20, n. 536). This goes so far that a translator of the gospel was changed into Pharaoh the Hebrew, a triple misunderstanding of abu'l-Faradj bar Hebräus (*Catal. Lugd.*, p. 70, n); Luca ben Costa, apud Grässe (*Literärgeschichte*, II, 2, 791), is the Syriac Christian Costa ben Luca. We find the Hebrew אֲבוּ נָסִיר, which is the translation of the Arabic abu Nas'r (al-Farabi); the physician, ibn al-Djezzar, became בֶּן מַכְּלָרִי (filius Macellarii).

As to the pretended Jews of the name Muhammed, we refer to § 8; on the other hand we have seen (*ibid.*) that even the name "Israil" is rather to be found with Christian than Jewish authors; Ibn Israil and Ibn Scham'an (Simon) need not be names of Jews.

(c) Besides the uncertainty and all sorts of ignorance there are all sorts of deceit which might be discerned as pious, erudite, and speculative in the commercial sense of the word. Polemic authors in their controversial tracts feign a Jewish adversary. Alphonsus Bonihominis makes Samuel

Marokkanus a Jewish convert. Celebrated Muhammedan teachers of tradition are made Jews by Casiri to hit the ridiculousness of both with one stroke. Carmoly, on the contrary, in his *Histoire des médecins*, fabricates Jewish proselytes and famous professors elsewhere unknown—in *majorem Dei (et sui) gloriam*. Jehuda al-Musulmani, whose magic, said to have been written about 685–98 and dedicated to Abd al-Malik ben Merwan (MS. Paris, 1124), is probably a fiction¹.

Very rare is the counterpart, viz. that Jews have been made Moslems, as, for instance, Sahl ben Bischr al-Isra'ili in Latin translations has become Zael Ismaelita, &c. (§ 36), who in the cosmological work of Ristoro d'Arezzo, edited by E. N. R. Narducci, Rome, 1859, p. 7, is called Zale, Aghazel, and in the note has been explained as Gazzali! With this remark I will not deny that there may be still detected many Jews; but more of this in a later part of this essay; here the instance ibn Halfarn (see § 20) will suffice.

29. *The Arabic Works known to the Jews.*

In general the knowledge of Arabic literature among the Jews principally comprehends medicine, astronomy (including astrology), and philosophy. A greater part of these books is derived from classical literature. The prominent authors are ARISTOTLE, PLATO, HIPPOKRATES, GALEN, PTOLEMAEUS, EUCLID, and those of the so-called "intermediate writings" (the "little astronomer")². Single writings of

¹ The title (quoted by Sédillot, *Introd. aux Proleg.* d'Olough Begh, p. cxlviii) "*Kitab al-Anwar wa-Mafati'h al-Abrar*," &c., is not to be found in Slane's *Catal. of the Arab. MSS. in Paris*, where n. 2675 has *Mafati'h Israr 'Ulum al-Anbijā*. D'Herbelot, III, 36 (Germ. ed.) s.v. "*Kitab alanuar*," and II, 824 s.v. Jehuda al-Mosleman, is the source of Wolf, III, p. 334, n. 753 c. A similar title, omitted by D'Herbelot, is "*Kitab al-Anwar wa-Miftā'h al-Surur wa'l-Afkar fi Maulad al-Nabi al-Mukhtar*," by abu 'l-Hasan Ahmed ben Abd Allah Bakri in seven parts, ap. *H. Kh.*, I, 483, n. 1421.

² See my article in *Zeitschr. für Mathematik*, vol. X. Josef S. del Medigo (ap. Geiger, *Melo Chofnaqim*, p. 34) gave up his design to learn the Arabic

Hippokrates and Galen, Ptolemaeus and others are only known by Jewish sources, as well as some pseudo-epigraphical works, for instance, the pseudo-Aristotelic *De pomo*¹, the dialogue of pseudo-Galen and Muria, translated from the Hebrew into Latin by King Manfred or by his order. A supposed "book of the *intellect*" attributed to Aristotle, owes its existence to an error; it is really a "book of justice."

Of course, single scholars were well versed in literature, and composed literary directions for beginners. As such we find at the same time a teacher and his pupil—the latter probably preceding—Maimonides and his pupil, Josef ibn Aknin, whose work, *Medicine of the Soul*, contains a chapter on the relation between teacher and pupil, which has been by chance translated into Hebrew (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 33). His master, Maimonides, in a letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, gives to this translator some literary hints. A similar passage of an unedited work by Samuel Jehuda Abbas has been lately published.

30. Other Branches.

Besides the mentioned disciplines we point here to the lexicography: one of the most celebrated Arabic works, the dictionary *Kitab* (Book) *al-'Ein*, attributed to Khalil ben Ahmed, was principally used by some translators out of the Arabic, and by abu 'l-Rabi' (Salomo) ibn Ja'isch (ob. 1345?), who compiled a glossary on difficult words used by Arabic poets². Arabic philologists are mentioned by an old Karaite (*Catal. Lugd.*, p. 111). Abu Ali al-Ma'arri is

language, because "all the beautiful writings composed in that language are borrowed with few alterations from the Greek."

¹ Dieterici makes the author a Jew, without the least testimonial or argument, *Hebr. Übersetz.*, pp. 267 and xxvii. In a Persian mystic drama Muhammed dies, smelling an apple presented to him by an angel (*De Gubernatis, Mythologie des Plantes*, I, 302).

² *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIX, 94 (so read in *Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 64, n. 130). The *Kitab al-'Ein* is also quoted by Abraham ibn Barun (Bacher, in *Stade's Zeitschr. für Alttest. Wiss.*, 1894, p. 201).

quoted by Moses ibn Ezra in his *Muhadhara*, and in rules for killing the beast, by an anonymous writer, who is probably Samuel ibn Djam' (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 64; *J. Q. R.*, III, 618). Of the lexicographer Djauhari a curious anecdote will be reported later. As to history and chronology we point to a passage of Mas'udi (ob. 958), quoted by Jehuda ben Nissim (fourteenth century) in his commentary on the *Perakim*, attributed to R. Elieser, with respect to the dubious word "Hazerwan¹," which moreover occurs in the preface of ibn Ezra to his translation of the astronomical tables of al-Muthanna. Sentences of Honein's Collection² are most probably introduced in the collection of sentences (with the title *Mibchar ha-Peninim*), attributed to Salomo ben Gabirol, and certainly translated by Jehuda ibn Tibbon, whose contemporary, Josef Kimchi, seems also to know Honein's *Apophthegmata*. Sometimes before Charisi, Gabirol (*Ethics*, I, 3) quotes *Buzurgmi'hr* (that is, the great mithra), but the word has been disfigured in print³. Abu Man'sur al-Dhahiri of Yemen (fifteenth cent.) quotes various Arabic authors (see the essay of Kohut, 18, p. 41).

¹ Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde* (1850, p. 529, probably communicated by Munk); *ZDMG.*, XXIV, 389, n. 4.

² H. Derenbourg, *Les traducteurs arabes d'auteurs grecs et l'auteur musulman des Aphorismes des Philosophes* (Mélanges-Weil, Extrait, 1898), believes that the original work in the very few existing copies is that of a Musulman, called in the MS. of the Escorial Muhammed ben Ali, &c., al-An'sari (quite unknown elsewhere), or at least worked up by him? The discussion of this hypothesis cannot be the subject of an occasional note, where a sign of interrogation must suffice.

³ אבן זורג (read אבן זורג); "Abu zurg (I) Mihir," ap. Grätz, V, 18; "Gumhur," ap. Rosin (I have only noted "p. 165," but not the essay, which is printed after 1893, as it seems), who quotes Dukes, *Salomo ben Gabirol*, p. 115, where the name is corrupted into "Dachumur," Vezir of Anuschirwan. But see my correction in *Serapeum*, 1863, p. 210, n. 18, and other quotations in *Hebr. Übersetz.*, pp. 382, 874. Sayings of "Barzachumehr" (sic) after the *Djawidan Khîred* in Molla Firuz Library (*Catal.*, p. 222), remind us of the compilation of Miskaweih described by De Sacy (see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, II, 118). Recent Karaite authors give the name B. to Chiskijja (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 106, not known to Cazés, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XII, 82, 83, quoted by Kaufmann in *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, Wien, 1898, p. 298).

The folklore which from its source in India inundated all Europe, did not find idle spectators in the Jews; they took an active part in it. I have detected in the Hebrew book, *Prince and Dervis*, by Abraham ibn Chisdai, a free translation of the celebrated book, *Barlaam and Josafat*, which really is an Arabic and Christian free translation of a biography of Buddha. The prominent fables called *Khalila wa-Dimna*, the Persian translation of which is quoted by Hai Gaon and the *Mischle Sindabar* (tales of Sindbad), have been partly transmitted by Jews into European languages and translated into Hebrew. The Arabic parable of a controversy between men and animals was translated by Kalonymos in one week.

If the fables of Lokman have escaped the attention of the Jews and have not been translated into Hebrew before it was done by a Christian scholar of the last century, it proves its late and Christian origin, recognized in our times, especially by the late J. Derenbourg¹.

Before Hariri was translated by Charisi and imitated in the Hebrew *Tachkemoni*, there existed Makamas by Josef ibn Aknin and Ibn Zakbal (Schorr, *he-Chaluz*, III, 154). The *המסור* of Josef ibn Chrispin (twelfth cent.) is only an imitation of Arabic prototypes, and was itself translated by Josef ibn Hasan, elsewhere unknown, in fifty Arabic Kassidas, with the title *מחמסין אלמאדאב* (copied A. 1467, *Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 884). The extemporized verses of the Resch Geluta UKBA (beginning of the tenth century), mentioned by Abraham Sacut (Juchasin, fol. 120 b, ap. Grätz, V, 29, *Lieder*), need not be of his own composition.

31. Poetry.

The Koran itself, with its intentional rhymes, has important rhetorical and poetical passages, which have even been

¹ Berachja ha-Nakdan has, according to my opinion, nothing to do directly with Arabic literature (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, pp. 275, 578); K. Warncke, *Marie de France*, Halle, 1898, p. xlviii, corroborates this opinion against the suggestions of Mr. J. Jacobs.

used as arguments to prove its divine origin¹. Whether a great part of the real poetry of the Arabs has been much read by Jews, is a question which requires a more special investigation, but certainly single Jews were versed in that part of literature. Jona ibn Djana'h, Moses ibn Ezra, and Salomo ibn Gabirol (see below) quote verses of the Arabs.

It is known that poetry, at least what the Arabs called poetry, already at an early period was an ingredient of life², in later times an essential element of culture, the finish of the preparatory sciences which we call "humaniora³," finally an indispensable arabesque of literary works of all kinds. This certainly has contributed to the credit and importance of the quotations of sacred and profane hymns in all sorts of Jewish literature, even in Halachic and Kabbalistic writings. The matter of that poetry, of course, is important; the true old natural poetry of the Arabs (up to the seventh century) was not congenial to Jewish ideas. The name of the "golden verses" (Mudsahhabât) is quoted by the grammarian, Isak ben Elieser (in the thirteenth, not twelfth, century), but only to explain the connexion of מנחת with כחם (Hebr. *Übersetz.*, pp. 851, 917, 920). The later art-, court-, and school-poetry grew more and more unnatural, and in consequence more abstract, less specific and national; hence it is no wonder that Jews did not hesitate to read and to quote it. About the mutual influence of these quoted verses and sentences, and the different forms of popular poetry, see *Jewish Literature*, § 20, and the article "Typen," in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, VIII and IX. A special investigation of these quotations, how far they are, directly or indirectly, taken from other writings, and of what kind of writings, is still wanted. Therefore some detached remarks must suffice here.

¹ The verses are "miracles," hence נס in the Hebrew translation of the Cusari.

² V. Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien*, &c.

³ Josef ibn Aknin, in Ersch and Gruber's *Realencykl.*, sect. II, vol. 31, p. 51, n. 39 d, and Hebr. *Übersetz.*, p. 33. Instances of quotations are eruditely collected by Dukes, in his קריים בל.

The most important quotations that I have occasionally noted serve different purposes, for the most part exegetical and philological ones; for instance, ap. *ibn Koreisch*, *abu 'l-Walid*, and *Tanchum Jeruschalmi*. Ethic-philosophical purposes were pursued by *ibn Gabirol* (about 1050) in his *Ethics*, and by *Josef ibn Akinin* in his above-mentioned work (f. 20). Ibn Gabirol quotes some poems of the Arabs which have been omitted by the Hebrew translator Jehuda ibn Tibbon; the whole Arabic book is prepared for publication. Moses ibn Ezra composed (about 1138) a monograph on Hebrew poetry in its connexion with, and relation to, the Arabic; his similar work on Hebrew rhetoricisms has been lost. Moses has certainly studied with great zeal the poetical productions of the Arabs, and the fragments, cited in his works, are also of literary interest. He, in general, represents the æsthetical criticism, applied to the single objects, and on the other side to the formal-rhetorical element. His Arabic style is extremely elegant but overcharged¹. A little later Samuel ibn Abbas (the renegade) frequently quotes in his writings Arabic poets (*Ahlwardt*, n. 6381), which he had read, being still a Jew².

Maimonides must here, as everywhere, be judged from his own point of view. He is, although an admirer of Aristotle, a rigorous, consistent, ideal philosopher, like Plato, and poetry was likewise not in his favour; but he hardly had occasion to burn his own poems, which Jehuda ha-Levi is said to have done³. His occasional remarks must be understood by their context. In the *More*, I, 2, he admonishes not to read fugitively the Bible, "the

¹ A profound article on this remarkable book by M. Schreiner appeared in the *Revue des Ét. Juives*, 1891, and separately (1892); I have appended an index of persons and works quoted in that work to the Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Royal Library of Berlin, Abth. 2, p. 128 f.

² See the article on my MS. of his *If'ham al-Jahud* by Schreiner in the *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. W. des Jud.*, 1898, also in a separate edition.

³ According to Moses Rieti, quoted by Elia Ch. ben Benjamin of Genazzano (MS. Munich, n. 112, *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 1986).

book of guidance (הדאיה, a technical designation of the Koran) of the old and the later ones," as one is used, in the hours drawn off from drunkenness and debauchery, to turn over the leaves of chronicles and poetry (תאריך מן אלתואריך או שער מן אלתאעאר). Munk translates the word which we rendered "chronicles" by *histoire*; ibn Tibbon gives the Hebrew דברי הימים. Schemtob ibn Schemtob remarks that this is the custom of the Christian priests (כומרי אדום). In his introduction to the articles of creed, inserted in his commentary on the Talmud (*Tractat Synhedrin*, chap. X or XI), Maimonides blames "the books" composed by Ben Sira because of his physiognomical remarks¹; he says that there is neither science nor profit, but only wasting of time with empty things. נטו הרה אלכתב אלמונה ענד אלערב מן כתב אלתואריך [so read] וסידר אלמלך ואנסאב אלערב וכתב אלמאני ונחרא מן אלכתב אלחי לא עלם פיהא ולא פאידה ספר דברי הימים והנהגת ויחסי: Hebrew: אלא תלאף אלומאן פקס הערבים וספרי הנגן. Thus Maimonides does not speak of real history as Chwolsohn² believes, but of chronicles as we have said, and the poetry which he abhorred is not specially the Arabic, which results from the above quoted passage, viz. his commentary on *Aboth* I, 17, where he measures poetry with the strict scale of tendency³. He remarks, that if some sheikhs and pious men do not admit an Arabic poem at festivities and weddings—be it in praise of God or of wine—on account of the language, but admit such a poem if it is Hebrew—it is absolute absurdity. On the contrary, if the question turns upon the language, whether vernacular or Arabic or Hebrew, and the poem is such as excites mean passions, it is more objectionable to use the Hebrew language, because it is at once a profanation of the sacred language⁴. We may here remark that Maimo-

¹ The passage alluded to is ערוך ערוך.

² See my *Zur pseudopigr. Lit.*, p. 5.

³ Comp. the Resp. quoted by Goldziher in *Monatsschr.*, XXII, 178.

⁴ Maimonides might have chosen a milder expression if he opposed the Responsum of a Gaon (?); see the semi-spurious collection חסידה (Hebr. *Bibliogr.*, I, 57, n. 152), on כומרי רמא, which is not a Hebrew song, and on

nides boasts of his having read all works of superstition. Since we know that Maimonides composed a Hebrew hymn, we might suppose that he also composed Arabic ones; however, history must not be written by suppositions. Dernburg (Geiger's *Zeitschr.*, I, 105) points to an Arabic MS. of the Escorial (n. 354, ap. Casiri), where there is an anthology of the poems of Abdallah ben Maimun, born at Cordova: אבי עבר אלאה בן מימן אלקרמבי אלעלי: I do not believe this author to be a Jew at all.

Certainly different from Maimuni is *Mose ben Tobi*, the author of the poem אלסבעיניה (also translated into Hebrew by Salomo da Piera¹), recently edited by Hirschfeld. J. Gavison (1605) translates a poem of Gazzali (reprinted by L. Dukes in his שירי שלמה). *Abraham ibn Chisdai*, in his translation of the ethical work of Gazzali, substitutes Hebrew poems of Samuel ha-Nagid and others for the Arabic texts.

A characteristic of the Arabian poetry, specially of its erotic poems, is to be found in some rhymes attributed to Abraham ibn Esra, quoted by Jochanan Alemanno (שער החושק, fol. 45 b, ed. Halberstadt), repeated by Dukes and Rosin², which runs thus:—

הישמעאלים שיריהם באהבים וענבים
והאדומים במלחמות ונקמות
והיונים בחכמות ומימות
וההודיים במשלים וחידות
והישראלים בשירים ובתשכחות לה' צבאות

a cantor who sings in the Arabic language. Israel Moses Chassan in his ed. (Leghorn, 1869), f. 59, refers to שש אלשי and מאחאל in vulgar Arabic; he quotes also Isak Alfasi (Berachot, f. 15 b) who forbids songs of praise, &c., which the Arabs call אשש. (This is the source not indicated by Elia di Vidas, *ר"ר*, ch. 10, f. 104 b, ed. Amst., 1708; see also the Comm. of Ahron ha-Levi to Alfasi, fol. 62, of MS. Munich, 237; I do not possess Bamberger's ed., 1874.) See also Goldziher, *Monatsschr.*, XXII, 180. The Arch-priest of Hita composed many songs for Moorish and Jewish songstresses (see Schack, *Poesie*, &c., II, 47, 127).

¹ *Hebr. Übersets.*, p. 932; the title is wanted in the *Register*, p. 1035.

² *Reime u. Gedichte*, &c., p. 224; a short commentary is given by Reifmann in *ha-Karmel*, VII, 224.

Something similar is to be found ap. Jakob ben Eleasar (*Ozar nechmad*, II, 160). *Josef ibn Akinin*, however, banishes satire, praise, and love from poetry altogether (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 33). We must not omit the fact that even the *metre* of recent Hebrew poetry has been borrowed from the Arabs, probably of the end of the tenth century; the passage respecting Dunasch (ap. Grätz, V, 540, and Halberstam, in the Hebrew *Jeschurun*, VI, 152), is not quite clear.

32. Collections of Books.

We are little informed about the collections of books in olden times¹, but as early as the first mention of this subject, viz. in the instruction about the arrangement of libraries in the Testament of Jehuda ibn Tibbon, this author recommends the revising of Hebrew books every month, the Arabic every two months (Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 232). Some persons applied themselves to transcriptions of Arabic works in Hebrew characters. So Schemtob ben Isak, of Tortosa (thirteenth century), who travelled on business as far as St. Jean d'Acre, and then settled in Provence and Catalonia, in the preface of his translation of Zahrawi's great work (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 741), relates that, after having finished his study of medicine, he, during twenty years, applied himself to transcribing Arabic works in Hebrew letters for the use of those who knew the Arabic language, but not the Arabic writing. After having seen that, in these countries, in case of necessity, people applied to Christian physicians for help, against the prohibition of the old sages², he began to translate Arabic works³. This remark leads us to a short digression.

¹ Instances of Jewish bibliophiles among the Arabs are Efraim (below, § 35), 'Imran b. 'Sudaka (Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, IX, 173).

² Schemtob attributes here to the old sages a prohibition which originally refers to heathen (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 792).

³ Josef ibn Na'hmiyas is not himself a copyist (Hottinger, ap. Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, p. 429), see *Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 740.

33. *The Writing in Arabic Characters.*

This subject is not at all an indifferent one, and it is even important as showing that in the history of literature in general some objects are more important than they appear to be. We have seen that the more rigorous interpretation of the Mohammedan rules of tolerance prohibited the use of the Arabic language and writing to Christians and Jews, which should have effected that the latter wrote their Arabic matters in Hebrew characters, the former in Syriac characters (Karschuni)¹. Sprenger asserts that the Jews most probably had in olden times Arabic books in Hebrew characters, though he does not offer any documentary proof². But there were times and circumstances which made the writing in Arabic characters urgent. Jehuda ibn Tibbon in his Testament, quoted already *passim*, which indeed is very interesting for the history of civilization (Hebrew text, p. 4; German introduction, p. xi), recommends to his son the exercise of Arabic writing, which the latter had begun seven years ago, as a means by which important men of Israel had reached a high rank. So Samuel ha-Nagid, who expressed his thanks to the pen in his poem, beginning: עַם אֲנִי חֹסֶךְ מִסֶּפֶר ("O pen! thy benevolence I tell!")³. Likewise his son Josef

¹ Comp. Dukes, *Beiträge, &c.*, p. 44, Karschuni is, according to Assemani (*Catal. MSS. Biblioth. Mediceae Palat.*, p. 51), derived from Karschun, the first copyist of Syriac in Arabic characters. Mohammed is said to have summoned his secretary Zeid ben Thabit to learn the *writing* of the Jews for the purpose of their correspondence (Goldziher, *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 78). That seems to suppose that this correspondence was to be carried on in the Arabic language, but with Hebrew characters, which is doubtful.

² Sprenger, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1856 (edited 1857), p. 376, comp. 213 (*Das Leben . . . des Mohammed*, I, 56), خَشِينِ عِلْمٍ, which I have explained by חֹסֶךְ עֵלֶם, comp. سَدْرُ الْعَالَمِ for סֶדֶר עוֹלָם. A. Kuenen, "L'Islam" (in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, VI, 1882, p. 10), designates the thoughts of Sprenger about the pretended old "rolls of Musa and Ibrahim" as *extrêmement aventureux*. Comp. also *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, V, 90.

³ Dukes, חֹסֶךְ עֵלֶם, pp. 18, 33.

and the Nasi Schechet (see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 106), acquired riches and honours by the same means. At the end of the testament he returns to the same subject, and recommends for that purpose the exact copying of a book written in the Arabic language which has been done by the Nasi R. Samuel [but Schorr suggested privately that we must read here Schechet instead of Samuel]¹, who learned that language without a teacher. Naturally, Maimonides, who lived in close connexion with the Moslems, wrote especially his treatises on general subjects in Arabic writing, and even the original copy, of his medical opinions and treatises for instance, composed by order of the governor and some high officers. To the personal relation between Jews and Christians we shall return. Salomo ibn Ja'isch wrote his commentary on the Kanon in Arabic characters, and his contemporary, Josef ibn Nachmias, transcribed it in Hebrew ones (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, 686). Surely, a great deal of the Arabic writings of the Jews remained partly or entirely unknown to their brethren, while those written with Arabic characters, were conserved either in the original or in Hebrew translation (yet this is more the case with works of more general content). But some specific Jewish labours seem, at the same time, from different motives, also to have been written in Arabic. The discussion of this subject would lead us almost to the first period of the Jewish-Arabic literature proper. Ibn Ezra (to Gen. ii. 11) tells us that Saadia Gaon translated the "Thora" into Arabic language and into Arabic writing (ובכתיבה, *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2185). Under Thora Rapoport (Saadia, note 35) understands the whole Bible; Tychsen and others believe that he originally wrote in Hebrew characters. This difference of opinion has a literary importance, because the corruptions of the text must be differently emended by conjecture according to the character of the letters. Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*,

¹ Dukes (*Litbl. d. Or.*, VII, 798) gives Samuel שמואל, but this word is not to be found in the MS., and is probably an addition without the wanted brackets.

I, 188) is not inclined to believe in the Arabic writing. In his eyes it is very improbable, because the Jews never wrote their works in that manner, and Saadia composed his works with preference for Jewish readers. It would even have checked his tendencies, just as if Mendelssohn in the last century would have published his German Bible-translation in German characters (this parallel is, however, not suitable). Geiger further argues: to take Ibn Ezra's report in its verbal sense would oblige us to believe in his having seen the autograph, in order to be able to make this assertion (but this is not necessary at all). Tychsen went so far as to deny the authorship at all, and to attribute it to a Samaritan author. According to his opinion, כתיבה does not mean the writing, but the style. So Isak Israeli (IV, 18) says of Samuel (Tychsen substitutes Josef Satanas) that he was expert in the Arabic language ובכתיבתם¹, "what a ridiculous praise that a man was expert in painting Arabic characters!" Such is the way of general argumentation! Mecklenburg (*Annalen*, I, 228) even proposed to read ובכתיבתם. Dukes, however (*Litbl. d. Or.*, IV, 811), pointed to the Jews being prohibited from writing in Arabic characters. The Morescos also wrote their Arabic with Spanish, and the Spaniards with Arabic characters, and the Mohammedans in Spain wrote their Spanish in Arabic characters (Dukes, *Beiträge*, p. 45; comp. above, § 22, p. 483). Nevertheless, he explains the word ובכתיבתם by caligraphy, which the Arabs and the Jews set a great value upon². He also opposes (*ibid.*,

¹ An old Karaite refutes the opinion of another, that it is forbidden to read on the sabbath a book written in Arabic characters (*Catal. MSS. Lugd.*, p. 109, l. 4). I have (*ibid.*, p. 110) conjectured that the unknown author might be Jeschua; Fürst, *Gesch. d. Kar.*, II, 171, here, as often elsewhere, quotes the conjecture simply as a fact. The question mentioned is treated by Kirkisani (Poznański, in Kohut's *Semil. Stud.*, p. 439).

² "Die Kunst des Schönschreibens ist bei den Arabern, Persern, Türken, ein Hauptgegenstand nicht bloss des Schulunterrichts, sondern eine Art Kunsthandwerk, das auch die vornehmsten Leute oft mit Vorliebe treiben" (C. N. Pischon, *Der Islam*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 63).

p. 45) Geiger, but he suggests that Saadia had in view Mohammedan readers, and that perhaps he was asked by the Khalif to translate the Bible, like Josef ibn Abitur, called Satanias (Santas?), who translated the Talmud into Arabic by order of the Sultan Alhakim, a tale that, indeed, is not yet quite clear in itself.—The opinions being so different, the passage of Jehuda ibn Tibbon offers a sufficient basis to decide that Ibn Ezra means the writing in Arabic characters, and finally Dukes himself (דוקס קד', p. 31) came to the same result.

Abd al-Latif, the contemporary of Maimonides, asserts that the latter added, at the end of his book *More* (מורה נבוכים), which the Mohammedans, with a slight alteration, called *Ma'alim*, *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 1893) a malediction upon those who should copy the work in other than Hebrew characters. But certainly in the lifetime of Maimonides there already existed MSS. in Arabic writing; a proof of that is the circumstance that its translator, Samuel ibn Tibbon, derives some errors from copies in Arabic letters (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 416). Another proof is the commentary of the Arab Tabrizi, probably in the thirteenth century, who certainly did not use a MS. in Hebrew characters; Munk even found a fragment of the book, where the Bible-verses were translated into Arabic. The commentary on Maimonides' codex of law by the Arab Allah al-Din al-Muwakkīt is, indeed, suspected, as we have already said. A much later author, J. Gavison (Dukes, *Nachal*, p. 63), praises his son's, the physician, understanding the Arabic language and using the Arabic writing.

34. *The Position of the Jewish-Arabic Scholars, and especially their relation to the Mohammedans.*

We have formerly considered the rules of the law, respecting the Jews in general, with the remark that the situation of some individuals was an exceptional one;

we now have to deal with this latter, and this chapter is to represent at once *the biographical part of this introduction*.

The lives of scholars, and especially of the Jewish, are monotonous, and the contents and the importance of their writings are rarely illustrated by the events of their life.—If the latter have been collected with great industry, it has been done for different purposes, either to ascertain the time of the writings and their reference to others, or as a means for other purposes, or in consequence of the natural interest and the piety which in our times exhibits itself to excess in the service of autographs and relics. But here we shall, with preference, gather the circumstances of life that characterize the situation of the Jews and their literary activity with respect to their Mohammedan countrymen and the Arabic literature in general, and not only of those whose literary works are known with certainty.

We may reduce the different relations which are merging one into the other, to some categories, as: the personal situation of an author, for instance, in the service of a governor—a public office—a personal relation to an Arabic scholar as teacher or pupil—the influence of the works of Jews on the development of literature. We shall arrange our survey of the most important facts, partly in a chronological order, partly in a material division. But before entering into particulars, we must premise some general remarks¹.

Of the different occupations of the Jews and the literary disciplines they cultivated, there were especially two, viz. medicine and mathematics, that brought the Jews into closer connexion with the Moslems.

¹ The following paragraph in the German language has been inserted, without exact indication of the sources, in Brann's *Jahrbuch zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung* (appended to the *Jüd. Volks- und Hauskalender*), Breslau, 1898, pp. 72–80, and 1899, pp. 38–42.

M. STEINSCHNEIDER.

(*To be continued.*)

LIBERAL JUDAISM IN ENGLAND: ITS DIFFICULTIES AND ITS DUTIES.

It is scarcely necessary to start this article by an attempt at definition. The kind of Judaism which the word "liberal" is intended to imply will become adequately clear in the sequel. For the present I will merely assume that the term has a real, and more or less definite meaning. But if I evade definition at the outset, I hope that otherwise I shall be able to make my words and phrases plain. The subject is too important for ambiguity.

It is tolerably certain that there are many persons in England who may rightly be described as liberal Jews, though their attachment or relation to Judaism may vary from close to remote. But these liberal Jews have no organization or coherence. It can hardly be said that the so-called reform synagogue in London, with its allies in Manchester and Bradford, fulfils such an end. A large number of the London and Manchester members at any rate, including some of the most earnest and prominent, would repudiate the appellation "liberal" in the sense in which it will be used in this article. It seems therefore true to say that liberal Judaism in England has no organized expression or embodiment.

It may be asked: What are the reasons for this lack of organization? Are the liberal Jews so tiny a minority that they must remain as scattered units among a vast and organized majority of conservatives? This is unlikely; in London alone there would in all probability be more than enough "liberal" Jews to found and maintain a large synagogue of their own. The true explanation must

rather be sought in a number of considerations, not all of which are wholly creditable to the "liberal" Jews themselves.

(1) A new movement requires a master mind, an urgent apostle, to take the lead and show the way. Such a person has not yet arisen amongst us. Meanwhile, though a large number of persons feel, more or less consciously, that the position of conservative Judaism is as untenable as its embodiment is unattractive, they are by no means agreed as to what should or could be put in its place. They realize, more or less fully, the great complexity of the problem, the intricacy and delicacy of the whole matter. They are (more or less consciously) perplexed, harassed and benumbed by the difficulties of "reform," by the difficulties which every suggested form of liberal Judaism, whether in theoretic expression or in outward embodiment, presents to the critical understanding. It is tolerably easy to know what "liberal Judaism" does not or cannot mean; it is far less easy to decide what it does. For within its borders there is doubtless included a considerable divergency of opinion and belief. And this variety would naturally make concerted action more difficult, or even hinder its inception.

(2) There exists a great dislike of strife and disunion. It is so far easier to abstain and do nothing. There are "conservative" members of the family to be considered. Pain would be inflicted upon a near relative. A mere abstention from synagogue causes no disturbance or irritation; to attend a synagogue where the service was entirely in English would be far more disliked; to be instrumental in founding such a one would be worst of all. Most persons shrink from family feuds and from the infliction of pain. Liberals, not unnaturally, are able to sympathize with and to appreciate the conservative position; the conservatives show a perhaps equally natural incapacity to understand the position of liberals.

(3) The time is considered inopportune. (And what a

relief it is when difficult action can be indefinitely postponed on the cogent ground of inopportunity!) It is argued that the practical problems which beset the community are so grave and large that nothing should be done to divide and disunite. Theoretical questions must be postponed till a more convenient season. Practical workers of every shade of opinion must combine to tackle practical difficulties. Again, when the condition of the Jews in foreign countries is so grave as it is now, the time is unsuited for contentious movements. English Jews in particular must present a united front in order, when occasion offers, to help their brethren in faith upon the continent of Europe or in other lands. The measure of truth in this argument is apparent to all.

(4) It must also be admitted that there are many "liberal" Jews, who may rightly be dubbed as "indifferentists." Religion does not appeal to some; to others Judaism is far off and uninteresting. There are many, in all probability, who are dissatisfied with that which is, but who would not put themselves to any trouble or inconvenience in order to seek a remedy. They will remain quietly discontented and distant, while their children may be expected to drop off more completely still, or to join other religious denominations.

These four reasons give a tolerably comprehensive explanation for the unorganized condition of liberal Judaism. It cannot be said that I have attempted to depict the situation too favourably. Let me now indicate the dangers and drawbacks which the present condition of affairs involves and implies.

(1) From the religious point of view, a considerable number of Jews are becoming, gradually but increasingly, alienated from the community. No religious body can view a fact of this kind with equanimity or unconcern.

(2) Some of these Jews may become lost to religion. Some may continue religious in one of two ways: either they may join some other religious body (e.g. the Unitarians),

or they may be capable of preserving religion in their own lives and souls without any close relation to any particular denomination and without any outward or definite "forms." It is true that an unattached religiousness such as this may be of the purest kind and of the highest worth; but herein lies the gist of the third drawback or evil of the present situation.

(3) A considerable amount of potential, and a certain amount of developed religiousness and spirituality are actually being lost to the community and to Judaism. Both the possibilities, or rather both the actualities, here mentioned are grievous to contemplate. If many Jews are becoming non-religious, who could have been kept within the religious fold by an organized presentation of liberal Judaism, the responsibility resting upon the liberals is great. Moreover, the non-religious Jew is beset by peculiar temptations. Having lost his religion, he too often becomes a materialist. The other phases of idealism, outside of religion, do not in many cases adequately attract him. The highest idealism being lost, no lower form seems able even partially to supply its place. That the Jew, whose very existence stands for religion and for nothing else at all, should be lost to religion is a crying anomaly; it is a disgrace, almost a scandal. Scarcely less sad, though far less serious for humanity as a whole, is it to think that Judaism is not only unable to foster and develop all potential religiousness within its own borders, but that some developed religiousness of a high order is actually lost to the Jewish stream. It is not indeed lost to the world. "Spirits are not finely touched but to fine issues." But it is lost to Judaism. It does not fructify and improve it. It does not increase the spiritual store, it does not raise the religious level, of the community itself. To every reader of this article there are probably known two or three persons to whom the foregoing sentences closely and pre-eminently apply. That they live their religious life outside of the community and of Judaism

does not in their case impair its worth ; it is the community and Judaism which are the losers.

May we provisionally use the term "liberal Jews" to indicate the persons (admittedly a considerable number) to whom the Jewish religion, as it is currently expounded, and as in outward form and embodiment it actually exists, does not seem to appeal? Of these persons, some, being more or less indifferent to religion altogether—their interests or even their ideals lie in other directions—would hardly seem to belong to the category under review. Even as to them the grave question still, however, remains: to what cause is their present indifference due? Others again may be justly called "religious," but their religion is more or less independent of, and, as *they* think, unrelated to Judaism. Those who form the first two divisions might perhaps be called "nominal" Jews. A third division includes all those who, as regards their religion, feel convinced that it is both "liberal" and Jewish. Strictly, the term "liberal Jews" should be only applied to these, but, as an actual fact, the persons who are included in the second and third divisions shade off into each other, and are not separated by any hard and fast lines. To many in the second division sentiment (more racial than religious perhaps, but yet not racial only) takes the place of reasoned conviction. But a more or less definite Jewish consciousness is the result.

Now let us ask, generally, what are the causes of the dissatisfaction of the liberal and nominal Jews with existing Judaism? The answer is complicated. Doubtless the fundamental reason would be that belief in many of the tenets of orthodox Judaism has waxed cold. In the present age of religious doubt and uncertainty, the same influences which alienate the Christian from the Church alienate the Jew from the Synagogue. But in the case of the Jews there are other reasons of a different kind. Of these we have first to speak. For one has to remember that definite and reasoned beliefs are not the property of

many. For one person who has become a nominal Jew because he no longer believes in miracles, there are ten who drop off from those other reasons which we have now to consider.

It will be convenient to preface the subject by asking one more question: Why do so many of those "liberal" Jews, who are not indifferent to religion altogether, yet seldom or never attend public worship in a synagogue?

Now one must not confound attachment to Judaism with attendance at Synagogue. There are many persons, not only religious, but possessed of a Jewish religious consciousness, who *under existing circumstances* do not care to attend the Synagogue services. But Synagogue attendance has, nevertheless, a double signification. First of all, those persons who have lost their Jewish religious consciousness do *also* cease to enter the Synagogue; and, secondly, a prolonged abstention from the Synagogue *may* cause or accelerate the loss of the Jewish religious consciousness as well. For the Synagogue service is the outward symbol of the corporate sense—the sense of belonging to a community, to a distinct religious brotherhood. One can indeed retain a vivid sense of being religiously a Jew without the Synagogue, but as human nature is, and as we Jews live now, it is difficult, and needs very anxious and deliberate care. I shall later on have to urge that under existing circumstances, when on the one hand the existing Synagogue services are so unsympathetic to many, and on the other hand the chance of successfully organizing more "liberal" services seems as yet so small, this anxious and deliberate care has become a most solemn and urgent duty. But this is to anticipate.

I have often asked an old and dear friend of mine, who is one of the class now under discussion, to write an article for this REVIEW called: "Why I do not go to Synagogue." He has expressed his willingness to do this if the article may be anonymous. It is the old story. That he does not attend Synagogue does not pain his

relatives, or at any rate, they have grown completely accustomed to the situation. That he should give his reasons would, however, cause them pain. Under the rule by which anonymous articles are not accepted in this REVIEW, my request fell through; if my friend reads this paper, I hope he will find that I have included some, if not most, of the reasons which he himself—a far better authority!—would have given us.

(1) The first reason doubtless is that the services are conducted in Hebrew. Rightly or wrongly, of necessity or through indifference, many English Jews are imperfectly acquainted with Hebrew, and quickly forget what they learned as children. Hebrew is no longer an attraction; on the contrary it is a deterrent.

(2) The service itself is found to be uninteresting. A large part of it is taken up by the Reading of the Law, which is often dull and unspiritual. The method of reading makes the portion even longer than it need otherwise be.

(3) There is too little modernity or concession to western ideas and feelings. There is no organ; the singing is poor; there are no English hymns in which the congregation can join.

(4) The sexes are separated. The wife cannot sit by her husband; the mother cannot sit by her son. Orientalism pervades the service.

(5) The general result is unsatisfying to many. Hence the suspicion arises as to whether an unsatisfied attendant at Synagogue had not better become a regular abstainer. Is he not playing the part of a hypocrite, professing or appearing to believe what he does not believe, and injuring rather than advancing the cause of morality and truth? "What good," it is asked, "in the higher sense of the word, does the Synagogue do to me; and what good, in the higher sense of the word, do I do to others by attending its services?"

(6) In this catalogue of reasons it would be cowardly

to ignore the question of Saturday. Most of our leaders shut their eyes to its gravity. But the policy of the ostrich, though convenient, is also dangerous. What the right solution is it is extremely difficult to see; and for the present the unsatisfactory *status quo* may be less dangerous than any measure of change. But where one member of a family—and especially its head—is regularly absent from Synagogue, it is inevitable but that his example should have a serious influence upon all the rest.

I will not discuss how far all these objections are well founded. That there is some truth in them can hardly be denied. A reason, often perhaps overlooked, why they have special force with many liberal and cultivated persons is that the Synagogue is contrasted with the chapel or the church. Some who are not disturbed by differences of dogma find their religious feelings better stimulated by a beautiful service in a church; others, to whom Jewish and Christian Monotheism seem merely temporary varieties of an eternal reality above them both, are not unnaturally attracted by the simple, intelligible, and modern service of a Unitarian chapel. This last consideration is connected with a more general feeling about Judaism as a whole that it is an essentially oriental religion, which does not harmonize with the other sides and aspects of our full-fledged western lives. There are, for instance, aesthetic elements in Judaism, but they are not suited to western conditions and minds. Some rites are unaesthetic altogether. Contrast, for example, the initiatory rites of baptism and circumcision. The dogmas and the narratives which underlie both may be equally untrue; but the one is capable of spiritualization, the other is not. Circumcision, connected as it is with primordial ideas and practices of a highly superstitious and barbarous kind, is a great stumblingblock for modern minds, whether from the aesthetic, the spiritual, or the critical point of view.

These considerations pave the way for the more general reasons of the dissatisfaction felt by many liberal or nominal

Jews with existing Judaism. Dissatisfaction is perhaps not altogether the right word: in many cases one might more accurately speak of aloofness or estrangement.

Before the days of emancipation, before the days when in school and university and club, in business and charity, in public affairs and social intercourse, the Jew began to mix freely with the Christian; in older days still, when the Jew did not read non-Jewish books or think non-Jewish thoughts, his life and environment were all of a piece. How different from now. There are many English Jews whose surroundings are almost completely non-Jewish. In addition to the influences of school and college, their friends, their work, their interests are all away and aloof from Judaism. The books they read are wholly non-Jewish. Their *real* religion is perhaps largely obtained from poets, such as Browning and Tennyson. Official Judaism is quite remote from their lives and thoughts; they know very little about it. Some persons there are whose minds are so constituted that they are unperceptive of disharmonies; there are others again whose minds are, as it were, made up of several and separate compartments. They do not want their religion, whether as doctrine or as outward form, to be related to the rest of their lives. But to the larger number the dissonance is (more or less consciously) disagreeable and unsatisfactory. Judaism does not seem as yet to have fully adapted itself to the changed conditions under which it has to live. Perhaps it has not fully realized that a man's real and vital religion is moulded and enriched nowadays from many other sources than the Bible, public worship, or ceremonial exercises. Conversation, reading (whether it be of poets, philosophers, essayists, novelists, or what not), music and painting, all contribute. These *ex hypothesi*, in the cases now under consideration, are mainly non-Jewish. If a man is not receptive to their influences, so far as religion is concerned, he may become non-religious altogether. If he is receptive to them, the religion he acquires may be, if not *un-Jewish*, at all events

independent of the Synagogue or even of Judaism. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the number of "nominal" Jews should tend to increase. Any organized creed which desires to keep its hold upon those born within its pale must reckon with these other sources of religion, and either harmonize with them, or counteract or control them. Judaism, as the small minority, cannot achieve the third. There remains harmony or counteraction. The second can no longer be attempted with success for those for whom it would be most required. But is not harmony still feasible?

We have to press the probing knife still deeper. For many of us are aware that this feasibility is denied by most persons of education and thought who are outside the Jewish limits. They think that Judaism cannot become a religion for the West. A Reformed Judaism must, they think, be a mere transition to some form of "Unitarianism" or "Theism." It is probable that this view is partly operative, in a more or less inarticulate sort of way, in the minds of many liberal Jews. Its grounds, as they present themselves to such persons, are, I believe, the following:

(1) The conception of Judaism, which our Prayer-books and public worship imply, is that of a perfect law given to Moses and recorded by him in a book known as the Pentateuch. All cultivated persons, and very many uncultivated ones as well, know that each term of this proposition is inaccurate. The law is not perfect; it was not given to Moses; it was not recorded by him in a book. The present writer fully admits the gravity of this contrariety between theory and fact. A sort of critical shiver runs through him when at each Synagogue service the sacred scroll is elevated, and the solemn words are proclaimed: "This is the Law which Moses set before the children of Israel." But can Judaism free itself from this difficulty and remain Judaism still?

(2) Connected with this Pentateuchal problem, and

including it, are the larger questions concerning Revelation, Inspiration and Miracles, which affect both Jew and Christian, though in different ways and proportions.

(3) Another difficulty is connected with considerations which have been touched upon before. We have seen that the environment of many English Jews is entirely non-Jewish. Even if such persons do not read directly religious literature, they often read semi-religious books such as *In Memoriam* and *Sesame and Lilies*. Such books are more or less Christian in character. It is their common assumption that the most noble life which has ever been lived is the life of Jesus Christ, and that the highest and purest religious teaching, hitherto achieved, was given by him. The New Testament itself is no longer a closed book to many Jews. They are aware that, whether officially or unofficially, a large number of Christians no longer believe in the divine birth and miraculous resurrection of Jesus, and nevertheless regard him as their religious master. The book of his life and teaching is very attractive. Yet Judaism does not as yet seem able to take up towards the New Testament and its hero an adequately comprehending attitude. It is still (in the eyes of many liberal and nominal Jews) too disposed to ignore or deny the new contributions to religion which the writers of the New Testament have made.

(4) But can Judaism be "reformed"? It is idle to deny that there are many persons who, without belief in the *truth* of orthodox Judaism, have also little belief in reform. The common objection is that Judaism cannot adapt itself to critical conclusions or to the modern spirit without divesting itself of its racial or national integuments, and that it cannot divest itself of these integuments without ceasing to be Judaism. Here then we have the familiar difficulty of Scylla and Charybdis. A national religion is disliked. In the liturgy the perpetual emphasis of "Israel" grates upon the ear. For that perpetually recurring term some would desire to substitute "humanity." Yet, on the other hand, it is believed that to denationalize is to destroy. In

Judaism it is supposed that religion and race must go hand in hand. There are even those who say: "While as a religion Judaism does not appeal to us, it has old and tender associations as a picturesque collection of family customs and national traditions. Your cold and colourless reform Judaism is neither the one thing nor the other."

(5) Preachers are wont to speak of the religious mission of Judaism. But there is an uncomfortable feeling that it has not been sufficiently indicated what that mission exactly is. Judaism, it is said, "produced" Christianity; but what religious work have the Jews accomplished since, or what religious work is there still left for them to do? The usual answer is that their mission is to spread or to maintain the pure Monotheistic idea. This reply, however, even if adequate, does not provoke adequate enthusiasm. It is argued or it is felt that Monotheism will come of itself. Already a large number of "nominal" Christians have private doubts about the Divinity of Christ. No one can say that these doubts have arisen because of Judaism or by the influence of Judaism. Further doubts, then, will come in the same way. Again, if the only object of Judaism is the maintenance of the Monotheistic idea, why may not Jews, if they please, join Unitarian or Theistic communities? The fundamental doctrine of the Divine Unity is equally maintained by them. "Theism" avoids those harassing difficulties of criticism and race which perplex and trouble the modern and philosophic Jew. Again, the very liberality of modern Judaism stands a little in its way. It is regularly preached that by far the most important thing is conduct, that members of the most various denominations can all lead pure and noble and self-sacrificing lives. The doctrine is wholesome and true, but it is inevitable that, under the influence of it, many persons should ask whether the speculative error of even orthodox Christians (who, after all, are not idolaters) is of so very much consequence. To add to the difficulty, modern Judaism almost boasts of being a non-proselytizing religion. Is it to be wondered

at that there are persons who ask whether it can be so necessary to maintain a religion which it is so unnecessary to communicate to others? The duty of mere existence is unattractive; it does not stimulate active devotion. It does not adequately appeal to the minds and imaginations of men.

(6) It must be fully conceded by all, whether we like it or no, that religious sentiment or emotion among the Jews of England was, in the past, largely maintained by feelings of race. Now among the more cultured Jews of England, race feelings are largely passing away. And this for three reasons. First, English Jews have become Englishmen, fully identified with their fellow citizens of other creeds in national feeling, habits and thoughts. Secondly, there is no anti-Semitism in England, and therefore English Jews are not driven back into their own community for all social intercourse and public work. Men and women, whether of Teutonic or Semitic blood, mix freely with each other. Thirdly, the modern idea is extending that religion should *not* be limited by race. That Judaism should be a purely national religion is an irritating limitation. But a new sentiment to supplant the old is not yet full blown. Thus the three elements, which some would say supply the driving force in most religions, are all being weakened. The old belief in the Perfect Law is evaporating; the rites which that Law ordered or suggested are no longer being observed; and lastly, the old religious sentiment, which depended on or was mixed up with racial or national considerations, is also cooling down and dwindling away. Hence the Jew grows increasingly aloof from Judaism, and Judaism seems to him more and more distant and unappealing.

Nor can it fairly be urged that these reasons are exaggerated or imaginary. Some of them doubtless are felt more by one person, and some by another. By one they are regularly formulated; in another they may be only sub-conscious. But they are, I think, sufficiently

real, numerous and grave, to make it certain that the fact of there being so many "nominal" Jews in England is not merely because of indifferentism, ignorance, or sloth. No doubt all these are contributing causes; but, taken alone and by themselves, they do not sufficiently explain the facts.

The object of all that has hitherto been said is to make the situation clear. The purpose of what follows is to set forth some reasons why liberal Jews should not be discouraged and become alienated, and why nominal Jews should remain nominal no longer. The one urgent requirement is that the Jewish religious consciousness should be actively and vividly maintained. The liberals and nominals must feel themselves Jews by religion, and not merely Jews by race; they must teach this consciousness to their children and hand it down from generation to generation. Out of and through this consciousness, as its deliberate expression and issue, they must seek to live the religious life. It is a secondary, though by no means an unimportant matter how this Jewish religious consciousness is to express itself in outward form and embodiment. It may do so by separate services and Synagogues, answering to its own inward and liberal beliefs; it may do so by clinging, in spite of much that is repellent and distasteful, to existing institutions, and attempting to liberalize from within; it may retreat within the home, and, for a time, give up any public worship or collective organization: but, whichever method or methods it may adopt, its great and predominating object must be the maintenance in all fervour and purity of the distinct and definite religious consciousness within every Jewish soul.

Why, then, should Jews remain Jews? The question implies that there is something worth staying for. And I must be prepared to answer the doubt of the nominal Jew, who may ask (either sadly or indifferently): "Is Judaism reformable?" or again: "Are we to maintain our keen Jewish consciousness, and perchance also our active

membership of the Synagogue, for our own sakes, or for the sake of other Jews, or for the sake of the outer world?"

There is little doubt that the last alternative contains the real kernel of the problem. If for the sake of the world, that is for the sake of religion, we ought all to retain our Jewish consciousness, then the greater clearly includes the less. But if Judaism, so far as the world goes, is doomed and useless, then it might be argued that the sooner we all abandon it the better. Let us, through "mixed marriages," hasten our own dissolution, and no longer attempt to buttress up an anachronism. Instead of remaining a Jew myself, would not the better or wiser thing be for me to join a Unitarian or Theistic body without delay, and to urge my friends to do the same? Above all, why perchance am I to be false to that which, in our individual and personal lives, is the highest and holiest thing we know, unless I can honestly believe that my renouncement of love's satisfaction is a sacrifice for religion? There is no good (and some evil), it may be said, in the continued existence of the Jews, unless that existence is continued for a conscious religious purpose, and for that purpose alone.

But if Judaism, as a separate religious body, need not continue to exist, it is not now, and never again will be, of any use to the cause of Theism. That seems to me a tremendous assumption; and yet the man or woman who withdraws from the community, or contracts a purely mixed marriage, does logically (so far as I can make out) approve of and endorse it.

What does Judaism stand for? First of all for a pure, but a very uncompromising Theism. Judaism (rightly or wrongly—for *this* of course cannot here be discussed)—Judaism admits of no paltering or faltering with the Divine idea. It does not allow it to be whittled away. Orthodox and reform Judaism alike preach a *real* God, self-conscious or more than self-conscious, personal or more than personal, "in" the world if you please, but also above

it, beyond it—a God who is the living source of knowledge and of goodness, a God to whom prayer is no mockery, a God who in a real sense is the “ruler” of the world and of man. No less than this is included in the Jewish doctrine of God. No less than this must be believed by those who would prefer to think of God as a Power or a Force rather than as a Person; and who yet may wish, if it be possible, to regard themselves religiously as Jews. “To the old belief in him” they must return, “but with corrections. He is a person, but not like ourselves; a mind, but not a human mind; a cause, but not a material cause; nor yet a maker or artificer. The words which we use are imperfect expressions of his true nature, but we do not therefore lose faith in what is best and highest in ourselves and in the world.” To every kind of Pantheism, as to all Positivisms and “Ethical” religions without God, Judaism offers a stern and uncompromising opposition. I am not here arguing whether Judaism is right or wrong. All I want to make clear is what Judaism stands for, what it lives and what it dies for.

Again, Judaism proclaims a religion in the closest possible association with morality and truth¹. Jewish Theism need never be reactionary. It can be the ally of knowledge, pure, free from superstition, bracing, moral. But Judaism has two mighty foes. On the one hand, all reactionary religious forces, such as on the whole and in its predominating elements and organizations the Roman Catholic Church seems to us to be, on the other all non-Theistic forces, including Positivism, Agnosticism, and Materialism.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not judging or even criticizing these systems: by calling them *foes* I do not mean to call them *names*. If they are our foes, we are theirs; the fight between us can be conducted on the most

¹ I do not for a moment mean to imply that other religions are not also associated with morality and truth. All I mean is that Judaism seems to me, in its vital essence, to be peculiarly capable of the closest association with them.

fair and honourable lines, and can easily consort with the closest possible friendship between individuals in the various opposing camps.

A staunch liberal and a staunch conservative would say the same sort of thing about conservatism and liberalism respectively: but they would nevertheless not scruple to avow that the principles for which they fought were of the utmost value and importance.

Perhaps then some "nominal" Jews may not have realized sufficiently the tremendous significance of the conceptions, the principles, the doctrines—call them by whatever name you will—which Judaism "stands for" and maintains. It will be observed that I have not specifically named the dogma of the Divine Unity. That is not because I do not appreciate its importance, but because it has, I think, been looked at in too narrow a way. It has been treated as a sort of barren abstraction, a narrow shibboleth without vital implications. But the question is not merely whether you believe in one God or in many gods, in a God of one aspect, or of three aspects, or of a million aspects (and for my part I can easily imagine that the one God has any number of aspects); but what sort of god your one God is, and what is his relation to man and to morality. It will be seen, at any rate, that Judaism stands and fights for conceptions of solemn importance, for which, if we believe in them, it is immensely worth our while to make important sacrifices of leisure, inclination, and convenience. "Leisure, inclination, and convenience": these words in this connexion seem trivial and unworthy. These things, it may be said, we are willing to give; but we are not yet satisfied that they will be wisely given. Admitting that Judaism, in spite of many unsatisfactory accessories, and in spite of many rites and doctrines wherein we no longer believe, does yet "stand for" those great and solemn verities, you have not shown us that Judaism is the best method by which to propagate or to maintain them. Would it not be better for us to join a freer religious community, one in

which there is less to be thrown off and rejected, which is more modern, more western, more liberal? Do not, for instance, religious teachers like Mr. Wicksteed or Mr. Voysey accept and propagate principles much the same as those which, as you allege, are the hall-mark of Judaism? Do they also not stand between Catholicism on the one hand, and Positivism or Agnosticism on the other?

If I have not been guilty of any serious omissions or flaws in the argument, it is of great value to have reached the present limiting alternative. One point can now be usefully made. The religious isolation of the individual cannot be the best possible service to the religious cause in which he believes. It may be a temporary necessity, but the best condition, both for him and for the cause, will be one in which his own religious life both strengthens and is strengthened by the community. Liberal Jews must not think that they best serve the cause of Theism by an abstention from the community in its corporate religious life. It may be that they feel at present unable to join in that life; it may be that circumstances are unfavourable to the creation of a distinct corporate religious life of their own; or it may be that the chosen apostle or teacher to create this life has not yet arisen; but in any case, the present condition of things must not be looked upon as either normal or satisfying. The individuals of rare religiousness and spirituality who now live aloof and apart are certainly not wasted. Their fair and holy lives, their lofty and noble personalities, influence those who can understand and appreciate them. "The effect of their being upon those around them" is "incalculably diffusive." Nevertheless they might do all this, and yet do more. The cause of religion, the cause of Jewish Theism, the power and purity of the community as a religious force, would be strengthened and increased, if these rare natures were an integral part of the religious organization to which they now only nominally belong. Their influence would be doubled; it

would be not merely individual, but also collective. Then the power and beauty of such natures would as it were be reflected back upon the community. In helping to transform and develop it, they would also be its outcome and expression.

For the majority of mortals, aloofness is not merely bad for the community, but also harmful for themselves. For them religious isolation is religious detriment. There is a parallelism, in this respect, between religion and morality. In his excellent little book, called "The Making of Character," Prof. MacCunn discusses with approval the prevailing Greek doctrine, that "character will never come to its best until the day that sees society reorganized as, at once, a school and sphere of virtue." In his chapter on "The Religious Organization," he points out how "Church membership can do much to quicken individual responsibility." He naturally alludes to the famous passage in the *Republic*, which has its bearing for religion as well as for ethics, about the philosopher whose "lot has fallen amidst adverse and evil social surroundings, and to whom it seems a hopeless struggle to make the society of which he is a member better." He, indeed, "holds his peace and goes his own way, content if only he can live his own life and be pure from evil and unrighteousness." And what he does is well. But it is not the best; for if he had found the right society, the fitting state, "*he would himself have reached a higher stage of growth, and have secured his country's welfare, as well as his own.*" Plato's solemn words apply to religion as well as to morality.

The best and ideal thing would then be that the liberal and nominal Jew, for his own sake as well as for the sake of Theism, should take an active part in the corporate life of some religious organization. By so doing he would both give and gain. The religious life, as we have seen, is not wholly dissimilar in this respect to the citizen life. Here too there is a giving and a gaining in one and the same life. But it may still be asked: What religious organization

should the "nominal" Jew join? Should it be Judaism or another?

It must be understood that I am here discussing the subject only and solely from one particular point of view. To abandon the religious brotherhood of Israel now, when the large majority of that brotherhood are in such evil plight; when there is so much to be done; when all should stand by and give, if they can, a hand; when it is of the utmost importance that every good man and woman should emphatically acknowledge their membership in the community, and help by their mere acknowledgment and strenuous life to maintain its honour and its name;—to abandon the community *now* would seem the act of one without imagination, sympathy, or compassion. All I ask here is, whether *for the sake of Theism* the nominal and liberal English Jews would do better to join some other religious organization rather than to remain members of the Synagogue?

And just a word in explanation of the phrase: "for the sake of Theism." Am I making the mission of Judaism to consist in a matter of theology rather than of religion? Not so. But the service and the knowledge of God are reciprocally conditioned by one another. To know God as he is, is beyond man's ken and power. There is, moreover, a deep meaning in the teaching that the service of God produces a knowledge of him. God is, as it were, revealed to man more and more clearly by a certain attitude of mind and will, a certain trend of action. But the will and the life which make man more sure of God, and reveal to him more of the Divine character and nature, are themselves not without their theoretic basis. It is a working theory about God which shaped and directed the will and the life, and as this theory varies, so also must they. If a man's conception of God be, for example, that of the one self-conscious, eternal ideal of goodness and truth, his service of God will be coloured by his working theory. He will test all stories and books and dogmas about God by his own

highest conceptions of righteousness and truth. He will regard no service displeasing to God which is also dedicated to truth or to righteousness, no service commendable to God which impairs the supremacy of either the one or the other. The nature and existence of God are not merely the subject-matter of theology: they are the essence of religion. For religion without God is a misuse of words. The religious life implies an attitude towards an ideal *outside man*; it involves the belief that this ideal is the source of goodness and of truth, or in other words, that if there were no God, there would be no truth and no goodness. Without some theistic metaphysic, goodness and truth cannot, as I believe, maintain themselves. Is it not clear that if there be no God, goodness is a mere earthly episode, a mere transitory chance? Here on this earth man has grown out of the animal; he exists for a time; after a time he will pass away; he has learned to talk about love and righteousness and truth, but there is nothing beyond the earth which corresponds with these words or has created these conceptions. They chanced to appear; they will chance to disappear—chance creations as they are of varying sensations of pleasure and pain. And may we not go a step further and argue that goodness depends not only on the existence of God, but also on the belief in him? If, indeed, goodness and truth owe their being to God, it is impossible to suppose that God will suffer the belief in him to die out among men. But if, for the sake of argument, we assume that the belief did die out, then, as it seems to me, goodness itself would also gradually dwindle away. People would come to perceive that goodness in the old sense of the term had no super-human or extra-human sanction or source, and with that perception, the texture and quality of their goodness would gradually grow weaker and poorer. Woe then to the permanent stability of human goodness if man loses the belief in God! And for these reasons the cause of Theism includes, as it seems to me, the cause

of morality as well. Moreover, every phase of Theism involves a particular kind of belief about God, and this belief may determine and colour our actions. If we believe that God not merely hates sin but also the sinner, that in his universe there is such a thing as everlasting punishment, that he has favouritisms of race and creed, these beliefs can hardly help influencing our character and our deeds; or if we believe that God is near to man, that in some strange way he helps our struggles towards goodness and truth, that the relation of father and child is a true analogy of God's relation to ourselves, that God is one in such sort that in him justice is the same as love, and righteousness the same as mercy—will this belief not influence our service? It is true that service deepens the knowledge, but it is also true that knowledge (or, in other words, a working theory about God) directs the service. "For the sake of Theism" therefore includes "for the sake of religion." There is or should be sufficient unity in man to make his knowledge (or, if you will, his theories) ennoble his action, and his action deepen his knowledge. So too in theology and religion. In the last resort each religion must surely maintain: the truer the theology (i.e. the better and purer the working theory about God) the better the religion. Each religion has its saints and heroes; it is a hard saying that the religious life which one religion dictates and impels is superior to the religious life of another. But the votaries of each religion have to maintain (and they do so logically) that the religious life inculcated by their own particular creed is on the whole the fullest and the best. No less than this must be the claim of Judaism.

It is not denied or deniable that the outside Theisms have certain advantages for "liberals." They are freer, more western, more connected and in touch with the main stream of thought and culture; they make fewer demands upon patience and credulity. To some, Unitarianism may still be too Christian; to others, "Theism" may seem too

cold: but, speaking generally, the advantages which I have mentioned belong to them both. For individuals, therefore, to whom the romance of Judaism and the tribal or historic links which appeal so keenly to many minds no longer afford attraction, to whom, also, the urgent obligation to remain within the community at the present time of stress and storm is unrealized or unknown, the temptation to desert Judaism and to join Unitarianism or Theism may be very strong. From the purely individual point of view it becomes a matter of personal inclination and taste, of which there is no arguing. We have, however, to consider it in its relation to the community as a whole, and to the outer world.

Now this is a practical question which is before us, and we must regard it as practical men. It is clear that we have not to deal with large numbers; we have to deal with dribblets and individuals. There is no question of the Jews as a body, or even of a collected mass of them, giving up their separate religious organization and joining another. It is only a question of a few here and a few there. The other religious bodies then will not appreciably be strengthened. But on the other hand Judaism will appreciably lose. And the loss of Judaism would be the loss of Theism as well. For the Theism in which liberal Jews believe would best be served if all the eight or ten million Jews in the world were keen Theists in the liberal sense. They are Theists even now. Is their liberalism likely to come the sooner, if liberal Jews abandon the community? It is a very serious and evil thing for a religious organization, if its liberal elements become alienated or indifferent. A reforming and transforming force is thereby removed. The steady pressure of a keen and increasing band of liberals must inevitably produce important results, supposing that pressure is maintained for an adequate and continuous time. If all the disaffected and nominal Jews were active members of the Synagogue, could they not make a considerable difference,

both in its services and ceremonial, and in the very conception and presentation of its teaching and doctrine? If the liberal forces are withdrawn, can liberals complain of conservatism and sterility? This argument will not be unfamiliar to many persons. It is the argument of the Broad Church party who desire to reform from within instead of destroying from without.

Again, without presuming to criticize either Mr. Voysey's community or the Unitarian Churches, it is reasonable to realize that they too have various difficulties and weaknesses of their own. The one is at present a small and solitary body, of recent origin, with no great historic past, and with small guarantees for its continuance and expansion. The other, from my Jewish point of view, is perhaps hardly separated with adequate sharpness and decision from orthodox Christianity; moreover, the children of Unitarians often marry into the Established Church, and their offspring is lost to Unitarianism. And liberal Jews, though they can approve and appropriate the nobler teachings of the New Testament, are not prepared to call themselves Christians. They are not prepared to call any man master; and none the more one of whose life and teaching, great and illustrious though they be, the records are so uncertain and contradictory, and bear such clear evidence of exaggeration and inventive arrangement. They still require no mediator between the human child and the Divine Father. Still would they turn the words of Paul against himself, and say: *ὁ μεστὴς ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς ἔστιν.*

Under these circumstances, the liberal or nominal Jew, while doing obvious harm to his own community, will confer no benefit upon the cause of Theism by joining another religious organization. Theism will best be served by two separate contingents, one Christian and one Jewish, each liberal and progressive, each in sympathy with one another, but each distinct and with its own peculiar differences and modifications. The cause of pure religion will best be served by Jews cleaving to Judaism and liberal-

izing it. Doing most good to our own brotherhood, we shall also do most good to the world. The second is involved in the first.

If this position be justifiable, our separatism is also justified. The Jews can only preserve themselves by refusing intermarriage. Otherwise the tiny minority would gradually be swallowed up by the majority. The true religious reason for Jewish separatism is so often misunderstood that it seems worth while and even necessary to dwell upon the subject in some detail.

It would be acknowledged on all hands that there may be more grounds or motives than one for the same action, and that two men may concur in the propriety of a given deed, although they differ as to its justification. This elementary fact may be applied to the question of Jewish separatism. It can be observed and justified from two different reasons. These two reasons may combine: a man may hold them both; but they may also be very sharply dissociated from each other. There is, then, first, the reason of race, and secondly, there is the reason of religion.

There are persons who, I believe, want to maintain the Jewish race quite apart from any religious consideration. There are some who would even go so far as to speak of the Jews as a "people" or a "nation," and would desire to keep up, as they call it, the national idea. Such persons would object to intermarriage on purely "racial" or "national" grounds. There are others who combine these grounds with motives of religion. There are others, again, who, while by no means assenting to the theory that the Jews are a nation, have yet a sort of sentimental, unreasoned, atavistic feeling of race, and dislike the notion of intermarriage. With all these I am in utter disagreement. If it were not so, I should indeed be guilty of a contradiction when I desire the "denationalization" of Judaism, and support the counter-theory of an "Englishman of the Jewish persuasion." A man can only belong to one nation

at a time. But, heart and soul an Englishman by nation, one can also be heart and soul a Jew by religion. But by religion only. The mere *race* is unimportant; it has no influence upon action. An Englishman may be proud of his Huguenot descent, but that makes no difference to his feelings and actions. A "French" Canadian is a Briton. I may be proud of my Jewish race (though what Jew knows whether his race is pure?), but it makes no difference to my action. In all tastes, feelings, and ideas—apart from religion—I have far more in common with a Christian Englishman than with a Bulgarian Jew. If it were not for religion, there would not, from my point of view, be the smallest objection to intermarriage. On the contrary, there would be very much indeed in its favour.

But quite different from all race reasons is the reason of religion. There is nothing racial or national about the Roman Catholic objection to intermarriage. It is purely a question of religion. The Roman Catholic authorities object to the diminution of their numbers which unrestricted intermarriage might bring about. In England, at any rate, where they are in a minority, they now make a condition that such marriages can only be allowed if the children are brought up as Catholics. Surely, if Roman Catholics, whose church is so powerful and so numerous, have their apprehensions, it is not unreasonable that Jews, who are everywhere in a minute minority, should have them as well. If the Synagogue were not officially so tied down to the letter of a hard and fast law, and so unable to meet new contingencies as they arise, it might perhaps be desirable to sanction mixed marriages on the same terms as they are sanctioned by Roman Catholics. But there would be two very obvious dangers in doing so. First, there could be no effective guarantees and securities that the engagements would be satisfactorily carried out, and secondly the children, even if brought up as Jews, would be themselves extremely likely to contract intermarriages without any safeguarding conditions. The tendency to revert to the

dominating religion of the overwhelming majority must necessarily be of enormous strength.

It may indeed be said: Why should a Jew not marry a Unitarian or a Theist? The answer is: Because of the children. If the Unitarian or Theist is willing to join our ranks, then the children are likely to be brought up as Jews and to marry Jews. If the marriage is "mixed," they may marry anybody, and are as likely as not to be merged in the general mass. The Jews must have and must cultivate a sense of a religious mission not yet completed. We should welcome others to our camp; we dare not ourselves abandon it. In the present religious condition of the world our responsibility to the Theistic cause is enormous. Every Jew who, with the utmost humility, feels that he has at all events *some* religious aspirations, *some* desire for the religious life, *some* living belief in God, should regard himself as a consecrated servant of Deity, and in spite of all difficulties remain faithful to his charge. Till the religious desirability of our dissolution is clearly apparent, let us not ourselves break the only bond which can hold a small and scattered religious organization together.

I am not indeed unconscious of the evils which the refusal of intermarriage entails. It can only be justified by the belief that the maintenance of Judaism as a separate religious organization is still of some religious benefit to the world; in more familiar words, that the Mission of Israel is not yet fully accomplished. But when the non-Jew is a "Unitarian" or a "Theist," whether by birth and conviction, or by conviction alone, and is willing to adopt Judaism and to become a Jew, the marriage involves no loss, and such marriages need not be discouraged. The conditions of proselytism should be made easy and gracious¹. This should be one of the future aims of liberal Judaism.

¹ It may be said that while I would welcome the "Theist" if he will adopt Judaism, I do not desire the Jew to adopt Theism. Is not this

But it may still be asked: Are not the difficulties too great? It is all very well to tell "liberals" and "nominals" to cleave to the community, to bide their time, to "reform from within"; it is all very well to argue that their adhesion to Unitarianism or Theism will neither help their own fellow Jews nor the world at large; but how if this Judaism, to which they are to cling in the hope and with the aim of reforming it "in the third or fourth generation," is incapable of being "reformed." Are you not recommending them to pursue a Will-o'-the-wisp? Are you not perhaps hugging a delusion and setting up a chimera as your goal?

The reply to these questions can only be tentative. The final reply will be the fact. The difficulties will be solved *ambulando*—by experience and trial—or they will not be solved at all. Mere talk and theorizing will not do it. But we must not be scared by bogies. Nor must we accept too readily the opinion of our "orthodox" brothers and friends that Judaism can only exist in *their* conception and expression of it. Within *very* wide limits, it is surely true that the faith and the outward representation of that faith, which a number of Jews feel and desire to be Judaism, *is* Judaism. The mere fact that to their Jewish consciousness it *is* Judaism differentiates it from any other Theistic faith, which, both in the positive and negative aspects of doctrine, may otherwise most closely resemble their own. It is one phase of a religion which has taken and can take many different forms. The religion of (let us say) Akiba or Hillel differed pretty much as widely from the religion of a cultivated English orthodox Jew of to-day as the latter's religion differs (let us say) from mine. And if the first two are both phases of Judaism, I am not prepared to admit that the third is not a phase of it likewise. Judaism made a not wholly satisfactory alliance with Hellenism in the days of Philo.

unjust and unequal? The answer is that I am more convinced of the Theistic separateness and security of Judaism than of "Theism."

It can make a better alliance to-day. It can see more clearly.

People say that Judaism cannot be denationalized. Its race elements cannot be eliminated. They are its backbone, its spinal column. This argument is common to both orthodox Jews and to most outside critics. The former use it to show that Reform Judaism is, or must end in, the destruction of Judaism; the latter use it to show that Judaism as a modern religious force is and always must be a *quantité négligeable*. In the minds of many liberal and nominal Jews the suspicion lurks that the argument is sound. Hence their present dissatisfaction with the outward condition of Judaism seems to them founded upon a permanent necessity. Do what you will, it is alleged, the driving power of Judaism is contained in its fusion of religion and race. The poetry and passion, the emotional force and sympathetic bond of the religion all reside in and are dependent on the element of race. If that element has become distasteful, the very essence of the religion is distasteful, and if it is removed, the essence of the religion is removed likewise. "A national religion is an anachronism!" do you say? Agreed, respond the outside critics; but that only shows that Judaism itself is an anachronism, and its "reform" an impossibility.

Again, I would say: There can be no complete reply *on paper*. A certain exercise of faith is called for. But the phenomena of Reform Judaism in America show that denationalized Judaism is gradually becoming a reality. It is not contended that the process can be speedily accomplished; it may be that here in England present circumstances are not propitious for any even preliminary steps; but the German proverb holds good in religion, as in other departments of life: *Aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben*. Many silent changes are taking place all in the direction of universalism and reform. It is noticeable that any new and special services now arranged for have always a liberal proportion of English. Special prayers show a practical

acknowledgment of the theory that Judaism is a "universal" religion: "an Englishman of the Jewish persuasion" is their underlying hypothesis. The same thing may be said of the majority of pulpit utterances. The festivals on which any stress is now laid are the five Pentateuchal festivals only. These are regarded far more from their human and spiritual than from their national or racial aspects. It is true that the theory of the perfect and Mosaic law is still nominally adhered to, it is also true that the Synagogue services are still arranged upon that theory's truth, but none the less is it being slowly but surely undermined. Hardly any Jewish preacher would openly venture to maintain it; books which assume the accuracy of the main critical positions are coming more and more into use. Before long the divorce between belief and ritual will become too glaring to be overlooked or tolerated any longer. A great deal depends on the willingness of liberals to work, to endure and to hope for a future which they can never themselves see. The sentence from Cicero which George Eliot chose for the motto of her great Comtist hymn should be our motto too: *Longum illud tempus quum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum.*

I admit that the difficulties are many, and that the Pentateuchal question is grave. But many and grave difficulties are not necessarily insoluble. "Reformed" Judaism does not, as is often alleged, cut itself off from the past. Its cardinal proposition is that the religious utility of Judaism is not yet ended: in other words, the Mission of Israel did not close with the birth of Christ. He who believes in that doctrine is still a Jew, even though he also believes that the Pentateuch is neither perfect nor Mosaic. Even as things are now, the mass of Jewish Theists are not by any means without value. They are still witnesses for God. They are witnesses for that pure and ardent Theism which I have described as standing between two great opposing forces to-day. How much greater might that force become if all the "nominals" were close adherents,

exercising, when opportunity offered, a steady pressure in the direction of liberalism and of reform. The Mission of Israel can still be a driving power for us all. The blood of the martyrs cries out to us still. Not the closest reasoning and the most critical analysis can prove that their faith and courage, their sufferings and tortures, were all for nothing. We may still believe that their blood was shed for a cause which was not dead then, and is not dead now.

What then, in conclusion, is the duty of liberal and "nominal" Jews at the present time? First of all, the "nominals" must be "nominals" no more. Liberalism is required; "nominalism" is impeding and detrimental. In what ways, then, should the liberals act? The reply has, in part, been already anticipated and implied. There are four different methods in which they can help Judaism as a whole, liberal Judaism in particular, and the cause of Theism.

(1) In the first place they can help to maintain their own Jewish consciousness, and the Jewish consciousness of their children, by an active participation in communal work and communal charity. This is subsidiary to any religious action in the more definite sense of the word, but it is none the less important. It helps to keep up the bond, to quicken the Jewish consciousness, in a season of difficulty and transition. Sacrifice of time and money for communal purposes cannot be impeded by theological differences and difficulties, and will serve to keep alive the sense of brotherhood. Here then is a definite duty—an opportunity within the reach of many, if not of all.

(2) If the first method is one about which, given the fundamental dogma that Judaism is worth preserving, there can be little dispute or difference, not less so is the second. And with it we come to duties that are more definitely religious. *The Jewish religious consciousness must be maintained within the home.* This is a matter of considerable difficulty, and it must involve a large measure of deliberate action and earnest thought. There may be,

indeed there are, many liberals who neither go to the ordinary synagogue services themselves nor allow or desire their children to attend them. All the greater is the obligation upon them to maintain the Jewish religious consciousness within the home. *How* this is to be done, and whether it does not require, especially for boys and girls, a certain number of forms and ceremonies, is for each liberal individually to consider and to determine. But *that* it should be done seems abundantly clear. If liberal Jews must stand aloof from the existing synagogue services and government, and are also as yet unable to form separate synagogues of their own, so much the more urgent is it that each liberal home should be a small centre of religion and of Judaism. If children are not to become keen Jewish Theists by the help of the synagogue, they must become so through the home. Upon every Jewish parent then who believes that, for the sake of religion, Judaism is worth preserving, and should be preserved, the obligation is distinct and heavy. From generation to generation the Witness must be handed down, faithfully, earnestly, deliberately.

(3) When the time may become propitious for any distinct liberal movement or for any separate religious organization, I will not here discuss. Some persons would say that it is not a question of the season, but of the man. If it be so, we can at all events, by faithful and quiet labour, prepare the way for his coming.

(4) Lastly, some liberals may find it possible, and in accordance with their conscience, to maintain even within the existing synagogue organizations a closer connexion with the main body. They will, as I have already indicated, attempt to reform from within. Here again a good deal of self-sacrifice will be required of them; a large measure of faith. The services which they will have to attend may for a long time continue (in the majority of cases) to be dull, unaesthetic, unedifying. The Law will still occupy a position from which their understanding and reason will

revolt. They may still have to hear the prayers read or chanted in a dead language: the prayers themselves may remain unrevised. Orientalism and nationalism may still be all too evident. Nevertheless, they may cheer themselves with the belief that the increasing pressure of liberalism from within must gradually produce its effect. Even within the "orthodox" community itself, there have been organized children's services, which every liberal might well regard as a rare privilege and opportunity for his children to attend.

Even for our cause in England we must not lose hope. Little by little the new ideas will permeate and percolate more and more. The need for harmony between belief and practice will become stronger; slowly, but surely, outward form will become the true expression of inward faith. It may be that the mournful position of Jews upon the continent of Europe may make it undesirable to attempt any pronounced liberal movement or agitation for some time to come. But seed can be sown: ground can be prepared. The mere advance of knowledge will of itself be an effectual ally. Above all, if the children of many liberals and nominals could be more closely attached to the community, and if a considerable mass of outlying spirituality and of religion (including, as we have seen, some of high worth and rare nobility) could be, as it were, infused and incorporated into its general life, the gain would be enormous.

Hard it is to discern and understand the purposes of God. But, for my own part, I do not believe that the religious mission of the Jewish race terminated with the production of Christianity. And if it did not, then I venture to submit that the general line of religious action (in one or other of its forms), which I have urged upon the liberal Jews of England, is not merely a reasonable policy, but a solemn duty and a sacred obligation.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

FRAGMENT OF AN ARAMAIC TEXT OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI.

THE question of the authorship and date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has been much discussed of late years; and the opinions of recent scholars have constantly tended to assign to it a Jewish origin, and a pre-Christian date. This view, already held by Grabe, was discredited for a time, but was again strongly advocated by Schnapp¹, whose conclusions were greatly strengthened by the arguments of Kohler² and Conybeare³ expressed in their articles which appeared in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, and with these scholars Schürer⁴, in the latest edition of his history, appears to agree. It is hoped that the publication of the annexed fragment of a hitherto-unknown Aramaic Text may throw some light on the problem. The MS. from which our text is taken is one of the many treasures which are contained in the "Schechter-Taylor" collection of MSS. brought by Prof. Schechter from the Cairo Genizah in 1896, and now in the University Library at Cambridge⁵; we owe it to the kindness of these gentlemen that we are enabled to give this fragment to the public.

The fragment consists of one complete leaf, and attaching to it a very small portion of a second leaf of a two-column vellum MS., written in an Oriental hand, which can scarcely be later than the eleventh century. The leaf is ten inches square, and is in some places so severely mutilated as to be

¹ *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen.*

² "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada," *J. Q. R.*, vol. V, pp. 400-406.

³ "On the Jewish Authorship of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," *ibid.*, pp. 375-398.

⁴ *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*, 3rd edit., vol. III, p. 257.

⁵ It was my good fortune to discover the MS. in February last.—H. L. P.

entirely illegible. The nature of the fold in the vellum leads to the belief, that the very small fragment is part of a page which occurred earlier in the original MS. than the complete leaf, though it may or may not have immediately preceded it. Each column consists of twenty-three lines, and there is no punctuation of any kind, the beginning of a new paragraph being indicated by a small lacuna which in one instance (fol. 2 a, col. 1, l. 16) is misplaced.

The discovery of the Armenian Version has placed it beyond doubt that the author of our Greek Text handled his material with considerable freedom, both omitting from, adding to, and remoulding the original text. It was therefore to be expected that the Aramaic Text should show some considerable divergence from the Greek, and this will be seen to be the case, although their verbal identity in many places is an almost certain testimony to their common origin.

To facilitate the necessary comparison we have printed by the side of the Aramaic such passages of the Greek Text as were identical with, or strongly reminiscent of it. In so doing we have been obliged at times to change the order of the Greek, and to omit that part of it which found no place in the Aramaic. We have, therefore, appended in its integrity the Greek Text of chapters 11-13, which is the portion of the Testament covered by the Aramaic¹. So much for the treatment of that part of the MS. contained in the complete leaf, with regard to that part which is contained in the very small portion that remains of the second leaf we can say little, and have been able to find no direct parallel in the Greek; from such words, however, as are legible it would appear that we have here a portion of the biographical section of the Testament, and that the Patriarch is describing the events narrated in Gen. xxxiv, fol. 1 a, if we have deciphered it correctly, containing the invitation to circumcision (Gen. xxxiv. 22) and fol. 1 b, describing the subsequent

¹ The Greek Text which we have in all cases followed is that of Dr. Sinker, *Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum*, Cambridge, 1869.

plundering of the town (Gen. xxxiv. 27-29); a passage somewhat similar to the latter occurs in the Testament of Judah (chap. v) where the siege of a town is being described.

Besides the Armenian, Slavonic, and Greek Texts, together with the versions made from the latter, there exist two Semitic fragments of the Testaments. The first is the Testament of Naphtali in Hebrew¹, the second a very short extract from the Testament of Levi in Syriac², which, by a strange coincidence, covers a small portion of the Aramaic Text now published, and is almost verbally identical with it. It occurs in a Brit. Mus. MS. [Add. 17,193] dated A. D. 874, which contains 125 short miscellaneous extracts, of which it is No. 80, it is given in full by Prof. Wright in his Catalogue from which we reproduce it³.

H. LEONARD PASS.

J. ARENDZEN.

PS. Since the above was in print there appeared on May 29 the second number of Dr. Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, containing two articles on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; the first by the editor, *Die armenische Uebersetzung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*; the second by W. Bousset, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*. The former article contains a German translation of the Armenian version of the Testament of Levi in two recensions. The latter attempts to reconstruct the original text *auf Grund der Textzeugen*. Various points raised in these articles, together with some others in recent literature on the Testaments, we hope to discuss in their bearing on our fragment in a future number of the *J. Q. R.*

¹ Published, with introduction, critical apparatus, and translation, by Dr. Gaster in the *Proc. of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XII, also by S. A. Wertheimer, Jerusalem, 1890. Vid. Schürer, op. cit.; Resch, *Das hebräische Testam., Naphthali*, Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1899, pp. 206-236, and Kautsch, *Apocrypha*, Introduction to Testament of Twelve Patriarchs.

² Our thanks to Dr. Sinker for calling our attention to this fragment.

³ Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in British Museum*, Pt. II, p. 997.

Fol. 1 a, col. 2.

(First 14 lines are missing.)

15. .. מאת
16. דברת די בלא
17. למעבר כרין בכ
18. יעקב אבי רוא
19. ואמרנן להון ב..... דוא
20. צבין אינן בברקן ונהי כ[נ]לן א...
21. חבדין נאזל עורלת בשרכון
22. וחתמין ונהון חתמין
23. בואון במלל מ ונהוי לכ

Fol. 1 b, col. 2.

(First 14 lines are missing.)

15. אחי בכל עין
16. די הוו בשבם
17. אחי ואחוי ק
18. בשבם ומה
19. מ..... דו חסמא ואחוי
20. אי... יחה[?]ה די אנה ושבען
21. אחי אולמא לה... ד לראובן
22. אחונן די למד[ינא].... שר ושור
23. .. הודה קרמא שבס עאנא

Fol. 2 a, col. 1.

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... ה כוז
 ... ת ע[ך]
 [קרא] שמה ... די לה
 ... כל ... תהו
 ... רבנא ... [יש]אל
 ... לחיי
 בשנת ארבע ושלשין לחיי
 יליד ברחא קס ... ליר[חא]
 עם מרנא שמש ... ועור
 אוספת חזית ע[מנא] וילדת לי בר
 תלוי וקראתי שמה מררי ארי
 מר לי עלוי לחזא ארי כדי לילד
 הוא מית והוא מררי לי עלוי
 סניא מן די ימות ובעית והתנחנא
 עלוי והוא בכל מר בשנת
 ארבעין לחיי לילדת ברחא חזית ..
 ועור אוספת חזית עמנא חזית
 וילדת לי ברחא ושויית שמנא

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλεσα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Καάθ.
 μέσος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς ἵστατο πάσης τῆς συναγωγῆς.
 ὃ ἔστιν ἀρχὴ μεγαλείου καὶ συμβιβασμός.

καὶ ὁ Καάθ ἐγεννήθη
 πρὸς ἀνατολ[ὰς] ἡλίου
 Καὶ τρεῖς ἔτεκε μοι καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστόκησεν
 ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Μεραρι [ὃ ἔστι πιερία
 μου] ὅτι [καὶ γε] αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν

'Η δὲ Ἰωχὰβ ἐδ [ἐξηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει] ἐτέχθη
 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔνδοξος
 γὰρ ἦμην ἐν μέσῳ
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 μου.

Καὶ ἔλαβε Γηροῶν γυναῖκα καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ
 τὸν Λομὲ καὶ τὸν Σεμεί. Καὶ υἱοὶ
 Καὰθ' Ἀμβράμ Ἰσαὰρ Χεβρὼ Ὁζὶλ
 Καὶ υἱοὶ Μεραρὶ Μοολὶ καὶ Ὅμουσί

יוכבד אב[רת] כדי ילידת לי לסקר
 ילידת לי לכבוד לישראל
 בשנת שנים וארבע לי לחיי וילידת
 בחר בחורשא שבניא מן בחר די

col. 2.

1. ה' מצרים בשנת שת
2. עש עלינה לארע מצרים ולבני
3. בנת אחי לערן אשויות
4. [ל]בניהן לחון בנין שם בני
5. נרשם [לבני] שמעי ושם בני
6. [קחת עם] רם ויצהר חבר תעוזאל
7. [שם] בני מררי מחלי ומושי
8. [ונסב] לה עמרם אנתא ליוכבר ברחי
9. עד די אנה חי בשנת חשעין ואר[בע]
10. לחיי וקירתי שמו די עמרם כר[י]
11. יליד עמרם ארי אמרת כדי יל[יד]
12. רנה . . . עמא מן [ארע מצ]רם
13. די ראמא

14. ביום ה' יל. א. א. . . יוכבר
 15. ברתי ובר שנין ח[מנ]ה עשרה העלת
 16. ל[א]רע כנען ובר שנין חש[ע]ה עשרה
 17. כיר קטלית אנה לש[כ]ם ונמרת
 18. לעבדי חמסא ובר שנין חשע
 19. עשרה כהנית ובר שנין חמנה
 20. ועשרין נסבת לי אנתה ובר
 21. שנין חמנה וארבעין הוייתי כרי
 22. העלנא לארע מצרים ושנין
 23. חמוני וחשע הוייתי הי במצר[ים]
- ὅτι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγέννηθησαν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ
 θυγάτηρ μου. Ὁκτὼ ἐτῶν ἤμην ὅτε εἰσῆλθον
 εἰς γῆν Χαναάν· καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν
 ὅτε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν Συχέμ·
 καὶ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐτῶν
 ἱεράτευσα καὶ εἰκοσιοκτὼ
 ἐτῶν ἔλαβον γυναῖκα καὶ
 τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν
 εἰσῆλθον εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

1 W. Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, Part II, p. 997 [Add. 17, 193].
 80. An extract from the Testament of Levi:—

14. ביום ה' יל. א. א. . . יוכבר
 15. ברתי ובר שנין ח[מנ]ה עשרה העלת
 16. ל[א]רע כנען ובר שנין חש[ע]ה עשרה
 17. כיר קטלית אנה לש[כ]ם ונמרת
 18. לעבדי חמסא ובר שנין חשע
 19. עשרה כהנית ובר שנין חמנה
 20. ועשרין נסבת לי אנתה ובר
 21. שנין חמנה וארבעין הוייתי כרי
 22. העלנא לארע מצרים ושנין
 23. חמוני וחשע הוייתי הי במצר[ים]

Fol. 2 b, col. 1.

1. והיו כל יומי חיי שבע ות[לתי וס]אה
2. שני וחיתי לי בנן ת. . . . עד
3. די לא מיתת וב[שנת]. . . .
4. עשרה לחיי היא ש. . . די מית בה
5. יוסף אחי קריתי לב. . . . בניהן
6. ושרתי לפקדה הען כל. . . ות
7. עם לבבי ענית ואמרת לבני [שמעו ?]
8. למסר לי אבוכן והציתו לפקדי
9. ירדאל אנה לכן מספר בני ואנה
10. קשטא לבן מרחוה חביבי רש
11. עוכריכן יהיו קשטא ועד
12. עלם. . . . קאים עמכן צדקה
13. וקוש[מא]. . . . עלן
14. עלויה בריכה. ו. . . . א די ורע
15. מאב מאב פ. . . נעל ודי זר[ע]
16. ביש עלויה תאבי. רעה
17. וכען בני ספר מסר

Καὶ ἰδοὺ τέκνα μου
 ἔσται, τέκνα μου τρίτη γενεά.
 'Ιωσήφ ἑκατοστῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ
 ἔτει ἀπέθανε.

• Διδάξατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τέκνα

ὕμῶν γράμματα ἵνα ἔχωσι.
 σύνεσις ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν ἀναγινώσκου-
 κους ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι πᾶς ὃς
 γνώσεται νόμον θεοῦ, τιμηθήσεται.
 ὥς καὶ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν.

חובמא י' אפילו לבניכון ותהיו
 חובמא עמכון לקר עלם
 די אלהי חובמא ויקר הוא
 בה ודי שאים חובמא לבשרון
 מתיב חו בני ליוסף אחי
 .. מאלפא ספר ומוסר חכמה

col. 2.

..... תשב.....
 נבר..... לב
 ימורו..... א
 וסנה..... עה לכל ב...
 ומינה..... ל לה אחא...
 הוי בה..... ת נבר הוא בה
 א רב..... נברי
 בה לכל... די בלהון יהב...

καὶ οὐκ
 ἔσται ξένος
 ὅπου ὑπάγει

καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας πατρὶς.

¹ Read probably א'יו = ἀδελφάτε.

καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
δουλεῦσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι νόμον
Καὶ πολλοὺς φίλους . . . κτήσεται
καὶ σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλέως

καὶ πόλεις δλοθρευθῶσι καὶ πᾶσα κτῆσις
ἀπολείται, τοῦ σοφοῦ τὴν σοφίαν οὐδεὶς δύνα-
ται ἀφελῆσθαι

לֹא בַּח יִקָּר [אֲרִי] כּוֹלֵה צִבּוֹן
לְמַעַן מִן חוֹכְמַתָּהּ חֲמוּץ [וְהִיא]
סוּאָן וְשֹׂאֵלִי שְׁלֵמִיָּה רִבְבִּין
וְעַל בּוֹרֵסִי יִקָּר מְחֻזְבֵּן לֹא
בְּרַל לְמִשְׁמַע מִלִּי חוֹכְמַתָּה
עוֹדֵר רַב דִּי יִקָּר הִיא חוֹכְמַתָּה
וּסְמָא מֵאֲבָא לְכָל קְנִיָּהּ הֵן
יֵאָחֵז מִלְכִּין חֲקוּפִין וְעַם רַב
חֵיל וּפְרָשִׁין וְרַחֲבִין סוּאָן
עֲמָחֻן וַיִּנְסְבּוּ ב' . . . מ . מ . ה
וּמְדִינָה וַיִּבְחֹן כָּל דִּי בָּהֵן
אֲחֵירִי חוֹכְמַתָּה לֹא יִבְחֹן
וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּחַן מִמְּקוּדָּהּ וְלֹא

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ια'. Ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβον γυναῖκα, ἤμην ἐτῶν εἰκοσιοκτῶ, ἧ ὄνομα Μελχᾶ. Καὶ συλλαβούσα ἔτεκε, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Γηρσάμ· ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν παρόικοι ἤμεν· Γηρσάμ γὰρ παροικία γράφεται. Εἶδον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν πρώτῃ τάξει. Καὶ ὁ Καάθ ἐγεννήθη τριακοστῇ πέμπτῃ ἔτει πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου. Εἶδον δὲ ἐν ὁράματι ὅτι μέσος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς ἵστατο πάσης τῆς συναγωγῆς. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλεσα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Καάθ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ μεγαλείου καὶ συμβιβασμός. Καὶ τρεῖς ἔτεκέ μοι τὸν Μεραρί τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔτει ζωῆς μου. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστόκησεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Μεραρί, ὃ ἐστὶ πικρία μου· ὅτι καίγε αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἡ δὲ Ἰωχαβὶδ ἐξηκοστῇ τετάρτῃ ἔτει ἐτέχθη ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἔνδοξος γὰρ ἤμην τότε ἐμμέσφ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου.

ιβ'. Καὶ ἔλαβε Γηρσάμ γυναῖκα καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ τὸν Λομὴ καὶ τὸν Σεμεί. Καὶ υἱοὶ Καάθ, Ἀμβράμ, Ἰσαάρ, Χεβρώ, Ὁζήλ. Καὶ υἱοὶ Μεραρί, Μοολὶ καὶ Ὁμουσί. Καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ τετάρτῃ ἔτει μου ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀμβράμ τὴν Ἰωχαβὶδ θυγατέρα μου αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα· ὅτι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγεννήθησαν, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου. Ὅκτῶ ἐτῶν ἤμην ὅτε εἰσῆλθον εἰς γῆν Χαναάν· καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὅτε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν Συχέμ· καὶ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἱεράτευσα· καὶ εἰκοσιοκτῶ ἐτῶν, ἔλαβον γυναῖκα· καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν, εἰσῆλθον εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Καὶ ἰδοὺ, τέκνα μου ἔστε, τέκνα μου, τρίτῃ γενεᾷ. Ἰωσήφ ἐκατοστῇ ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῃ ἔτει ἀπέθανε.

ιγ'. Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα μου, ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἵνα φοβῆσθε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας· καὶ πορεύεσθε ἐν ἀπλότῃ κατὰ πάντα τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν. Διδάξατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν γράμματα ἵνα ἔχωσι σύνεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι πᾶς ὃς γνώσεται νόμον θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ξένος ὅπου ὑπάγει. Καίγε πολλοὺς φίλους ὑπὲρ γονεῖς κτήσεται καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δουλεῦσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι νόμον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. Ποιήσατε δικαιοσύνην, τέκνα μου, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἵνα εὕρητε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ σπείρετε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ ἵνα εὕρητε αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν. Ἐὰν γὰρ σπείρητε κακὰ, πᾶσαν ταραχὴν καὶ θλίψιν θερίσετε. Σοφίαν κτήσασθε ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς· ὅτι ἐὰν γένηται αἰχμαλωσία καὶ πόλεις ὀλοθρευθῶσι καὶ χῶραι καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ πᾶσα κτήσις ἀπολείται, τοῦ σοφοῦ τὴν σοφίαν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀφελέσθαι εἰ μὴ τύφλωσις ἀσεβείας καὶ πῆρως ἀμαρτίας· ὅτι γενήσεται αὐτῷ αὕτη καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις λαμπρά καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας πατρίς καὶ ἐμμέσφ ἐχθρῶν εὐρηθήσεται φίλος. Ἐὰν διδάσκη ταῦτα καὶ πράττῃ, σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλείως ὡς καὶ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀδελφός ἡμῶν.

JEWS AND THE ENGLISH LAW.

WHEN in 1655 Menasseh Ben Israel presented his famous memorial to Cromwell praying that the Jews might be received in England and permitted to exercise their religion, the Lord Protector summoned an assembly to declare their opinions on the matter. Two judges, the Lord Chief Justice Glyn and the Lord Chief Baron Steel, were members of that assembly, and they delivered their joint opinion that "There was no law which forbids the Jews' return into England." The assembly was ultimately dissolved without coming to any definite decision respecting the memorial, but shortly afterwards Jews in ever-increasing numbers settled in this country, and as we know, for a long period laboured under many disabilities; it may be not uninteresting to show by the evidence of the statute book and the law reports—in truth the only authentic means of proof—that the opinion of the judges was well founded, even if taken in its broadest meaning, namely, that the law of England imposed no burden or disability upon Jews as such. In an age of intolerance no doubt Jews felt the effects of intolerance, but these effects were also felt by all who did not conform to the religion as by law established; and if some of these effects pressed more heavily upon Jews than upon others, this was in all cases a mere accident, though it in fact made it more difficult for Jews than others to obtain absolute equality before the law. The courts of law, though they have, as in duty bound, enforced the provisions of the statute book, have always shown great tolerance and impartiality towards the Jew, and have, so far as is consistent with

the faithful administration of the enactments ordained by Parliament, resisted the not infrequent attempts to make use of their machinery for the purpose of persecution; and there are even instances on record of the executive government having stepped in and prevented an abuse of the process of the Court when there were no other means of preventing injustice being done.

Let us first turn to the account the law reports have to give us of attacks made upon the exercise of the Jewish religion. In the appendix to Haggard's *Consistory Court Cases* we find that in the year 1673 certain Jews trading in and about the City of London were indicted of a riot at the Guildhall for meeting together for the exercise of their religion in Duke's Place, and the bill was found against them by the Grand Jury. A petition was thereupon presented to the King in Council at Whitehall by Abraham Delivera, Jacob Franco Mendez, Abraham de Porto, and Domingo Francia, on behalf of themselves and others, praying to be permitted to exercise their religion freely or to be given a convenient time to withdraw their persons and estates into parts beyond the seas; and on Feb. 11 it was ordered by the King in Council "that Mr. Attorney General do stop all proceedings at law against the Petitioners, who have been indicted as aforesaid and do provide they may receive no further trouble in this behalf¹."

Yet in a few years' time they were destined to receive further trouble, for in 1685 one Thomas Beaumont caused several writs to be issued out of the King's Bench under the statute made in the twenty-third year of Queen Elizabeth against forty-eight of the Jewish nation, and thirty-seven of them were arrested "as they were following their occasions on the Royal Exchange to the great prejudice of their reputation both here and abroad." By the Statute of Elizabeth, an Act expressly directed against the Papists and passed at a time when there were no recognized Jews in England, all persons above the age of sixteen years

¹ 1 Hag., Con., Appendix, p. 2.

“which shall not repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer” were to forfeit a penalty of £20 a month, and in addition be bound with two sureties until they should conform themselves and come to church. As an indictment for riot could no longer be laid, the upholders of intolerance availed themselves of this old statute, even in those days obsolete, which was not formally repealed till 1844 (7 & 8 Vict. c. 102). However, a petition was presented by Joseph Henriques, Abraham Delivera (one of the petitioners in 1673), and Aaron Pacheco, overseers of the Jewish synagogue, on behalf of the Jewish nation, praying His Majesty to permit and suffer them as heretofore to have the benefit of the free exercise of their religion during their good behaviour towards His Majesty’s Government. It was accordingly on Nov. 13 ordered by the King in Council “that His Majesty’s Attorney General do stop all the proceedings at law against the Petitioners: His Majesty’s intention being that they should not be troubled upon this account, but quietly enjoy the free exercise of their religion, whilst they behave themselves dutifully and obediently to his government¹.”

From this time forth there is no record in the law reports of any attempt to interfere with the free exercise of the Jewish religion. This is not a little surprising in an intolerant age, when the many statutes directed against Papists and Protestant Nonconformists were equally applicable to Jews and might have been rigidly enforced against them. It must not, however, be supposed that there were no Anti-Semites in those days; indeed in the year 1702 they succeeded in passing through Parliament an Act—entitled An Act to oblige Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children—the avowed purpose of which was to assist the conversion of the Jews to the religion of the land. The Act (1 Anne, st. 1, c. 30) provides that “to the end that sufficient maintenance be provided and allowed for the children of Jewish parents who shall turn

¹ 1 Hag., Con., Appendix, p. 3.

Protestants be it enacted . . . that 'if any Jewish parent, in order to the compelling of his or her Protestant child to change his or her religion shall refuse to allow such child a fitting maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of such parent and to the age and education of such child, then . . . it shall be lawful for the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Commissioners (for the great seal for the time being) to make such order therein for the maintenance of such Protestant child, as he or they shall think fit.'" It may be mentioned that there were similar and even more stringent provisions in favour of the Protestant children of "Popish Parents" inserted in the Act to prevent the further growth of Popery (2 Anne, c. 1) passed in the following year.

Although not repealed until quite recent times, the statute had become quite obsolete; yet in the early days of its existence vigorous attempts had been made to enforce it, and there had even been a disposition on the part of zealous Chancellors to give the words of the enactment the most extensive interpretation. An example of this tendency is the case of *Vincent v. Fernandez*, which was decided in 1718 by Lord Chancellor Parker, afterwards created Earl of Macclesfield. In that case a Jew had a daughter who turned Protestant. The Jew had a very considerable personal estate, and dying in May, 1717, after having by his will left several charities and given his personal estate from his daughter to his executor, the daughter, who was married and forty-four years old, petitioned the Lord Chancellor for a maintenance under this statute. It was objected that this case was not within the Act, for that, first, the child is above forty years old, and so the care of her education over; secondly, she is married and not now to be called a child, but to be provided for by her husband; thirdly, that the parent being dead could not be said to have refused to allow her fitting maintenance, &c., and so the power given by the Act is at an end. In answer to these objections, the

Lord Chancellor said : " I strongly incline to think this case within the Act upon the following reasons ; the petitioner is a Protestant child of a Jewish parent, though the parent be dead. Suppose the child of a Jew turns Protestant, and the Jew, the parent, by will gives his estate to trustees, upon a secret trust, that if the child turn Jew the child shall have the estate, and not otherwise. As this would be clearly within the mischief, so every one must wish it to be within the meaning of the Act. It is not said the complaint shall be against the father ; that would indeed take this case out of the Act ; neither is it said that the order should be made upon or against the father, so that this case fits every word made use of by the legislature. Suppose a suit or petition had been exhibited, and the Jew, the parent, had died pending the petition, and had given all away from his Protestant child because the child had turned Protestant, doubtless the complaint might be against the executor, and the order likewise against the executor ; every one will allow this to be a hard case, and if the words be large enough (as they are), why should they not be construed to extend to it ?

" Then as to the refusal of the parent, it is not to be intended that the parent, the Jew, must make an actual refusal in words, for by that construction the statute might easily be evaded and rendered useless. If the Jewish father do by will dispose of all his estate from his child, this is in law a refusal ; and unless some other reason be made appear, it shall be intended, because the child was a Protestant. The obligations of nature plead so strongly on behalf of a child, that when such a case happens, some great provocation must be supposed to have occasioned it ; and if no other reason be made appear, this difference in religion shall be intended the reason.

" Possibly these charities given by the Jew's will may be under some secret trust for the child if she should turn Jew, wherefore let all this be inquired into by the Master ¹."

¹ 1 Peere Williams, pp. 524, 525.

The learned reporter, however, adds a note to the effect that the Court did not appear to have made any order on the petition, and that probably the parties came to some agreement.

The effect of the statute and the method of enforcing it in the earlier part of the eighteenth century may best be gathered from the report of the proceedings in the case of one Marcus Moses given in Sanders' *Orders in Chancery*, of which I append an abridgment:—On the 22nd of January, 1723, Moses Marcus preferred a petition setting forth that he is the eldest son of Marcus Moses of London, merchant, who is by profession of religion a Jew, and as such educated his son in the best manner that he could in the mystery of that religion, and in all other respects as a gentleman and a scholar, both at home and in travels in foreign parts, for improvement suitable to the degree and ability of the petitioner's father, who has a plentiful estate, and lives in great repute and esteem in the City of London. That the said petitioner is now of the age of twenty-two years and upwards, and being by such education become capable of judging of the true religion, and having diligently searched the Scriptures and inquired into the Christian religion as well as the Jewish, and being fully convinced of the truth of the one and of the errors of the other, hath from a full conviction and from a lively faith in God's mercies through Jesus Christ our Saviour, without any worldly views, but on the contrary well knowing that he should thereby become the hatred and scorn of his parents and relations who are all Jews and with whom he was before in great esteem, and be cast off from his parents notwithstanding all those discouragements, embraced the Christian religion, the only true one, and hath been baptized therein, and is become a Protestant of the Church of England as by law established. That by means of the petitioner's conversion to the Christian faith and becoming a Protestant (as he before well knew he should), he finds himself hated and scorned by his parents and cast off by

his said father; and in order to compel him to exchange his religion is by his father refused to be allowed a fitting maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of his said father and to the petitioner's age and education, whereby the petitioner, who was educated as a gentleman and a scholar, and with the dependence of a plentiful fortune from his said father, is now become destitute and without any subsistence, and not being educated in the way of business otherwise than as a gentleman and a scholar, &c., is not at present capable of getting his living, &c., &c., wherefore it was prayed that directions should be given touching an allowance for the petitioner's maintenance. Whereupon an inquiry was ordered into the circumstances of Marcus Moses, the number of his family and the amount of his estate and the education of the petitioner, and the father Marcus Moses was ordered to give £5,000 security to pay such allowance to the petitioner from time to time as the Lord Chancellor should think fit. "And it being alleged that the said petitioner hath had only five guineas from his father since his baptism, so that he hath occasion for money for his present subsistence, and that part of his clothes and wearing apparel are detained from the petitioner by his father, it is thereupon further ordered that the said Marcus Moses the petitioner's father do pay him £50 on Tuesday next and deliver him his clothes at the same time."

The inquiries appear to have been duly held, and as a result of them the father, Marcus Moses, was ordered to pay his son £60 per annum by quarterly payments, yet in the year 1726 the son presented another petition alleging that the maintenance had not been paid in pursuance of the Order of the Court; the father preferred a counter-petition setting forth that even before the making of the said Order his son Marcus Moses returned to the Jewish worship and professed himself to be a Jew, and kept the Passover with Jews, and as soon as the same was over voluntarily went over to Holland and there renounced the

Christian religion, and went publicly to the Synagogue and did penance for his having turned Christian in England, and continued in Holland a year and five months and behaved as a Jew all that time, during which time he by several letters applied to his said father to maintain and provide for him as a Jew, which he did, and paid several large sums for him more than his maintenance came to. And the said Marcus Moses being come over again to England has professed himself a Jew and behaved as such according to their ceremonies, and still continued so to do, whereby he hath forfeited the maintenance allowed him as aforesaid, and therefore praying that the said Order might be discharged. Upon these petitions all the parties were ordered to attend the Lord Chancellor (Lord King), who after hearing the evidence, including a declaration by the son in Court that he was a Christian, ordered that the sum formerly allowed for maintenance be continued until the 10th of February instant, and as to any demand of the money since the 10th of February the Bishop of London was to examine whether the said Marcus Moses be a Christian¹.

It may be seen from the record of this case that the allowances given by the Chancellors were not excessive, and that maintenance was only given in case the child claiming it was unable to maintain itself, and would not be continued unless the conversion was genuine, the question, if there were any doubt about it, being referred to the bishop of the diocese. In any case the statute was not instrumental in procuring numerous conversions; and though well known to the judges, and acted upon on occasion, there was a growing tendency on the part of the Chancellors to restrict its operation, as may be seen from Lord Hardwicke's judgment in the well-known case of *Villareul v. Mellish*, decided in 1737². It gradually became obsolete, and was

¹ Sanders, *Orders in Chancery*, vol. I, pp. 457 seq., 524 seq.

² 2 Swanston, pp. 533, 539; and 2 Atk., p. 14, under name of *Mellish v. Da Costa*.

finally repealed in the year 1846 by the Act to relieve Her Majesty's Subjects from certain penalties and disabilities in regard to Religious Opinions (9 & 10 Vict. c. 59).

Since the petition already referred to, which was presented in 1685, there is no trace in the law reports of the statutes directed against Nonconformists, some of the most stringent of which, e.g. the Act of Uniformity (1662, 14 Car. II. c. 4) and the Conventicle Act (1670, 22 Car. II. c. 1), were only passed after the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, being enforced against the Jews. In the case of Protestant Dissenters the severity of these statutes was in a great measure mitigated by the Toleration Act (1688, 1 Will. & Mary, c. 18), which is expressed to be enacted "Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties' *Protestant* subjects in interest and affection." The Jews, though in no way protected by this Act, remained undisturbed in the exercise of their religion; and those who were hostile to them had therefore to resort to tactics which have frequently been used as instruments of persecution, and which were immediately suppressed by the courts of law, to the great credit of English justice. In the year 1732 a paper was published by one Osborne containing an account of a murder committed the latter end of February on a Jewish woman and her child by certain Jews lately arrived from Portugal and living near Broad Street, because the child was begotten by a Christian, and showing that the like cruelty had often been committed by the Jews. In consequence of this publication, several Jews recently arrived from Portugal and living in Broad Street were attacked by multitudes in several parts of the city, barbarously treated, and threatened with death in case they were found abroad any more. Accordingly in Easter term the Court of King's Bench was moved for a rule calling upon the said Osborne to show cause why a criminal information for libel should not issue against him for publishing the paper above referred to. Upon the motion, Lord Raymond,

the Lord Chief Justice, said that he believed the Court could do nothing in this matter by reason that no particular Jews could be able to show to the Court that they were pointed at more than any others, and thought that Lord Chief Justice Holt was of this opinion in the case of Orme and Nut. In that case (which is reported in 1 Lord Raymond, p. 486) an indictment was exhibited for a libel called "The list of adventurers in the Ladies invention, being a lottery," &c., and alleged to be to the scandal of divers good subjects of the King to the jurors unknown. The jury found the accused guilty, but upon motion judgment was arrested on the ground that the persons libelled were unknown, and that it could not be said that any definite person was defamed. The Court, however, made a rule against Osborne to show cause. In Trinity term cause was shown, and the Court made the rule absolute. They distinguished the case from Orme's case, saying, "that in the present case it is related in the paper that the fact there told is a fact which the Jews have frequently done; and therefore the whole community of the Jews are struck at," and further adding that "admitting an information for a libel may be improper, yet the publication of this paper is deservedly punishable in an information for a misdemeanour (apparently inciting to a breach of the peace), and that of the highest kind; such sorts of advertisements necessarily tending to raise tumults and disorders among the people and inflame them with an universal spirit of barbarity against a whole body of men, as if guilty of crimes scarce practicable and totally incredible¹." This is undoubtedly a strong case, and one which, it is to be hoped, will be acted upon in case any similar attack should be made upon the Jews; but it is only right to point out that a libel on the Jewish religion would not be so dealt with unless it was such as to tend to stir up the hatred of the Queen's subjects against persons professing that

¹ See 2 Barnardiston, pp. 138, 166; Wm Kelynge, p. 231; 2 Swanston, p. 503 (note), and Sess. Cas., p. 260.

religion, and so conduce to a breach of the peace. For later cases tend to show that, assuming that the decencies of controversy are observed, the fundamental doctrines of any religion, not excluding that of the Established Church, may be attacked with impunity. There are no doubt competent authorities who hold, on the strength of certain old cases, that any attack upon Christianity, being part of the law of the land, is punishable. But there will always be great difficulty in inducing a jury to convict. Indeed, in the year 1883, when Mr. Bradlaugh was tried for publishing a periodical called the *Freethinker*, which was advertised as being an Anti-Christian organ and as waging relentless warfare against superstition in general and against the superstition of Christianity in particular, it was laid down by the Chief Justice, Lord Coleridge, in addressing the jury, that publications discussing with gravity and decency, and in an argumentative way, questions as to Christian doctrine or statements in the Hebrew Scriptures, and even questioning their truth, are not to be deemed blasphemous so as to be fit subjects for criminal prosecution; but that publications which in an indecent and malicious spirit assail and asperse the truth of Christianity or of the Scriptures, in language calculated and intended to shock the feelings and outrage the belief of mankind, are properly to be regarded as blasphemous libels. In the subsequent case of the *Queen v. Ramsey and Foote*, arising out of the publication of the same periodical, Lord Coleridge, in dealing with this point, said: "Now according to the old law, or the dicta of the judges in old times, these would undoubtedly be blasphemous libels, because they asperse the truth of Christianity. But, as I said in the former trial, and now repeat, I think that these old cases can no longer be taken to be a statement of the law at the present day. It is no longer true in the sense in which it was true when these dicta were uttered—that 'Christianity is part of the law of the land.' Non-conformists and Jews were then under penal laws, and

were hardly allowed civil rights. But now, so far as I know the law, a Jew might be Lord Chancellor¹. Certainly he might be Master of the Rolls; and the great Judge whose loss we have all had to deplore² might have had to try such a case; and if the view of the law supposed be correct, he would have had to tell the jury, perhaps partly composed of Jews, that it was blasphemy to deny that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, which he himself did deny, and which Parliament had allowed him to deny, and which it was part of 'the law of the land' that he might deny. Therefore to asperse the truth of Christianity cannot *per se* be sufficient to sustain a criminal prosecution for blasphemy. . . . Therefore to maintain that merely because the truth of Christianity is denied without more, that therefore a person may be indicted for blasphemous libel, is, I venture to think, absolutely untrue³."

H. S. Q. HENRIQUES.

¹ A question which will be considered later.

² Sir George Jessel, who died on March 21, 1883.

³ 15 Cox, C. C., p. 235.

(To be continued.)

KARAITICA.

THE idea of unity has always pervaded Jewish life socially as well as religiously. Hence our horror of sectarianism and heterodoxy. Of all the Jewish heresies—and numerically they have been but few—none has had so long a history as that of the Karaites. For more than a thousand years the Karaites have by the Rabbanites been regarded as pariahs, their race as impure, their literature as feeble and worthless. In every Jewish centre they have been in a minority, and, except in some Crimean towns, in a really pitiable minority. In Jerusalem, where they have existed since the foundation of their sect, tradition has it that they have never been able to muster a "Minyan" of ten. In Cairo they number a thousand or so, but even there the lowest of the Levantine Jews treat as synonymous the terms Karaite and "Mamzer." In Constantinople proper they are not, but in some of the villages in the immediate neighbourhood, which may be reckoned as forming part of Greater Constantinople, notably at Perim Pasha on the Golden Horn, Karaite communities are to be found in close touch with their more prosperous brethren in Russia. The Karaite capital is at Simferopol in the Crimea, and Kertch, Feodosia, Sebastopol, Eupatoria, and even fashionable Yalta are all hotbeds of Karaism. Sukum Kalé, where Karaite books were beautifully printed in the first half of the century, was destroyed by the British Fleet during the Crimean War, and has never been rebuilt. Odessa, Constantinople, and Cairo owe their Karaite synagogues to the fact that they lie on

the great high road of commerce, and that the Karaites, like all traders, are good sailors¹.

And they have keen commercial instincts. But the best stroke of business they did was when they persuaded a too paternal Russian government that they were Bible Jews, the real Jews of History and aboriginal inhabitants of the Black Sea coast, and that Talmud Jews were interlopers compounded of all the vices. Abraham Firkovitch was a prime mover in the argument, and supplied much of the evidence, not scrupling to forge a few dates when convenient. But he was a remarkable character, and his biography would need a Carlyle to do him justice. Hebrew literature owes him a debt in that he was the first of the systematic plunderers of the Genizoth of the Orient. His treasures have enriched the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, whose Karaite collection is consequently the largest in the world. The other great libraries have suffered from Rabbanite prejudices, for directly or indirectly they have been supplied by Talmud Jews who had neither knowledge nor interest for Karaite research. Leyden alone has to thank a non-Jew, Trigland, for having devoted himself to Karaitica, made a Karaite collection, and induced a Karaite to write for the famous Dutch University a Karaite Bibliography.

Of late, however, there has been a distinct revival of interest in the Karaites among Orientalists. Saadia's Millennium and the exploitation of the Cairo Genizah have reminded us how large a part the Karaites occupied in Jewish thought, and convinced us that foemen worthy of the steel of a Saadia and a Maimonides should not be despised. And now that greater tolerance is at last being shown by the Russian government towards Talmud Jews, they too can afford to pardon the bitter vengeance taken upon them by their secular enemies. The JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW has no controversial preferences,

¹ An interesting list of the ten chief Karaite communities of Europe is given in the ספר החינוך *vide infra*, sub voce Printed Books, M.

and it may not be out of place to describe in its pages the following collection of Karaite MSS. and books acquired by the writer during his travels in the East. They are principally derived from two sources, from the Karaite Chacham Shabtai, at Cairo in 1895, and from the widow of the Chacham Isaac b. Moses Krimi at Perim Pasha in 1896. As Bible Jews, the Karaites have always prominently concerned themselves with the text of the Bible and the Massora, and, accordingly, a large proportion of their books deal with the Bible.

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Bible Commentaries, &c.

202. ס' המבחר. Hebrew Commentary on the Pentateuch by Aaron b. Joseph הירושא. Scribe, Michael b. Solomon Japhet in 1744. 4to. Rashi character, pp. 202. Cp. B. M. Or. 1097 and Leyden Warner 2.

203. מקרמה. Commentary on Genesis and Exodus by a Karaite, perhaps Samuel הירושא al-Maghribi. Cp. B. M. Or. 2405, 2406. Each "parasha" or weekly section is preceded by an introduction¹ (מקרמה), a Psalm, and some Biblical verses relating thereto, and followed by an invocation in favour of Moses and the Prophets. The commentary and the introductions are in Arabic in Hebrew characters. Title page and the first pages of the preface are wanting. On page 2 occurs the

¹ Cp. Pinsker, *Lik. Kad.*, p. 63.

following:—קאל מרי ורבי השואל רחמי צורו שמואל המלמד בן מר' ור' ויבן מעמארי: And on p. 3: משה בן מר' ור' חסדאל הנודע אלסני נ'ע'י פיה עלי נאלבי כללם אללמאם אללכתאר אלשיך אבו אלפרנ ברקאן ארן אדנ. *Scribe*, Elijah Levi b. Joseph. 8vo. Square character.

204. מקדמה. The like for משפטים בחקתי. Exodus xxi to end of Leviticus. At the head of two sections occurs a dedication to Isaac Firuz יצחק פירוז על שם הבחור יצחק פירוז.

205. Ditto for ויהי תרומה. Genesis xlvii. 28—Exodus xxvii. 19.

206. Ditto for וישלח. Genesis xxxii. 4—xxxvi. 43.

207. Ditto for משפטים תרומה. Exodus xxi—xxvii. 19. Defective at beginning. *Scribe*, Elijah Levi b. Joseph.

208. Ditto for בלק. Numbers xxii. 2—xxv. 9.

209. Ditto for פנחס מסעי. Numbers xxv. 9 to xxxvi. 13 (end).

210. קדשת ורא. Psalms and Biblical verses constituting the sacrament for the Sabbath of the section ורא.

211. The like for the section שמות.

212. The like for the section בא.

213. The like for קדשים.

214. Joshua. Hebrew-Arabic translation and commentary of Japhet b. Ali, called Abou Ali the Bozrian. 4to. Rabbinic hand, the last five pages supplied in a modern cursive hand.

215. II Samuel. Commentary by the same(?) beginning at chap. xiii.

216. שרז אתהלים. Psalms. Commentary by the same in five volumes: (a) i—xli; (b) xlii—lxxii, defective; (c) lxxiii—lxxxix; (d) xc—cvi; (e) cvii—cl. The first volume was written in 1776, the others in 1567. *Owner*, Abraham Levi. Cp. B. M. Or. 2520. Edited by Bargés.

217. Fragment of a Karaite Commentary on Psalms.

218. The like, by a different commentator.

219. Proverbs². Commentary, by Japhet b. Ali, in two volumes, the first page of vol. 1 and the last two of vol. 2 supplied by a modern hand. Cp. B. M. Or. 2402, 2506, 2507. Three chapters have been edited by Fischer at Cracow, 1898.

220. Fragment of a Turkish-Hebrew Commentary on the first six chapters of Proverbs. Cursive Tartar script.

221. Job. Commentary by the same in two volumes. Written in 1608. Cp. B. M. Or. 2509—2512.

222. Lamentations. Commentary by the same(?), written by Joseph b. Aaron המלמד, Shebat, 1667. N.B. B. M. Or. 2515, 2516 are by Salmon b. Jeruham.

¹ Cp. Pinsker, *Lik. Kad.*, p. 120.

² Vide *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXVIII, 157.

223. Canticles. Commentary, by Abou Ali Alhassan b. Ali Habasri, the father of Japhet b. Ali¹. N.B. B. M. Or. 2513 is by Japhet b. Ali himself, and was edited by Bargés.

See also 244, Canticles, Daniel, Ezra.

224. 457 Canticles. Fragment of Commentary, probably by Caleb Afendopulo.

Liturgica.

225. The Karaite Ritual. The first fifteen pages contain "*Dinim*" as to prayer in Arabic. Then comes the prayer for Saturday night, then the morning prayer (שחרית), then that for noon (צהריים), and next the מעריב for the other week-day evenings. 8vo. Scribe, Jacob דחזון. Date, 1727. Cp. B. M. Or. 2531.

226. תפלה שחרית. The morning prayer: contains ברכי נפשי, פירש קרבנות, לכו נרננה, שמע, חחנונים, בראשית ברא עד יום הששי, הודו.

227. תפלה. Daily prayer. Cp. B. M. Or. 2530.

228. Sabbath morning prayers. Begins as follows:—בשם יי' אל—עולם נבדתי אלן תרתיב תפלת בקר יום השבת אלוי אל אלארבעה איאם יוסף לוי בכר. On the first page occurs the name of ר' תצלי עלי אלעאדה. Defective at the end.

229. Prayers for the Sabbath after the ninth Ab. At the end is a prayer for Salmon b. Jeruham², the contemporary of Saadia.

230. Evening prayers for Mourners. Begins:—בשם דיין אמת שופט—בצדק ובאמת האוי תרתיב צלאת אלאכלות.

231. Morning prayers, Hallel, prayers for the New Moon. The rubrics are in Arabic. Scribe, Jacob Hazan³. Date, 1773.

232. תפלה יחיד. Prayers for the individual, not in Synagogue. At the end a dedication to the writer's brother, Abraham b. David. Date, 1670.

233. Fragment of morning service for the Day of Atonement. תפלת הבקר של יח"ב.

234. Fragment of the Karaite ritual, containing ויחל משה, and some Selichot. Cp. B. M. Or. 1427.

235. Prayers for the "Rejoicing of the Law" (ש"ח). Written by and dedicated to the "dear child" Nissim b. Joshua Levi Hazan b. Solomon Levi. Date, 1826.

236. ויעל לשמחת תורה. The biblical verses to be recited between the two benedictions by the "אחרון" who finishes the Law. Date, 1819.

¹ Vide in אביר צדיקים sub voce אביר.

² Vide ante 221.

³ Cp. 223 ante.

237. Prayers for the "Rejoicing of the Law." Written and dedicated to the "dear child," David Joseph Elisha. Date, 1826.

238. Prayers and Psalms to be recited on the Sabbath morning before Passover. *Scribe*, Solomon Za'ir b. Jadiah Za'ir, the physician. Date, 1728.

239. תפלת שבת חזון. Prayers for the Saturday before the ninth Ab. *Owner*, Joseph Levi b. Nahum Levi. (Cp. 522.)

240. Fragments of Liturgy.

241. Sabbath morning Prayers. *Owner*, Obadiah b. Joshua.

242. (a) ס' שיח יצחק. Commentary on the prayer for Kippur תפלת שפתי תפתח, divided into thirty-two chapters. Written by Simḥa b. Moses of Lutz¹ in 1783. Author's autograph.

(b) תפלת למשה. Commentary on the prayer of Moses in פרשת כי חשא. By the same. Written in 1753.

Philosophy.

243. (1) ס' עץ חיים. A philosophic work in 114 chapters, composed in 1346 by Aaron b. Elijah Istanbauri, and edited by Steinschneider and Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1841. Cp. B. M. Or. 1099, 1306. *Scribe*, Moses b. Abraham b. Moses of Fars (Khiva). Date, 1445.

(2) A poem, by Solomon ibn Gabirol, שחי לאל חידה החכמה.

(3) Ditto, by Samuel, "הא," שחי לאל חידה אל מעונך.

(4) Selichot. ורחמינו, by Aaron b. Elijah Istanbauri.

(5) וירידי לר' משה בן חיים.

(6) Selicha, by Solomon ibn Gabirol, ח' שם איום ונורא.

(7) Piyutim, by Eliezer ben (sic) Kalir.

(8) Poems, by אנטולי.

(9) Commentary on Canticles, Daniel and Ezra.

(10) פתרון חלומות of Hai Gaon.

244 (356). Fragment of a philosophic and theological work of the same title, by Aaron האחרון, with a commentary thereto entitled עץ הרעת by Samuel Kalii.

245. מורשיד אלמרשיד (ס' המצוות), the Book of Precepts of Samuel Malis b. Moses al Maghribi, the physician (cp. 203 ante). The work is divided into twelve sections, viz.:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. אלמקאלה פי אל שבת | Sabbath. |
| 2. אלמקאלה פי אל ירח | New Moon. |
| 3. אלמקאלה פי אל מילה | Circumcision. |
| 4. פי בקיה עשרת הד' | Ten Commandments. |

¹ Vide ante sub 201.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 5. אלמקאלה פי אלמטעדים | Festivals. |
| 6. פי זמלה מן אלאחכאם ואלשראע אלדי תגרי בין אלנאם בעצה מע בעץ. | Of the relations between man and man. |
| 7. פי אלמאכלה | Dietary laws. |
| 8. פי אלממאות | Of the unclean. |
| 9. פי אלעריות | Marriage laws. |
| 10. פי זמיע אלחקים ונו | The Statutes, &c. |
| 11. פימא ילום כואץ אלאמה מן בהנים. | Of men's duties to the Priests. |
| 12. פי אליירשות | Laws of inheritance. |

This book was translated into Hebrew by Solomon b. Joseph Kanzi (vide Pinsker, *Lit.*, note 7). At the end of the MS. is a poem with an acrostic on the author's name. Date, 1435. Cp. B. M. Or. 2405, 2406, which was written in 1520, and B. M. Or. 63, which contains only the sixth, seventh, and eighth *Makālāt*.

246. ס' נן ערץ ס' המצוות. The Book of Precepts of Aaron b. Elijah the Nicomedian, divided into הלכות, which are subdivided into chapters. 2 vols., 4to. Scribe, Aaron b. Moses. Date, 10 Nissan, 1556. Cp. B. M. Or. 22069, written 1580, and Leyden W. 21, written in 1396.

246 A. The same work. 1 vol., folio (bought in Milan). The first two pages supplied in a modern Italian hand.

247. ס' המצוות. The Book of Precepts of Japhet ha-Rophé b. David ha-Rophé b. Saguir (fourteenth century). The seventh and eighth *Makālāt*, wants the last two chapters. This work was divided into ten *Makālāt*, each of which is subdivided into chapters (פצל). The entire work is not extant, though fragments are to be met with in a few libraries (vide Pinsker, 188).

248. (a) מלחמות ה'. Salmon b. Jeruham's polemic diatribe against Saadia Gaon, his contemporary. At the beginning occurs the following ascription: זה הספר לרכבו כלמן בן ירוחם תשובות. לסעריה תלמידו המורד לו. The work is written in verse, and divided into eighteen chapters, of which only twelve appear to be known to bibliographers (vide Pinsker, 15). This MS. contains the whole eighteen, and would therefore seem unique. Scribe, Elijah b. Baruch Jerushalmi.

(b) תוכחת מגלה. Polemic against the Rabbanites, by Saul b. Mazliah ha Cohen. Has been printed (vide Pinsker, 25-43).

249. (a) ס' העקרם. The six Articles of Faith or Dogmas of Israel Hadayan (Magrabi b. Samuel), in Arabic. Cp. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 213, &c., and cp. *J. Q. R.*, X, 588 (B 9).

(b) הלכות שחיטה, in ten chapters, by the same (written at Kahira in 1306). Cp. Leyden W. 52⁶. *Owner*, Joshua Levi Mazliah.

250. Fragments of a Cabbalistic book, written in Arabic and Hebrew characters.

251. לחכמת המספר. A treatise on Arithmetic, in two parts, written by a Karaite. *Owner*, Isaac b. Mordecai Trikan.

Bound up with this MS. is a printed Calendar for thirty-four years. מולדות לל"ד שנים, printed at Kalé in 1796 (vide post, Printed Books, P).

252. קובץ על חכמי החכמה.

253. Benjamin Jerushalmi's Miscellany.

(i) Different opinions of astronomers as to the number of spheres of the moon and their orbits. Quotes David Ganz b. Solomon's נחמד ס' שבי' אמונה Rofé's; R. Meir b. Isaac Aldabi ha Rofé's ס' שבי' אמונה Rofé's; Raphael ha Levi's ס' תכונות שמים, and Mordecai Bomtiano.

(ii) מאמר עולם קטן. "The Microcosm," an abbreviation of the work of this name by Menahem Azaria of Fano.

(iii) מצורף לחכמה. A defence of the Kabbala, by Joseph del Medigo, against Elijah del Medigo.

(iv) A criticism, by Benjamin Jerushalmi, of Sabbatai Scheftel's Cabbalistic work שפע כל.

(v) שבר יוסף. Extracts from Luria's Cabbalistic books.

(vi) שמות הקבלה. Extract from Joseph del Medigo's חכמה נובלות.

(vii) הרשב"ד על היצירה.

(viii) גורלות.

(ix) Controversy between Benjamin Jerushalmi and Isaac b. Solomon the "High Priest" (הכהן הגדול), the Karaite author of אור הלבנה ס' אור הלבנה as to קדוש החדש. *Scribe*, Benjamin Jerushalmi.

254. תוכחה. Admonition in rhymed prose (Hebrew-Arabic) after the style of Bahya's נפשי נפשי. Each paragraph begins נפשי. Defective at the beginning. 8vo. Paper. Rabbinic hand.

255 (453). (a) פתשן כתב הדת by Caleb Afendopulo, in four parts, with chapters on *Dinim*, and instructions as to reading the Law and the Haftarah throughout the year, the *Minhagim* as to ס"ת, the manner of writing a *Sefer Torah*, the closed and open sections (פתוחות וסגורות), the functions of a סופר or scribe, the form of the poetical stanzas of the Pentateuch, and the text of the ברכות.

(b) The fragment of another Caleb's work on the same subjects, and occasionally quoting the last described MS.

Poetry and Belles-Lettres.

256. (a) החידות 'ס. Aphorisms by Caleb Afendopulo b. Elijah b. Judah. הזקן. This work is divided into twelve sections and treats of various scientific and literary matters. The MS. begins in the middle of the twelfth section with questions and answers on scientific matters. Then follows a short treatise on the names of the Messiah and then one on Hebrew Prosody, at the end is written : ובכאן ראינו . . . להפסיק הרבור בעניני בעלי השירים ובשלמותם נשלם ספר החידות . . .

(b) נן המלך 'ס. A Divan by the same, also divided into twelve sections. At the beginning of the third poem of the ninth section : זה חברתיו כשנפטר מורי ורבי ההכ"ר אליהו בשצי צ"ה בה"ר כ' משה חותני נ"ע בכ"ר מנחם ע"ה כ"ג לסיון שנת הר"צ לציירה היא שנת אהבב לחרבן. The tenth section contains Piyutim, some of which are printed in the Machzor Romania. Each section is headed in red ink. This MS. was sold in 1600. It is apparently unique. The only works by Afendopulo in the British Museum are his אגרת ירך החיים Index to the עץ חיים Or. 1306; and his פתשן כתב הדת on the Ritual. Or. 2537. Vide ante 255.

257. טוב מעט 'ס. Commentary on Aaron b. Joseph's Piyutim for each weekly section of the Pentateuch, by Berakha b. Joseph ha Cohen. Date, 1651. Pp. 326. *Unique.*

[258. ענק או תרשיש 'ס. Moses b. Ezra's Tarshish, 1200 poems rhyming by synonyms, divided into ten chapters, with an Arabic commentary after each verse by Abraham Eliezer Hadayan ibn Chalfan, and with occasional marginal notes by Samuel b. Abraham (possibly a Karaite). *Scribe*, Samuel Hacoheh b. R. Judah b. R. Eliezer called Ibn Alchazin אלכאן. *Date*, 9th Ab, 1501. *Owner*, Obadiah b. Joshua, the Karaite. On the first page occurs the following note, which is of historical interest, as to the Egyptian Karaites in the beginning of the seventeenth century : יהודה מא אהרמה כאתבה ללמו : אלגל אלכביר אלמחכום אלמע' צדקה ירים הודו בן כנז מר' ור' יוסף נע הבור ע' באבן ע' אלולי תנצבה תמאן פי חדש אדר שני השסס לציירה ארם (?) לאלשיך מחמוד בן אלמצרי כואב בליל אלרחמאן ע"ה . . . באלאסתסקא כלם אלפקיר יהודה מאיר רופא תורים וכבר אברהם חסופר חלבו (?) מן בירושלים בס' חכה פרחת אליה לחברן פונדני ר' שאול . . . ור' יעקב אשמוי הרבנים מכרו לנ . . . ענד כמאל . . . באצי מצחאף באלקראין ומא ערפו איש הו תעלקת . . . רר פרחת ענדה נמאעה מסלמן מן נמלה הם אלשיך אבן כמאל בנ' פונדת הודא אלכתאב נאשת . . . רותה מנה בנעף . . .

259. שירים. (a) Two Arabic poems in praise of God. (b) Decalogue, with an Arabic paraphrase in rhymed prose.

[260. קצת חנה. The story of Hannah, the mother of the Maccabees, in Arabic.

[261. קצת אסתר. The story of Queen Esther, in Arabic.

[262. קצת יוסף. The story of Joseph, in Arabic. Scribe, Moses b. Samuel, the Karaite. Date, 1820.

263. Poetical Miscellany in Hebrew Arabic in different hands, consisting of—

(a) קצת משה. The Ascension of Moses. Copy made in 1853 by Joseph Halevi b. Abraham Matzliah b. Isaac b. Abraham b. Jacob b. Saadia b. Abraham.

(b) קצת חנה.

(c) An Arabic פיוט for Pentecost.

(d) קצת נמנה. A Midrashic poem.

(e) קצת אלסיד אלרסול . . . משה. The story of Moses.

264. Fragment of an Arabic medical work.

*Astronomical, &c.*¹

265. צל העולם. "The world's Image." A treatise on cosmogony, translated into Tartar (Turkish) in Hebrew characters, from the Hebrew translation of Matthias Delacrut (sixteenth century) of the French original; vide *Hist. Lit. de la France*, XIII, 301 sqq. At the end is a Hebrew poem with an acrostic on the name of the Karaite קלמן Abraham, the Turkish translator. Purchased at Odessa.

266. (a) על לוחות ס' האדרת. Commentary on the Karaite Calendar given by Bashitzi in his *Sepher Adereth*, by Joseph Tishbi b. Judah, the Karaite. Date, 1580.

(b) הכנפים ס'. Treatise on the Karaite Calendar with tables and diagrams by Emanuel b. Jacob, called Magister Beaufl. At the end a note by the scribe (?) Moses b. Elijah Hallel. Date, 1609.

(c) Criticism on these works by Isaac b. Solomon b. Zadik, called אלאחרב (the lame) of Spain².

267. פתשנ כתב הדת. *Dinim* as to ת"ת and Benedictions. Incomplete.

268. Fragment of a Turkish MS. in Hebrew Tartar script.

269. ס' שיח יצחק. Author's autograph. In thirty-two chapters. Written at Lutzk on Shebat 23, 1738, and re-written in 1753. Author, Simḥa Isaac b. Moses, of Lutzk, the Karaite, b. Simḥa b. Joseph b. Jeshua the Martyr (הקרוש) b. Simḥa b. Jeshua b. Samuel the Elder השועי. יעמץ מעצם משפחת השועי.

¹ See also 251 and 252.

² Vide Steinschneider, *Uebersetz.*, § 332.

270. תפלה למשה. Author's autograph by the same. Vide Steinschneider 7192. Date, Nissan, 1743.

271. זכרון לרור אחרון. Fragment of a Marriage Register of Karaites in and near Odessa, 1860-1880.

272. נחל אשכול. Index to the work הכומר of Jehuda Hedessi (vide post, sub voce Printed Books, F) by Caleb Afendopulo. Written in the village קרמיה near Constantinople, on the 4th Adar, 1497. 4to.

Genizah Specimens.

Of far greater importance for Karaite history and literature than most MSS. are the fragments from the famous Genizah at Cairo, for they date back a thousand years and more. A *corpus* of at least the earliest of these is essential for the future historian. The following specimens, brought back by the writer from Egypt in January, 1896, may suffice to show what can be expected. The first is a form of Divorce dated in 1030. It is quite different from the Rabbanite גט, it is pure Hebrew, not Aramaic, and though elegant in diction it is not the less forcible.

A KARAITE DIVORCE OF 1030.

זה ספר גיטים למצר לבני מקרא

זה ספר כריתות שכתב פלוני בן פלוני לפלונית

בת פלוני שהיתה ^{אחדשה} (sic) אשתי מקדמת דנה

[] בא ביום כן וכן בשבת שהוא יום

כן וכן מחדש [] פלוני משנת אלף ושלש

מאות שנה ושבעה וארבעים שנים למס

ימים בארץ מצרים במדינת פסמאט

שעל נהר פישון מושבה לפני הזקנים

ויאמר אלהם (sic) ודעתו תמימה מישרת

עליו בלי אותם אנסו מן [דיע] אני לפניכם

כי נרשתי את פלונית בת פלוני שהיתה

[א]תִּי אֲרֹשֶׁתִּי שְׂבָעָתָה
לִפְנֵי זֶה וְעַתָּה שְׁלַחְתִּיהָ מִבֵּיתִי וְהִצַּאתִיהָ
מִרְשׁוּתִי וְאֵתָּה אֵתָּה סָפְרָה זֶה סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוֹת
לָהּ וְאֵין לִי עֲלֶיהָ מִמְּשָׁלָה וְלֹא שְׁלֹמֹן כִּי הָיָה
לֹא אֲשֵׁתִי וְאֵנֹכִי לֹא אִשָּׁה וְהִנֵּנִי אוֹמֵר
לִפְנֵיכֶם אֵת פְּלוֹנִית בַּת פְּלוֹנִי שֶׁמֶךְ וְכִנּוּיָּךְ
אֲרֹשֶׁתִּי
שֶׁהָיְתָה אֲשֵׁתִי מִקֵּדֶם עַתָּה מִעֲרֹשֶׁת מִמֶּנִּי
וּמִשְׁלַחַת מֵאֵתִי וּמִצַּאת מִתַּחַת יְדֵי וּמִרְשׁוֹתִי

[TRANSLATION.]

THIS IS THE EGYPTIAN BILL OF DIVORCE
FOR THE KARAITES.

This is the Bill of Divorce which *N. M.* the son of *N. M.* has written for *N. M.* the daughter of *N. M.* who was my {betrothed} wife } heretofore.

On the . . . day of the week which is the . . . day of the month . . . of the year 1347, according to the computation of the Greeks in the land of Egypt in the city of Fostat, which is situate on the River Pishon.

Came *N.M.* before the Elders and said unto them, being of sound mind and none compelling him, "I make known unto you that I have divorced *N.M.* the daughter of *N.M.* who was hitherto my { betrothed } wife. And now I have { abandoned her } sent her away from my house and caused her to go forth from my premises. And I give unto her this her book—her bill of divorce. And I have no longer over her dominion nor power for she is not my wife and I am not her husband and behold I say before you: Thou *N.M.* daughter of *N.M.* thy name and thy designation, thou that wast before my { betrothed } wife now art thou divorced by me and sent away from me, and removed from my control¹ and from my premises."

Another is an ancient List of Books—fragment of a bookseller's catalogue, perhaps as early in date. The text will be published later in this REVIEW. It is described and deciphered by Professor Bacher in the last volume of

¹ Lit. hand, cp. *manus* = *poteslas*.

the *Revue des Études Juives*¹. The single page comprises the names of no less than fifty-six works, more than a third of which are by Saadia Gaon. But at least two are Karaite. No. 19 mentions a book by Anan, the founder of Karaism, and No. 45 is a responsum by Daniel al-Kumisi, a Karaite worthy of the tenth century. The Catalogue might have been issued by Quaritch. It distinguishes books as "unbound," "bound in leather," and "bound in fine vellum," and the whole lot are described as not for sale but to be placed on one side!

PRINTED BOOKS.

Most of the following are unknown to Bibliographers:—

A. The Bible in Tartar in Hebrew characters. 4to, in 4 vols. Printed in Goslov by Mordecai Trishkin, 1841. I. ספר תרגום תורה, pp. 96 + 80 + 140 + 46. Leviticus and Numbers are numbered together. This volume is defective. It wants the first seven pages, and ends in the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy. II. ספר תרגום נביאים, pp. 322. III. ספר תרגום נביאים, ס' תרגום, pp. 358. The first page missing. IV. ספר תרגום כתובים, pp. 216 + 52, with the five scrolls. At the end of Nehemiah is a colophon, showing that the book was finished by Jacob b. Mordecai Trishkin on Wednesday the 23rd Adar II, 1842, showing that Mordecai Trishkin had died in the interval. מרדכי . . . לכבוד הכתוב (1) וכתבתי . . . בן מנחם. Unknown to Steinschneider.

B. סדורי התפלות לכל השנה כפי מנהג קהלות הקראים הדרים בגלילות קרים וקוסטנטינה ופולין וליטא . . . קלעא . . . קרוב לראיין of the Karaites of the Crimea, Constantinople, Poland, and Lithuania. In three volumes: (1) Week-day, New Moon, Sabbath, Haftarothe, &c. Also ס' מנחת יהודה, poems on the weekly sections of the Pentateuch, by Judah Gibbor the Karaite. (2) Festivals. (3) Kippur and Selichoth. 4to, Kale, 1805. Not in Steinschneider.

C. The first volume of the same edition.

D. סדר התפלות כמנהג הקראים. 4to, Goslov (Eupatoria), 1836. Vide Steinschneider, 400, who gives the title סדר התפלה. A defective copy in three volumes: (a) Daily Prayers; (b) New Year and Selichot; (c) ס' מנחת יהודה by Judah Gibbor's.

E. Another volume of the same edition containing the same as (b), and also the prayers for the festival of Tabernacles. Bound up there-

¹ XXXIX, p. 199, and XL, p. 58.

with are: (1) Ten MS. poems for the Rejoicing of the Law, beginning **כל יצורך יאדירך**; (2) **שכחי תודה**. Prayer for the Czar, in Hebrew and Tartar. Another for **כחש**. Another for Duke Knaz Kotzebue. Another for Count Woronzow. Another for Count Pahlen. Another for the Imperial Family, when they visited the Synagogue in Sivan, 1833.

F. **אשכל הכפר**, by Jehuda Hedessi. Fol., Eupatoria, 1836. The Karaite corpus theologiae. Vide Steinschneider, 1327 (pages 41, 97, and 98 torn out by the Russian censor).

G. **המצאה חדשה מדבר שין**. *Fragment*, Constantinople, 1801. ברפוס. המחוקק עראב אוגלו בונט ובניו.

H. **כליל יופי**, by R. Aaron, the first incomplete. Eupatoria, 1847.

I. **כללי הדקדוק בלשון קדר על דרך שאלות ותשובות**. Grammar (acrostic, **אברהם יר**), sixty-four pages, Constantinople.

K. **לוח חשרשים ללשון כסדים מהנמצא בספר הקדש**. Dictionary incomplete.

L. **שפה ברורה**, by S. Hebräische Grammatik mit 4 Sprachen. Latin, Italian, French, and German (with Russian added in MS.). All five languages are in Hebrew characters. Amsterdam, 1786.

M. **פתח התבה ע"י המעתיק והמניה חוץ משרשים מלשון קדר ללשון טורק**. הנצב על מלה"ק לשרת ולכהן ה"ה האדם הנדול כענקים מוהר"ר יצחק בכר שמואל הכהן ירו הזקן ונ"פ נר"ו הרים תרומה לה' עשרה ספרים לזכר בנו הידיר והנעים בר' שמואל התלמיד רך בימים טובים להשכיל ז"ל האחד לק"ק קוסטנדינה וא' לק"ק גולאו וא' לק"ק קלעא וא' לק"ק כפא וא' לק"ק אודיסא וא' לק"ק אור וא' לק"ק לתקא וא' לק"ק העליץ וא' לק"ק טרוק וא' לק"ק פוניווי בני מקרא יציו תקובל לרצון. Only ten copies printed, one for each of the Karaite communities at Constantinople, Eupatoria, Kalé, Kaffa, Odessa, Or, Lutzk, Hielitz, Trok (in Lithuania), and Poniewesh (in Poland).

N. **שרש דבר מפתח שרשי לשון העברי**. A Hebrew-Tartar Bible Concordance and Dictionary. The Tartar in Hebrew characters. 4to, 342 pages. Printed at Eupatoria about 1836 (not in Steinschneider). Another copy (incomplete).

O. **מולדות משנת התקסו עד שנת הת"ר**. Calendar and astronomical tables for thirty-four years. 4to, Kalé, 1796. **שנת תינקו**, unknown to Steinschneider.

P. Another copy of the same, bound up with MS. No. 251.

E. N. ADLER.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF BEN SIRA.

THE first find consisted merely of the fragment which forms now the lower portion of the page. It numbered all told three lines on each side. These lines correspond with chap. xx. 6, 7, 13 of the Greek. The rest was missing. The gap, numbering apparently six verses, opened up a vista of conjectures on the mode of writing, on the size of the leaf and other palaeographical topics. I indulged in them largely, giving free scope to fancy, until I discovered the missing portion, and much of my former work had to be recast. Meanwhile also, papers appearing in the last number of the *J. Q. R.* and of the *Revue des Études Juives* taught that other fragments belonging to the same book had been found elsewhere, viz. in Cambridge and Paris. In writing this I am not indulging in a description of futile attempts of reconstruction, but place on record the fact that any new discovery might and often does entirely upset results based upon conjecture. It applies to the whole text of Ben Sira with equal force, and the final word can then only be spoken, when the remaining portions will have come to light. The *variae lectiones* in the two recensions or groups of MSS. have in a similar manner thrown a new light on the marginal glosses, have set at rest doubts and hypotheses, and have still more complicated the question of authenticity. The present fragment will also not diminish these difficulties.

Before entering upon the minute study of the text itself, it is necessary to consider it from the purely palaeographical point of view, to describe the characteristic features, and to draw some conclusions as to the

probable date of this MS. Hitherto no attempt has been made to describe the other fragments from the palaeographical side, and Mr. Adler has attempted to determine the date of his MS. only from the paper on which it is written. Assuredly an insufficient guide for the fixing of the age of a MS. without any other corroborative evidence.

The size of this MS. is smaller than that of any other. It is well known that the smaller the leaves are the older they are, and precede in point of time the larger paper leaves. The length of a leaf seems to grow with its more recent date, especially in the case of leaves used in the making up of a book, destined to be folded in layers of four or more leaves. Fragments of a very old Haggadah for Pesah, with rudimentary illuminations, are of a similar small size and written on almost the same kind of thick yellow paper. The writing is in accordance with this supposed old age. Large and not clearly determined form of letters is a characteristic of such early writings. Noteworthy among the archaic form of Hebrew letters is the short form of the final "Nun," the peculiar "Shin," the long "Vav" at the end of the word; the long stroke at the left foot of the "Tau" and "'Ain" are similar proofs of early date. Another is afforded by the evident care with which the copyist has written the text exactly in twelve lines to the page and on an average four words to the line. They are uncials or square as in B and not cramped as in Codd. A and C (i. e. the fragment published by Mr. Israel Lévi in the *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XL, 1900, p. 1 ff.), both written in a cursive hand. A is considered by Mr. Adler (*J. Q. R.*, p. 467) not later than 832. The new MS. follows on the whole the text as represented by Cod. B inasmuch as an attempt is made as far as possible to write no more than a hemistich to the line; so that two lines would correspond with one verse, written in Cod. B in one line across the whole page, with a blank space in the middle. The oldest Codices of the Bible are written in narrow columns, and later copies retain this division, especially in Psalms,

Proverbs, and Job, as long as possible. The running of one verse into the other is a sign of later age.

In all the known Codices of Ben Sira the end of the verses are marked by two dots (:). This new text differs; the end of the verse is marked by a single dot (.) and a blank space of two or three letters. The time when double dots were introduced has not yet been exactly determined. In my study of the Samaritan Biblical Scroll I have pointed out, that the oldest of these Scrolls contains already the double dot. But that would not make it earlier than the twelfth or the eleventh century. In the eighth century, however, it was declared illegal to introduce them into the Sacred Scroll of the Pentateuch. In order to be forbidden the practice must have existed and crept in. It may have been used first in profane literature. This would place the MS. with the verse-mark of one single dot not later than the eighth century. Old is also the practice of placing the dot high up, on a line with the upper portion of the letter, and not in the middle or at the bottom, as is done in modern times. In spite of it, however, this text cannot by any means be so old as the eighth century. The only guide in Hebrew palaeography, still in its infancy, is the comparison with dated MSS. of the Bible. The oldest, assigned to the middle of the ninth century, has no marks at the end of the verse. It appears in the Codex Petropolitanus of 916; but the small free space which separates in our MS. one verse from the other has entirely disappeared. On the other hand we miss there one very important characteristic, viz. the lengthened letters. It is well known that Hebrew words are not divided when they happen to be at the end of a line. In old Codices the device resorted to by the scribe was to fill the blank space with parts of letters or with the first two letters of the word fully written in the following line. Not before the eleventh century can any trace of the system be found, according to which some of the letters were lengthened, so as to fill up the line. Both MSS. A and C have a good

number of such lengthened letters, as the writing goes to the very edge of the line. The copyist of B, with ample space at his disposal, had no need to resort to the use of these letters. The new text has also lengthened letters, introduced by the copyist for the same reason, i. e. to fill up his line, although he was not sparing in blank space at the end of the verse. Finding in one instance that he had not sufficient room left for another word on the same line (fol. a, third line from the bottom) he lengthened the final "Mem" in the word חכם. We do not meet with such letters in any Biblical MS. earlier than the eleventh century, and even if we should admit that such letters were first used in profane literature, before they were introduced into sacred texts (not the Scroll!) none of these MSS. of Ben Sira could be earlier than the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh; the oldest of them being this one, as it is more archaic than the others, and is the only one, except B, written in uncials or square type.

Turning now to the contents, it is at once apparent that we have in this leaf a further portion of the book of which two leaves have been found in Cambridge, and one in Paris, belonging to what I would call the "Abstract" or "Compendium of Ben Sira," apparently an epitome of the larger work. The place of this fragment has evidently been after the first leaf published by Mr. Schechter, as the author of this compilation follows generally the order of the chapters in Ben Sira, though this very fragment seems to offer an exception, indicating that he did not scruple to go farther afield to borrow some verses from a different chapter. As far as can be guessed he attempts to group together sentences and maxims on one and the same subject, avoiding repetition and reiteration, and he arranges them in the sequence in which they are found in the fuller text. Our text contains, according to the misleading numeration of the Greek version, the following verses: ch. xvii. 31-33; xix. 1-2; xx. 5-7; xxxvii. 19, 22, 24, 26; xx. 13, altogether thirteen verses, of which four are known

already, and in two recensions, whilst the rest appears for the first time, belonging to the chapters still missing.

It is a fortunate coincidence that the verses of chap. xxxvii are found here also. This is the third copy of one and the same passage found in the fragment of the British Museum and in that of Mr. Lévi. In these, however, the text is fuller, for the verses counted in the Greek as 20, 23, and 25 are found in C (Codex Lévi), and verses 20 and 25 BM (British Museum), 23 being added as a marginal gloss. Verse 21 is missing in all the three copies. They are, however, not found in the Hebrew in the same order as in the Greek. The order in the former is: C 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 24, 26, 27; and BM 19, 20, 22, 25, 24, 26. This confusion in the order of the verses is the more interesting, as the parallel passage in the Syriac shows a similar want of order. Verse 21 is missing in the Syriac and so is 25. The corruption of this passage in the Syriac is, however, more apparent than real. The counting of the Syriac verses is not to be relied upon. (Mr. Lévi took them to be identical with the Greek text, and he has therefore compared verses which have nothing whatsoever to do one with the other.) In the London Polyglott the numbering does not agree with Lagarde's. For our purpose we must needs ignore this artificial counting and divide the text as it stands before us in the best way possible. We must then no longer compare 19 or 22 with what is counted as such in Lagarde; but 19 with 22 (corrected as will be shown later on), G 22 with Syr. 23; G 24 with Syr. 24 and G 26 with Syr. 26. It must not be forgotten that ver. 25 does not exist in Syriac, as well as in this Hebrew fragment. The parallelism between the "Abstract" and the Syriac is now as perfect as can be wished. The confusion noticed in B and C is due to the same causes which have disarranged the order of the Syriac, viz. to the desire of completing the text by the assistance of other versions or MSS. from which other verses have been interpolated.

I have dealt with this point at some length, as it is an important one, and may help to determine the relation in which the "Abstract" stands to the fuller recension. The close agreement in the order and also in the form with the Syriac, such as we have it, precludes the possibility that the "Abstract" has been made from the fuller Hebrew recension, as represented by MSS. A, B, and C. It would be a miracle to find the author of the "Abstract" to have omitted exactly those verses that are missing in S, and miracles are excluded from purely literary work. It may be further asked whether these verses are in their proper place in the Greek and Syr. (xxxvii. 19 ff.). It is known to every one who has followed up the internal history of the text that transpositions have taken place. These verses are felt to be incongruous in ch. xxxvii. They stand in no connexion either with what precedes or with what follows; whilst in the Hebrew the connexion seems perfect. We must bear in mind that the compiler follows the original in a strictly chronological order, except in this one case. In the Paris MS. we have abstracts from ch. vi. 18—vii. 25, in the first leaf of Cambridge iv. 23—v. 13. In this fragment xvii. 31—xx. 13, and in the second leaf in Cambridge xxv. 8—xxvi. 19. (I do not mention the verses omitted, but only the starting and the last verse.) In the original from which the "Abstract" has been made these verses may and have assuredly formed part of ch. xx, filling up the gap here between verses 7 and 13. Ryssel also points out that in ch. xx, ver. 13 joins practically ver. 8.

The old Hebrew original, as far as the wording itself is concerned, cannot have been different from the full recension as recovered. The agreement is so close that no other text could have served as basis for the compiler. The portions found in this MS. which are identical with corresponding portions of the full recension have established this fact beyond doubt. The relation in which this text stands to the other versions will be discussed in the Notes.

It will be found that in some instances the text agrees with the Syriac, in other more rare occasions it agrees with the Greek. In this small fragment, in fact, verses 6 and 13 of ch. xx are missing in the Syriac. But with the actual state of these versions before us, it is more than rash to draw final conclusions either from the presence or from the absence of words and verses in one version or in the other; more decisive is the coincidence in the forms in which words and sentences have been preserved. Not one of these versions has come down to us in its primitive form, nor even in any reliable form. The changes and manipulations to which each one of them has been subjected have been manifold and varied; each has been corrected and interpolated from the other; Greek has been changed over and over again in the course of time; the hand of an Alexandrian author, well acquainted with the LXX, a Christian, and later editors, have modified the translation of Ben Sira; and the activity of the "Hexapla" revisers of the Greek text of the Bible did not stay their hands at Ecclesiasticus. The original from which the Syriac translation has been made was either corrupt or imperfect, and the Syriac text itself has not fared much better. It has seen many changes; alterations by Jewish and Christian hands, noticeable in the Greek, have not left the latter uninfluenced.

I do not wish to enter now into the discussion as to the authenticity of the Hebrew text. I must reserve that for a special study, begun with the first publication of Messrs. Neubauer and Cowley's text, and which is being amplified and completed in consequence of subsequent discoveries. I have no doubt that the Hebrew text now recovered is not the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus.

I am now publishing the text, with an interlinear Syriac version in square brackets, so as to facilitate the comparison between the two texts. Missing words and parts have been completed mostly with the assistance of *B* and *C*.

שונא · אל תשמח אל שמן

תעטף אשר פי שנים ריש

אל תחי זולל רסובא ומאומ

אין בכים · כועל זאר

עשיר וכחח מעטום

נדער · יין ונשים

יזו לב ונפשו עת

עחית בעליות · תש

ו ונתגש

מאס ברים

ש מחריש מאין בעט

ש מחריש כי ראה עת

31. xviii. שונא · 32 אל תשמח אל שמך
 [דסנאה: 32 לא תחדא בסונאא]
 תענוג אשר פי שנים רישו ·
 [דתפניקא . דלא חר תרין תהא מסכן .]
 33 אל תהי זולל וסוכא וסאומ(ה)
 (מסכ זו) (ופקק)
 [לא תהא רוי חליל כד מדם]
 אין בבים · i. xix פועל זאת
 [בביסך לית: פעלא רוא]
 (לא י) עשיר ובזה מעומים
 [לא נעתר]
 (ית) ערער: 2 יין ונשים
 [נארט מסכניא: חמרא ואנתא]
 (יפ) חזו לב ונפש עזה
 [מפחזין לבא . נפשא חציפא]
 (ת) שחית בעליה · 5. xx יש
 [תוכר מרה . אית]
 (מחר) ש ונחשב . . .
 [דכר שתיק מתחשב חכימא]
 יש נמאס בריב . . .
 [ואית דמסתנא בסונאא דשועיתה]
 6 יש מחריש מאין מענה
 [.]
 יש מחריש כי ראה עת
 [.]

הל

7. xx. חכם מחריש עד עת

[ונברא חכימא נמר עדנא]

וכסיל לא ישמור עת. 19. xxxvii. יש

ועלא

[ונברא מרחא לא נמר עדנא: אית]

חכם לרבים נחכם ולנפשו

[חכימא דבבל עון חכים]

הוא נואל. 22 יש חכם

[ומן כל איקר כלא נפשה: ואית חכימא]

לנפשו יחכם פרי דע(תו)

[דלנפשה חכים ופארא דעברוהי]

על גיתו. 24 חכם לנפש(ו)

[מן חזוא דאפחתי: ודחכים לנפשה]

ישבע תענוג וכל ר(ואידו)

[נסבע תפניקא]

יאשרוהו. 26 חכם (עם?)

[ונשכחונה כלדון חזיוהי: חכימא דעמא]

(ינחל) כבוד ושמו (עומד)

[נארת איקרא ושמה קים]

(בחי) עולם. 13. xx. חכם

[לחיא דלעלם:]

במעט דבר נפשו ומוכת קט

[.]

כבוד כסלים ישפוך חכמה

[.]

חכם יחריש עד ערש
וכסיל לא ישמור עת
חכם לדבס נחם ולנפשו
הוא גואל. יש חכם
לנפשו יחכם פרי דג
עד גיתו חכם לנפ
ישבע תעטג ומל
ואשורחו חכם
יחיד ושם

עולם חכם
במעט דבר נפשו וזוט
כסילים ישקוך חכמה

TENTATIVE TRANSLATION.

xviii. 31. The enemy. 32. Take not pleasure in much cheer, the poverty (caused) thereby is double. 33. Be not a glutton and a drunkard, (when) there is nothing in the purse. xix. 1. One who acts thus shall not be rich, and he that contemneth small things will become destitute. 2. Wine and women defile the heart (mind), and a bold (impudent) soul destroys its master. xx. 5. There is one that keepeth silence, and is considered wise; there is one who is contemned by much (babbling). 6. There is one that keepeth silence, because there is no (or, he hath not an) answer; and some keepeth silence for he seeth the time. 7. A wise man keepeth silence until the time, and the fool will not regard (watch) time. xxxvii. 19. There is one that is wise to many but to himself he is defiled (useless). 22. There is one that is wise to himself, the fruit of his understanding is upon his body (countenance). 24. A wise man to himself shall be satisfied with pleasure (delight), and all that see him shall count him happy. 26. A wise man of the people shall inherit honour and his name standeth for ever. xx. 13. A wise man with a little uttereth his desire, and the goodness of the fool poureth away wisdom.

NOTES.

In these notes special attention is paid to the relation in which the Hebrew text stands to the Syriac, with which it is in close agreement, and by means of which the meaning of the Hebrew is made more clear than by the assistance of the Greek. The Syriac is published here in the form of an interlinear arrangement in order to bring out in many cases the absolute agreement. The Syriac text is disfigured by many glosses and interpolations; a double translation has sometimes been introduced from the margin into the text, and in a few instances the order of the verses and of the hemistichs has been displaced. I have merely rearranged here and

there a word or changed the order in which the verse is standing in the Syriac. It will then be seen how close the relation is, in which the two texts stand to one another.

xviii. 31. מְאֵל Hebrew and Syriac: singular. Greek: plural.

ver. 32. I have translated מְאֵל in accordance with all the versions, "much." The Hebrew word occurs only twice in Job (iv. 12 and xxvi. 14), in both cases translated by the Targum: קָצֵל "little." The talmudic use of the word agrees on the whole with the idea of "little." The author of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira following his usual custom, selecting scarce words of the Bible and hapax legomena, has hit upon this word, and has given it a different meaning. He surely could not inveigh against a "little" rejoicing and pleasure; it is the surfeit of enjoyment which he reproves, which alone would bring poverty in its train. (32 b) The Syriac מְאֵל means "tandem aliquando," inadequately represented by the Hebrew מְאֵל which can only mean "double," and occurs only twice in the Bible: 2 Kings ii. 9 and Zech. xiii. 8. G. is totally different from the Hebrew and Syriac; it reads: "neither be tied to the expense thereof." Ryssel tries to correct the Greek text, and he translates: "so that thy requirements be not in the long run double as great." If we detach the first words of the following verse in the Greek and attach them to the preceding, we find there also the allusion to "not getting poor," which in the Greek as it stands is taken to be part of ver. 33. But it makes there no sense whatsoever. For what can mean: "Be not made a beggar by banqueting upon borrowing, when thou hast nothing in thy purse." If a man "has nothing in the purse" he evidently is already a "beggar," and cannot become after banqueting on borrowed money! The fact is that we must read the Greek (as the Syriac), "lest through double expenses thou necessarily wilt become a beggar." The Hebrew word מְאֵל occurs only twice in the Bible—Prov. xiii. 18 and xxviii. 19; translated in each case in the Targum by מְאֵל.

ver. 33. In the Syriac I have eliminated the word מְאֵל as it is either due to a dittography, a senseless repetition of the concluding word of the last verse, or a correction made from the Greek. The former seems to be the more correct view. The parallelism between the Syriac and the Hebrew is now perfect. The Hebrew expression מְאֵל occurs twice in the Bible in this connexion—Deut. xxi. 20 and Prov. xxiii. 21; cf. also ver. 20. The reference to the passage in Proverbs assists us in explaining the difference between the Syriac and the Hebrew of our Text in the following verse (xix. 1). Instead of מְאֵל the pronoun, the Syriac has in the first hemistich the noun from the preceding verse מְאֵל and adds the second noun, represented

by the synonymous expression, **רָחֹם בְּשָׂרָא**, following the example in Prov. xxiii. 20, where the Hebrew has **וּלְלִי בְּשָׂרָא**, and the Peshitto adds the word **בְּשָׂרָא** also in ver. 21.

The Greek of xix. 1 a reads like a wrong translation from the Syriac: "A labouring man that is given to drunkenness." H. 1 b agrees better with G. "and he that contemneth small things." I have completed the last word to read **יִתְעַרֵּר**. The noun occurs in Ps. cii. 18, where the Peshitto translates **עֲלֹתָא דְּמַסְכִּינָא**. The verb occurs Jer. li. 58 **עָרַץ יִתְעַרֵּץ**, but it is translated by all: "uprooted, destroyed, utterly broken." In his usual way the author of this Hebrew Ben Sira selects the hapax legomena and scarce words. It can have here no other meaning than in Psalm cii: "utterly impoverished." The Syriac has **נָאִרָא מַסְכִּינָא** "to inherit poverty." G. has: "shall fall little by little."

ver. 2 a. H. agrees absolutely with S., nay the very same words are used in both, as I felt justified in completing the verb **יִפְחוּזוּ**, corresponding in meaning and form to the Syriac **מִפְחוּזִין**. This verb is used more than once by the Hebrew B-S., v. the Glossary to Neubauer-Cowley's edition, s. v. **פָּחוּז**, where reference is made to this verse, with the hope that it may have been used. This expectation has now been fulfilled by the discovery of the Hebrew of this verse. G. totally different. **לֵב** is taken as "men of understanding," and the verb rendered by me "defile" or "make wanton" is rendered by G. "to fall away"; Ryssel adds "from God." He has also misunderstood the Syriac of ver. 1 b, and still more the following part of this verse. I omit here the second half of Syriac, i. e. 2 b, as it is not found in the Hebrew, and what is numbered as Syriac 3 is taken by me to be the true 2 b. A glance at the Greek and at the Commentaries of Edersheim and Ryssel will convince every one that this passage is corrupted more than in the Syriac, though this has also suffered by the intercalation of 2 b, a mere repetition of 2 a. Ryssel considers ver. 3 S. as a late interpolation. In the light of the Hebrew text we must reverse this opinion and reject 2 b as a late interpolation. Ver. 3 S. corresponds exactly to H. 2 b, word for word. The Hebrew **עוֹזָה** has been rendered by me "bold, impudent" as in Prov. **עוֹזָה** impudence, roughness, not "strong." In G. 3 b seems to offer an analogy to this part of the verse. If we omit in G. 2 b and 3 a, and join 3 b to 2 a we shall have corrected the text in a much more satisfactory manner than has been done by Ryssel and others.

xx. 5. Agrees with both versions, S. and G. Ryssel's suggestion that in the Hebrew stood **נִסְעָא**, for which G. "found." The Hebrew here, however, is **נִחְשָׁב** "considered," exactly as the Syriac. **בְּרִיב 5** must evidently be read **בְּרִיב**. I have translated accordingly.

ver. 6. Missing in S., agrees in the main with G. עַתָּה here and in the following verses is used in the same sense as in Eccles. iii. 1 ff., "propitious, proper time." In S. and G. 7 a the word is rendered "opportunity."

ver. 7 a. H. agrees more with G. than with S. which has נָסִיחַ in both halves of the verse. Both versions have "נִרְאֶה" or "man" in connexion with "wise," but in all the following verses it is omitted regularly. So throughout in the Hebrew, which has only חָכָם. 7 b. S. and G. have an addition (due to a marginal gloss) "wicked" S., and "babblers" G., beside the "fool" which alone is found in H. Rysael observes that the true antithesis between ver. 8 (or 7) is ver. 13. The intermediary would thus appear to be in a wrong place altogether. Instead then of verses 9-12 found in G. and S. we have in our text the verses which are now in G. and S. in chapter xxxii. I have already pointed out above the relation in which the Hebrew stands to the other versions. I mention that these new verses have been edited twice, once by Mr. Margoliouth in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, and a second time by Mr. J. Lévi. Our present text agrees in the main more closely with B (the text of Mr. Margoliouth) than with C (Lévi). But as the comparison has not been made with the exactly corresponding verses in S, I must, however briefly, go over the same ground once more.

xxxvii. 19. H. has the peculiar Aramaic form נִחְכֵם, whilst in ver. 22 it is the Hebrew form חָכָם. The parallelism between H. and S. becomes evident the moment we recognize in S. a displacement of the second hemistichs in each of the two verses, now S. 20 and 22. Written in parallel columns one over the other, they have changed places; 22 b ought now to be what it probably was at the beginning viz. 20 b, and the latter ought to take its proper place after 22 a. לְרִבִּים is represented in S. by "at all times," "at many times," and not "for many men." H. agrees with S. "חָכִים = נִחְכֵם being "wise"; G. has instead "teacheth."

Our text has נֹאֵל like B, against C נֹאֵל. The first appears to be the more correct form. It is to be taken as identical with the same word meaning "pollution, defilement, unworthiness," just as Nehem. xiii. 29 and other passages in the Bible. It thus corresponds much better with the Greek "useless," "unprofitable," for נֹאֵל would have been rendered "foolishly." S. has "omnique honore privet seipsum." The Arabic translation, which rests upon the Syriac, "summe deiciat honorem" (Walton's *Polyglott*). Surely no more perfect equivalent could be found for the Hebrew or vice versa in H., for it means in all instances "he becomes unworthy."

ver. 22. B and C have יָשָׁה like S. לְנַפְשׁוֹ in all these verses must be

taken as "himself," the personif. of the wise. נִירו in the same verse corresponds to S. "vultus aspectu," "the outward appearance," the "countenance"; "ab eiusdem vultu" Arab. (Walton) in contradistinction to נִשָּׁא. C has here also נִחֲכֵם, not so B. "The fruit of his understanding," H., agrees better with G. than with S. I have completed the word in accordance with the other MSS. into דַּעַתוּ.

ver. 24. This verse is a logical sequence to ver. 22. Those who are able to recognize the wise from his aspect, are praising him. H. agrees with S. and not with G., which is totally different from H. 24 a, whilst H. corresponds to S. word for word. The order of words of 24 b is reversed in C, agreeing even in that detail with S. In our text the order is somewhat different. In B this part is missing through imperfection of the MS. The verb יִשְׁרֹחוּ is in plur. as conjectured by Mr. Lévi. Ryssel misunderstands here also the passage, and Lévi, not comparing the corresponding verses of S., comes to most curious conclusions.

ver. 26. H. like S. combines "the wise man" with "the people," and agrees also in the remaining portion closely. G. different. "Honour" adopted by Ryssel is found here also, and in S. Cod. 248 reads *ḥonai*, exactly as our text has עוֹנָה, and so S. I have added the word בָּח in conformity with the other text (C), but the true reading ought to be לָחִי. S. has also a similar form לָחִי.

xx. 13. No S. for this verse. This verse as it stands does not agree with any version. I have tried to translate דָּבָר not as a noun, but as a verb: identical with the sentence in Micah vii. 3: וְהַגִּדְלָה לְדָבָר הַזֶּה: "and the great man uttereth his mischievous desire," or "the desire of his soul." It would then mean here: "The wise man is able to utter his desire in a few words, whilst the goodness of the fool poureth away wisdom like water."

Thus far this new fragment. I draw no conclusions. The close agreement between this text and S. needs no further pointing out. Nor is it necessary to urge again the fact that text and writing exhibit a very archaic character. The relation between this text and the fuller Ben Sira still requires careful study. The problem as it presents itself to me is to determine in the first instance the claim of priority of one over the other, that is, to ascertain whether the smaller depends upon the larger book, or whether the larger is a later amplification of an older, smaller text. After this question has been satisfactorily

disposed of, it will then be time to open the question of the authenticity of this Hebrew text. It will be the duty of those who defend the authenticity to explain the surprisingly close and almost literal agreement with the Syriac, which goes so far as to obliterate the Hebrew character of this book, notably in its Syntax.

Among the fragments from the Genizah I have found a small portion of a leaf, in a very bad state of preservation. The writing, which is almost faint, is of a mixed character, uncial letters alternating with cursive. Fol. a has six lines visible, of which five are tolerably legible, though torn in the middle, and much mutilated at the left side. The reverse is in a worse condition, and only stray words can still be seen. As the text seems to stand in some relation to Sira, one or two maxims finding parallels in the latter, I am publishing them also, to preserve them from utter destruction. They are rhymed maxims, and resemble somewhat the collection published by Prof. Schechter, *J. Q. R.*, pp. 459-460.

שמע בני והתבונן והתחזק במוסר : [אח]ך שמע . . . [אש] . . .
 ושים כבוד לב[ראי]ך . ואל תקין במוסר : דותר וגם נאסר
 ותן תודה וגם [י]ר[אח] אש[ר] בהם תיוסר : ב
 ולא חשב מקום רבים [וחבר] . . . כל שר : לא
 בני כי טוב יא[מר] לך עלה ה . . . לא תוסר

שמעה	[ה]אלים [נ]אנשים
	ולא עין דמעות
תמים	לבשה
	יק . .
ולא רוא[ה] ולא [ת]שכן	

M. GASTER.

THE SEFER HA-GALUY.

I. DIE EINTHEILUNG DES "SEFER HA-GALUY."

PROF. MARGOLIOUTH'S merkwürdiges Attentat auf die Echtheit des durch Harkavy herausgegebenen grossen Fragmentes des *Sefer Hagdlai* ist durch Dr. Harkavy auf gehörige Weise in seiner vollen Grundlosigkeit beleuchtet worden, und es bedarf keines weiteren Eingehens auf diese Episode des Kampfes um den hebräischen Sirach. Nichtsdestoweniger halte ich es für nothwendig, einen Punkt in Margoliouth's Artikel zur Sprache zu bringen, um Saadja von einem in der Einleitung des *Hagdlai* angeblich gefundenen Mangel an logischem Denken zu entlasten. Margoliouth sagt (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 523) in Bezug auf die Eintheilung des Buches, wie sie in der erhaltenen Einleitung angegeben ist: "A more illogical method of dividing a work was surely never suggested." Diese Beschuldigung ruht auf der Meinung, dass die drei "general sections" wirkliche Theile des Buches sind, von denen Margoliouth sagt: "three others are spread over those seven sections." Und weiter oben (p. 513) sagt er: "The author divides his work into ten sections, of which nos. 1-7 are special, whereas 8, 9, and 10 are spread over the whole work." Es ist allerdings schwer, sich Theile eines Werkes vorzustellen, die über die übrigen Theile desselben verstreut sind. Aber Saadja spricht überhaupt nicht von zehn Theilen seines Buches. Die Stelle, an welcher er den Plan seines Werkes angiebt, lautet: ואנאן הו"א אלכתאב עשרה כל ואחר מנהא חתפץ בה אלאמה נפעה בינא פמנהא ו' תכין מועץ מועץ מנה ואלג' אלאכר שאעיה פי נמעה (p. 153, Z. 5-7). D. h. "Die Gegenstände¹ dieses Buches sind an Zahl zehn; durch jeden derselben wird die Nation (das jüdische Volk) eines offenbaren Nutzens theilhaftig werden. Sieben von ihnen nehmen einen besondern Platz im Buche ein; die drei anderen sind über das

¹ אנאן, Plur. von נאן (غرض), bed. zunächst Absicht, dann den Gegenstand, den man zu behandeln beabsichtigt. Hebräisch כונה oder כוון. Am Schlusse der Einleitung des *Amanat* spricht Saadja von dem Gegenstande seines Werkes: נאן אלכראב, was Ibn Tibbon mit כוון übersetzt.

ganze Buch ausgebreitet." Deutlich genug ist hier gesagt, dass das Buch eigentlich nur aus sieben Theilen besteht, deren jeder einem besondern Gegenstande gewidmet ist. Aber zu diesen sieben Gegenständen kommen noch drei andere Gegenstände hinzu, die ebenfalls zum Zwecke des Buches gehören, die aber nicht in besonderen Theilen, sondern im Buche als Ganzem hervortreten. Nun folgt eine genaue Darlegung des Inhaltes der sieben Theile oder Abschnitte des Buches, welche als **באב** (= hebr. שער), Pforte, Capitel, bezeichnet werden. Am Schlusse dieser Darlegung sagt Saadja (p. 155, Z. 19): **פהרה שריון עין אלה' אנובא אלכאצא**, "das ist die Darlegung des wesentlichen Inhaltes der sieben besondern Capitel." Und er fährt dann fort: **ואמא אלג' אנובא אלעאמא פהי שאמלה לזמיע אלכתאב**, "was die drei allgemeinen Capitel betrifft, so umfassen sie das ganze Buch." Natürlich ist in diesem Satze das Wort "Capitel" nur in übertragenem Sinne gemeint. Was er unter den drei das ganze Buch umfassenden, also überall im Buche zur Geltung gelangenden Gegenständen versteht, sagt Saadja sofort. Er will in dem Buche: (1) **תעלים אלכאמא פציה אלכלאם אלעבראני**, die Nation die Richtigkeit (Correctheit) der hebräischen Rede lehren; (2) **תעלים אלכאמא תאליף אלכלאם**, die Nation die Zusammensetzung (Composition) der Rede lehren; (3) **תעלימא אלצמאח**, sie die Verknüpfungen lehren, d.h. die Verknüpfung der einzelnen Theile des stylistischen Productes zu einem harmonischen Ganzen. Der erste Punkt betrifft die Richtigkeit der einzelnen Wörter, also die grammatische und lexikalische Correctheit; der zweite Punkt betrifft die Zusammensetzung der Worte zu Sätzen, also die syntaktische Correctheit; der dritte Punkt betrifft die Composition des ganzen Redewerkes, also die stylistische Correctheit. Saadja will also ausser dem Inhalte seines Werkes, den er in sieben Capiteln darstellt, auch mit dem Werke als Ganzem ein Muster des richtigen sprachlichen Ausdruckes und des Styles bieten. Das sagt er dann noch ausdrücklich (p. 157, Z. 13): **פאדא קראת אלכאמא הוה אלכתאב ותעלמא שבאבהא אנהפעת בהיה אלג' אלמנאפע תפצחת פי אללנה ותאמאח וצמאחהא**, "wenn die Nation dieses Buch liest, wenn ihre Jünglinge es studiren, dann wird sie dieses dreifachen Nutzens theilhaftig werden; sie wird Correctheit erlangen in der Sprache, in ihrer Ordnung (Wortfügung) und in ihren Verknüpfungen (der stylistischen Composition)." Man sieht, Saadja hat klar und logisch

¹ Dieses Wort ist in der Handschrift unleserlich. Harkavy schlägt vor **הדרתא** (الانظمة, Plural von نظام) und übersetzt das mit **die Ordnung**. Aber um Reime handelt es sich nicht, sondern um die syntaktische Ordnung der Rede. In der Erläuterung (p. 157, Z. 4): **נחום למאנהם** — "die Ordnung ihrer Rede und ihrer Gedanken."

ausgesprochen, was er mit seinem Buche beabsichtigt¹. Nur seine Liebe zum Schematisiren mit runden Zahlen, die sich auch sonst in seinen Werken zeigt, brachte ihn dazu, die Zahl der Capitel seines Buches durch die Zahl der drei Nebenzwecke desselben zu Zehn abzurunden. Es ist nicht zu leugnen, dass dieses Verfahren recht gekünstelt ist; aber es gehört einmal zu den schriftstellerischen Eigenthümlichkeiten des Gaon. Wir haben die Pflicht, dieselbe zu begreifen, aber nicht das Recht, ihn darüber zur Rede zu stellen, weil sein Geschmack ein anderer war als der unsere. Ebenso müssen wir ihm glauben, dass er den Styl seines Buches wirklich als zum Vorbilde und Muster geeignet betrachtete, wenn wir denselben auch nicht als solchen anzuerkennen vermögen. Leider bieten die erhaltenen Anfangssätze des Sefer Hagálui kein genügendes Material, um eine klare Vorstellung von dem Style des ganzen Buches zu gewinnen.

Noch eine Einzelheit aus Prof. Margeliouth's sei hervorgehoben. So lehrreich seine Angaben über die "nabatäische" Sprache (p. 516 ff.) auch sein mögen, was er im Anschlusse daran in Bezug auf Saadja's Äusserung sagt, ist unrichtig. Wenn Saadja (p. 155, Z. 23) sagt, dass "das Arabische und Nabatäische die Herrschaft über die Nation gewonnen habe" (מִכֹּחַ נִלְכַּת עֲלֵיהָ אֲלֵעֲרִבָהּ וְאֶלְנַבְטָהּ), so versteht er unter "Nabatäisch" einfach Aramäisch, ohne an einen bestimmten aramäischen Dialekt zu denken. Denn auch in Jesaja xxxvi. 11 übersetzt Saadja אֲרָמִית mit נַבְטָתִיָּה, "nabatäisch." Nun war aber Nabatäisch eine Bezeichnung des Aramäischen überhaupt. Andere arabisch schreibende jüdische Autoren bezeichnen das Aramäische als סְרִיאִי, syrisch.

BUDAPEST, Mai 1900.

W. BACHER.

II. NOTE ON RAB MUBASHSHIR.

DR. HARKAVY might have spared himself the trouble of writing his long answer to my article, had he consulted page 68 of his own book. He there without any hesitation identifies the Rab Mubashshir of his documents with the Gaon Rab Mubashshir the Levite, mentioned by Ibn Ezra. Now there was only one Gaon named Mubashshir; and he is the Gaon of Pumbadita, called Rab Mubashshir *the Priest*, who died in 1237 or 1238 Sel. (Neubauer, *Chronicles*, I, 40, &c.). Ibn Ezra's

¹ Die Irrthümer Harkavy's in der hebr. Übersetzung und in der Erklärung der betreffenden Sätze habe ich in der *Revue des Études Juives*, Bd. XXIV, S. 314, berichtet. — S. auch meinen Aufsatz in der Juli-Nummer der *Expository Times*.

inaccuracy in calling him "Levite" instead of "Priest" is too slight to be considered; and what is clear is that the evidence on which the author of the criticism on Saadyah is called Levite is precisely the same as that whereon he is called Gaon. And in 1891 Harkavy saw no difficulty about identifying the author of the criticism with the Gaon mentioned by Ibn Ezra. And since Ibn Ezra quotes a word in which the Gaon criticized Saadyah, there is no question about the justice of the identification.

But in 1900 it is pointed out that the Gaon died four or five years before the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* can have been written; and if Dr. Harkavy had openly abandoned his former identification, there might be little reason for complaint; but he does so tacitly, and makes it appear as if I had been negligent in not noticing that the author of the document was called Levite!

Hence I have Harkavy's authority for identifying the author of the documents with the Gaon who died in 926. Since he cannot have criticized the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* four years after his death, I fear there is no hope for the *Sefer Ha-Galuy* in spite of Harkavy's defence. Dates are stubborn things.

Harkavy's assertion that the Rab Mubashshir of his documents speaks of Saadyah as deceased is inaccurate. It is the author of the compilation, not R. Mubashshir, who uses the phrase (page 71, 2). In the other place (p. 183) it is introduced by Harkavy himself.

What strikes me most is the felicity of Steinschneider in detecting this forgery so rapidly, and of Grätz in refusing to let it bring disorder into his history.

The description of the *Megillath Antiochus* as "a mediaeval compilation" is due not to Jellinek, but to Mr. Abrahams, who regarded that description as quite consistent with the work being mentioned in the *Halachoth Gedoloth*. How its being used by Nissim of Kairawan can affect Mr. Abrahams' view I cannot possibly conceive.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

III. REJOINDER TO PROF. MARGOLIOUTH.

AUCH dieser Strohalm wird Prof. Margoliouth's Thesis nicht retten. Bei mir (*Stud. u. Mitth.*, V, 68) sind blos die Worte Ibn-Ezra's citirt, jedoch ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, dass Mubashir nach Saadia's Tod geschrieben, folglich nicht mit Mub. Kohen, der schon 926 gestorben, identisch sein kann. Wie es scheint, verleihet Prof. M. dem Titel *Gaon* bei Ibn-Ezra sehr grosse Beweiskraft, ohne zu

bedenken, dass man diesen Titel keineswegs urgiren darf, da z. B. *Achai* (Verf. der *שאלות ותשובות*), *Chefer b. Tazliach* u. *Nissim aus Kairuan* gewöhnlich diesen Titel tragen, ferner nennt Raschi (Beza, f. 33a) den *Sabbatai Donnolo* לומברדיה אחד מנאוני (vgl. כרם חמד VIII. 101); Maimonides sagt in der Vorrede zu seinem Codex: וכל אלו הנאונים; שעמדו בארץ ישראל ובארץ שנער ובספרד ובצרפת; Maimonides selbst wird von Moses de Coucy (in der Vorrede zum סמ"ג) ebenfalls *Gaon* betitelt. Eine grosse Anzahl Beispiele dazu findet man bei Zunz (Ritus, pp. 192–3), die sich bedeutend vermehren lassen, so z. B. sagt der Historiker Abraham Ibn-Daud (Neub., *Mediaeval Chronicles*, I, 78): ושמענו שיש בארץ צרפת חכמים גדולים ונאונים; *ibid.* gibt er diesen Titel drei zeitgenössischen Talmudgelehrten aus Narbonne. Schon im J. 1859 erklärte Zunz (*ibid.*): "In den Schriften des zwölften Jahrh. heissen die älteren Lehrer oft Gaonen, &c. Gaon wird ziemlich gleichbedeutend mit רב חכם &c. Jeder ausgezeichnete Talmudist gehört zu den Gaonen," weshalb es ihn (*ibid.*) gar nicht befremdete. Ibn-Ezra's Citat auf Samuel Levi (ha-Nagid) zu beziehen.—Dagegen ist bis jetzt kein einziges Beispiel bekannt, dass man einem *Kohen* den Titel *Levi* geben sollte, ja oft werden (z. B. bei Ibn-Gajjath) Samuel In-Chofni u. Samuel Nagid nur dadurch unterschieden, dass ersterer *Sam. ha-Kohen* u. letzterer *Sam. ha-Levi* genannt werden.

A. HARKAVY.

THE JEWS IN JAMAICA AND DANIEL ISRAEL LOPEZ LAGUNA.

SOUTH of the island of Cuba, so much noted recently, lies the island of Janahina, or Jamaica. Discovered by Columbus on his second journey, it remained for one hundred and sixty years in possession of the Spanish, till it was conquered by the order of Oliver Cromwell, no previous declaration of war having been made. When the English occupied the island, so rich in gold and spices, they found already Spanish and Portuguese Jews settled there.

One of the first travellers on the island was Benjamin de Mesquita, a relation of Jacob and Abraham Bueno de Mesquita, wealthy and notable citizens of Amsterdam; and of David Bueno de Mesquita, who was the Resident of the Elector of Brandenburg, and general agent of the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. About 1661 Benjamin petitioned the king "for relief from the provisions of the Navigation Act," and, at the same time, "to be granted letters of denization¹." Although his request was granted, the permit was useless to him, and he could not enjoy his denizenship. Some Jews of Barbadoes, Isaac Israel de Pisa, Aaron Israel de Pisa, and their brother, Abraham Israel de Pisa, who lived in Jamaica, said that they had discovered gold mines, and had, in this way, put Sir William Davidson to considerable expense and loss. Their punishment was that they were expelled from Barbadoes. But the same punishment was also, quite undeservedly, inflicted upon Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita and his two sons; upon Abraham Cohen, who had sent out Aaron Israel de Pisa's mother with her other children to Barbadoes; upon Jacob Ulhoa, and upon Abraham Soarez². Abraham Israel de Pisa, who had indeed discovered some vanilla and pepper, but no gold, and was therefore called, in derision, "the gold-finder³," departed for England. He addressed a statement to the chief-lieutenant Thomas, the president of the Council of Jamaica, in which he made suggestions as to the way of discovering gold, but found hardly any credence. Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita and the other Jews, banished from

¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, V, 49.

² *Ibid.*, V, 69 sq. (*Colonial Papers*, vol. XVIII, no. 79), 91 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 69 (*Calendar of British State Papers*).

Jamaica, took up their abode in New York. There Benjamin died on the 4th of Cheshvan, 5444=October 24, 1683¹.

It was in the year 1660 that Jacob Josua Bueno Enriques, presumably a relation of Elias Bueno Enriques and Moses Bueno Enriques, who lived in Amsterdam about 1675, petitioned the king to be allowed to work a copper mine, bought from a Spaniard, to lay out plantations, and to have, for these purposes, a sufficient number of negroes placed at his disposal. In his petition, which was composed in Spanish, he named, as a reference, the "Hebrew Manoel da Fonseca, who lived at that time in London, as interpreter of the Spanish ambassador, in order to learn the English language²." Bueno Enriques, who lived in the Punta de Cagoe in Jamaica, and who was called by the English "the French Jew," on account of his frequent intercourse with the French, asked for himself, and for his brothers Joseph and Moses Bueno Enriques, firstly, to become naturalized, and, secondly, to be allowed "to live openly and undisturbed, according to the tenets of their religion and to have a synagogue."

¹ His Spanish (not Portuguese) epitaph is given incorrectly in *Publications*, I, 92. It reads:—

Debajo desta Lo[s]sa sepultado
Yace Binjamin Bueno de Mesq¹a
Falesio y deste mundo fue tomado
En quatro de Hesvan su alma Bendita
Aqui de los vivientes apartado
Espera por tu Dios que resuscita
Los muertos de su pueblo con piedades
Para bivar sin fin de Eternidades.

5444.

M. N. Taylor Phillips read *Ya se* instead of *Yace*, and translated accordingly *He who was*; he read *Para Bruir*—*Bruir* is no Spanish; it should read *Para bivar* for *vivir*, Old Spanish. The English translation would be thus:

Beneath this stone is buried
Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita,
Who died and whose blessed soul
Was taken from this world
On the fourth of Hesvan.
Here from the living separated
Wait for thy God who revives
The dead of His people in mercy,
To enjoy without end Eternity.

² ... un breve de nombre Manoel da Fonseca que sta oy en Londres en casa del Embagador d'Espagnia de Interprete por saber hablar la lengua Inglesa.

We see, therefore, that as early as 1660 several Jewish families lived at Jamaica. For further information about himself, he referred to General Dall and the royal consuls, who lived with him on the island in 1658 and 1659, and also to the Englishman Peter Pino, who carried on a banking business in Jamaica¹.

The number of Jewish residents increased from year to year; they were allowed to reside there on condition that they took the oath of allegiance before the governor. Thus in the year 1668, Salomo Gabay Faro and David Gomes Henriques, two years later Abraham de Soza Mendes, and in 1671 Abraham Espinosa and Jacob de Torres came from London. They all of them possessed the rights of English citizens. The English government, in order to increase the number of industrious settlers on the island, instructed the governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to absolve the new arrivals from taking the oath of allegiance, and to grant all inhabitants the freedom of their religious worship.

Although the obligation was, to a certain extent, put upon the Jews who settled in Jamaica "to settle and plant"; yet, they mostly occupied themselves with trade, and opened large shops. This aroused the jealousy of the English traders to such an extent, that, in 1671, they presented a petition to the council, urging that the Jews should confine themselves to wholesale commerce, and leave the retail trade in the hands of the Christian traders, and that all Jews who had not been naturalized should be expelled. There were only sixteen in all of the latter description. The governor was opposed to the suggestion, as being against the interests of the island, for "he was of opinion that His Majesty could not have more profitable subjects than the Jews and the Hollanders; they had great stocks and correspondence." These words occur in a letter from the governor, dated December 17, 1671, to the secretary, Lord Arlington. He proceeds to say that he had personally convinced himself of their usefulness. "He sent a Jew to the inland provinces, where the wine grows, to see whether he can procure any vanilla for the king and his lordship²." The petition was dealt with in this way, that the council resolved "that for the better settling and improving of Your Majestie's island of Jamaica, due encouragement may be given

¹ The petition is published: *Publications*, V, 65, from *Colonial Papers*, vol. XV, no. 74.

² The reply to the Baron de Belmont's petition contains the following words: "Their first introduction into the island was upon condition that they should settle and plant," *Publications*, II, 168.

³ *Publications*, V, 71 sq. (*Calendar of British State Papers*, Colonial, no. 697, p. 298 sqq.). The petition of the traders, *ibid.*, V, 73 sqq.

to the Jews, the Dutch, and other nations, to settle and inhabit there¹."

A number of Jewish settlers soon arrived, including Moses Henriques Coutinho, or Coutiño, who had relations in Amsterdam², and who came from Barbadoes; Abraham Lopez Telles³ and others, who came from Amsterdam and London. Their number was already in the year 1683 so considerable that they appointed as their Rabbi, R. Josiah Pardo of Curaçao, the brother of the London Chazan David Joseph Pardo, and son-in-law of the Amsterdam Rabbi Saul Levi Morteira.

Although the Jews of Jamaica possessed civic rights, they were not on the same footing as the English as regards taxes. When, in the year 1693, after an attack of the French had been repelled, a sum of over four thousand pounds was levied within the space of three months, the Jews had to contribute seven hundred and fifty pounds, almost a fifth of the whole sum, towards it. The council of the island did not tax the Jews individually, but made the wealthiest and most important among the Jews responsible for the prompt payment of the tax by the collective body. The document says "... to be rated, assessed, taxed, collected, and paid in by Solomon Arari, Jacob de Leon, Moses Toiro (Toro), Jacob Mendes Guteres, Jacob Henriques, Jacob Rodriguez de Leon, Moses Jesurun Cardoso, Samuel Gabay, Jacob Lopes Torres, Ishac Coutinho, Ishac Nunes Gonsales, and Abraham Nunes, or any five of them." The amount had to be paid before June 10, 1693, in default of which two hundred pounds more would have to be paid as a fine. Should one of the persons rated refuse to pay, payment would be legally enforced, his slaves or chattels would be confiscated and publicly sold; if no goods could be found, the recalcitrant person would be arrested and detained in custody, till payment should have been made. The same regulations applied to another payment of one thousand pounds, which was levied from them in the same year, as their quota of a sum of nine thousand four hundred and seventy-three pounds⁴. A few years after this they were compelled to pay a special tax of one thousand seven hundred and sixty pounds, and on another occasion again, a tax of four hundred and thirty-seven pounds. In the years 1698 and 1699, not less than five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds was demanded of them. They were not able to bear such a crushing burden of taxation; they were a comparatively poor community of not more than eighty persons; and had besides to provide for the wants of their poor. The Baron de Belmonte, whom

¹ *Publications*, V, 75 sq. (*Colonial Entry Book*, No. 95, p. 97).

² Ishac Henriques Coutiño, Abraham Mendes Coutinho, and others.

³ *Publications*, I, 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 87 sqq.

we conjecture to have been a son of Manuel de Belmonte, the Spanish Resident in Holland, found it, therefore, necessary to address, in the year 1700, a memorial in reference to this affair to Sir William Beeston, the governor of the island, in which he proved that the Jews had paid during the last years three thousand four hundred and seventy pounds over and above the quota which could be legally demanded of them. He further complained that the Jews had been recently compelled by several officers to bear arms, and do active service on Sabbaths and festivals, although no urgent circumstances required it¹.

The council replied to this memorial that the Jews, as a separate people, were separately taxed; that their taxes bore no proportion to their large trading establishments, and that they must proportionally pay more than the English, whom they had beaten out of the field by their commercial capacities. "As for their bearing arms, it must be owned that, when any public occasion has happened or an enemy appeared, they have been ready and behaved themselves very well; but for their being called to arms on private times, and that have happened upon their sabbath or festivals, they have been generally excused by their officers, unless by their obstinacy or ill language they have provoked them to the contrary; the law of this country, without regard to the Jews or any other, giving power to the officers to call all men to arms when there is thought occasion for it." When Antonio Gomes Sorra, Andrew Lopez, and Moses de Medina, in the name of their co-religionists, again lodged a complaint, this time with the king, the Board of Trade of Jamaica was required to forward a copy of De Belmonte's memorial and of the reply thereto².

The Jews of Jamaica had, in spite of their being naturalized citizens, to submit to several exceptional laws. Thus, in the year 1703, it was ordained: "That all Jews that are or shall be hereafter masters or owners of slaves within this island, shall supply their deficiencies by their own nation or by hired white Christian men, and not by indented Christian servants under the penalty of five hundred pounds current money of this island³." Eight years later they were precluded, like negroes, Indians, and mulattos, "from being employed as clerks or any of the judicial or other offices⁴."

The most noted and respected Jew who lived at Jamaica for a number of years was the Spanish poet Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna. Only very few of those who wrote about him took notice of his

¹ *The Memorial of the Jews about their Taxes*, from the *Entry Book*, Jamaica, 57 sqq., by Prof. Dr. Charles Gross in *Publications*, II, 165 sqq.

² *Publications*, II, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.*, V, p. 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 57, 90.

poetical work, which, be it observed, was a splendidly got-up book, and is now extremely rare.

Lopez Laguna, whose parents were marañes of Southern France, went in his youth to Spain to study classics. There he was imprisoned for several years in the terrible dungeons of the Inquisition, until he succeeded at length in regaining his freedom by flight. He found a refuge in Jamaica, where he openly confessed his Jewish faith, for which he had endured so many tortures. Here he put in song the holy poems which had offered him consolation in the times of his sufferings, and which had kept his hopes alive. He undertook a poetical paraphrasis of the Psalms, a plan conceived by him when still in prison. He himself gives information about the history of his youth and of his sufferings in the following poem, which forms the Acrostic, "A el zeloso Lector," "To the kind Reader":—

"I was devoted to the Muses
From my childhood.
My youth was passed in France,
And I studied in pious schools.
I learned sciences in Spain,
And was kept in dark prisons.
Then I opened my eyes and looked,
I escaped from the Inquisition.
Now I sing to the accompaniment of my lute,
Here the Psalms, happy and joyful¹."

The work, which the poet entitled *Espejo fiel de Vidas*, "Faithful Mirror of Life," is one of the most remarkable products of Jewish-Spanish literature. Abraham Pimentel, the son of the author's very intimate friend, Jacob Henriques Pimentel, also called Don Manuel de Umanes, tells us in the preface that the work was the product of twenty-three years' labour, and a further twenty-three years "dis-

¹	A las Musas	Ynclinado
	E sido desde mi ynfan	Sia
	La adolecensia en la Franc	Ya
	Zagrada escuela m	E ha dado,
	En España algo han	Limado
	Las	Artes mi Yoventud
	Ojos abriendo en	Virtud
	Sale de la	Inquisicion
	Oy Yamayca en can	Sion
	Los Psalm	Os da a mi Laud
	En my Pricion los	Deseos
	Cobré, de hacer	Esta obra.

See also Pa. vi. 8.

turbed by war, fire, and tempests," elapsed before it appeared before the public.

Lopez Laguna's *Espejo fiel de Vidas* is not, as Grätz and others thought, "a faithful translation of the Psalms." He was not nearly enough master of the Hebrew language to be able to furnish "a translation, faithful to the original." It is a paraphrasis, in the composition of which the author made use of the Spanish translation of the Psalms with paraphrasis of Jacob Jehuda Leon, which appeared in Amsterdam in 1671, under the title of *Las Alabanzas de Santidad*. He frequently follows Leon to the letter; e.g. Psalms v, lxxviii, lxxx, and others. He is, however, honest enough to admit, in his poetical prologue, that he was guided by Jacob Jehuda Leon Templo, and that, besides, he owed much to the writings of Menasse ben Israel, "that brilliant and lucid sun," as he calls him¹.

As already mentioned elsewhere², the poet gives quite a free rendering of several of the Psalms, in which he makes allusions to his sufferings and the tortures inflicted by the Inquisition. Thus, in Psalm x:—

"We are persecuted by tribunals,
Which malice designates as holy.
Cursed be slanderers, and godless boasting,
Blessing itself, may it end in shame!"³

1
Supliendo faltas de Ciencia
Regir mi nave el Timon,
Por Jacob Jehudah Leon
Templo de sacra excelencia.
Tambien logró my Pincel
Alguna Luz del Farol
Del clara y lucienta Sol
Menasseh ben Israel.
Sus lineas observo fiel
Siguiendo la Real doctrina
De la Eterna Ley Divina.

Among the works mentioned by Menasse ben Israel, as either commenced or completed, but not printed, there is also the work "De la Divinidad de la Ley de Moseh," which was already projected in 1641. This unpublished book could hardly have been known to Laguna; nor would it have served his purpose much. He probably consulted the Menasse ben Israel's *Conciliador*, which appeared in 1632.

² *Sephardim, Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, p. 300 sqq.

³ Presa sea el malsin que audaz se alaba. The Hebrew מלסין, which has come into the Spanish vocabulary, *malsin*, *malsindad* = מלסנות, the slanderous accusation; *malsinar*, to accuse.

He prays to the just Judge, in Psalm xxxix:—

“Oh, deliver me from all my sins,
And of the terrible tribunal
To proclaim the complaints of falsity!”

There is no lack of outbursts of his hatred of the religious tribunal and his cruel torturers; but we will not reproduce all of them¹.

Lopez Laguna resolved at last, after much hesitation, to publish his work, not for the purpose of becoming famous as a poet, as the above-named Abraham Henriques Pimentel asserts—no laurels could be obtained in those days by poetical productions—nor was he induced by prospects of material gain. His sole incentive was his pious zeal; he only intended to make the Book of the Psalms accessible to such of his co-religionists as had escaped from the Inquisition, but who, in their ignorance of the Hebrew tongue, did not know what they read: he, therefore, wished to lay it before them “in the lovely and intelligible mother tongue, in beautiful diction, and musical verse.” In order to enable them to read the Psalms on various occasions, when agitated by different moods, he selected all sorts of poetical forms—redondilos, quintilos, terzettos, decimes, madrigals, romances, &c.

He went from Jamaica to London to have his work printed, and found there a Maecen in the person of Mordechai Nunes Almeyda; he met also with a friendly reception from the cultured Spanish and Portuguese Jews of that city. Rarely has a work been so joyfully received and so frequently praised in verse, as that of Lopez Laguna. His above-mentioned Maecen, the latter's mother Manuela Nunes de Almeyda, his sisters Bienbenida Cohen Belmonte and D. Sarah de Fonseca Pina y Pimentel, her husband Manuel Fonseca Pina, his son Moseh de Manuel Fonseca Pina, all sang the poet's praises in Spanish sonnets. The same was done by the poet's eldest son, by the latter's nephew Jacob Lopez Laguna, by his intimate friend Jacob Henriquez Pimentel al. D. Manuel de Umanes, “Corrector de la Orthographia y Poesia,” by a nephew of the Maecen, by the latter's sons Abraham and David Henriquez Pimentel, and by Abraham Gomez Silveyra, who was a member of the Academy founded in Amsterdam by D. Manuel de Belmonte, and published sermons². The physician, David Chaves, and Ishac de Sequeira Samuda, sang his praises in Latin hexameters; Samson Guideon, a young financier³, and

¹ Vid. Ps. xvi. 2; xlv. 23 sqq.; lxxiii. 14 sqq.; civ. 4, 5; cix. 16; cxxxix. 19 sqq.

² About Silveyra, v. *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, p. 102.

³ L. Wolf, *Plan of a Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish Biography* (London, 1887), p. 6.

Abraham Bravo, an intimate friend of Laguna's¹, lauded him in English verse.

¹ Members of the Bravo family lived at Jamaica. Benjamin Bravo and David Bravo were naturalized there in 1740. Vid. *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, V, 3 sq. Samson Guideon and Abraham Bravo belong undoubtedly to the earliest Anglo-Jewish poets. We cannot abstain from reproducing here the latter's poem in its entirety :—

As when the eagle to the vaulted skies
Aspiring mounts, and to those regions flies;
Delighting in the lucid fields of air
To view the bright and shining wonders there.
So I, to sing thy praise exalt my muse,
Would you but her imperfect notes excuse.

I.

Oh, heavenly bard ! how well by you described
Are David's psalms, how gloriously revived;
As if thy harp, tuned by his sacred hand
Did equal force, and melody command.

II.

How great's thy wisdom, how sublime thy art,
Since you to us such heavenly truths impart;
Had you been present when the monarch writ
His thoughts you could not with more truth transmit.

III.

Such rays of bright divinity are shed
Throughout these works, and every line o'erspread,
That by the streams the spring is clearly shown,
And the translation makes the author known.

IV.

Sure you were inspired by the God-like king
His Hebrew prose in Spanish verse to sing;
Thy muse will fire with devotion those
Whom verse admire and not the Hebrew knows.

V.

Even cherubims will to thy verses throng,
And will their voices tune thy sacred song;
Then in chorus sung thy melodious verse,
While we with Hallelujah the Almighty bless.

VI.

The merit due to your immortal name
Will be a pyramid to speak your fame;
Other attempts are vain; since you excel,
Others may imitate, but not so well.

The work, provided with an approbation in Spanish by the Haham R. David Nieto¹, and ornamented with an artistic *Geroglífico* by Abraham Lopez de Oliveyra, appeared under the title *Espejo fiel de Vidas que contiene los Psalmos de David en verso. Obra devota, util, y deleytable compuesta por Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna*.

Dedicado al muy benigno y generoso Señor Mordejay Nunes Almeyda.

En Londres con Licencia de los Señores del Mahamad y Aprobacion del Señor Haham. Año 5480=1720. 4.

Lopez Laguna returned from London to Jamaica to Riki his wife, and his three sons, David, Jacob, and Ishac. We presume that the family remained on the island; Abraham, Jacob, and Rebecca Laguna were naturalized there in 1740 and 1743².

We do not know the date of Laguna's death; he was nearly seventy when he died.

M. KAYSERLING.

VII.

Nor may you fear the poem's common lot,
Read and commended, but withal forgot;
The brazen *mines* and marble rocks may waste,
Yet we shall even retain thy savoury taste.

VIII.

Oh! then let's ever chant Laguna's praise,
Success and glory crown his happy days,
Ah! may the heavens to him be ever kind
Since he to virtue only sways his mind.

¹ Nieto says in his approbation "... su autor tan fecundo en lo Heroico como fecundo en lo Lirico, tan fiel en la translacion como energico en la expresiva."

Joseph ibn Danon commences:—

לדניאל אר"ל דא
דלא נזכר

בנפת יסאדאיכא מאן
לש ק"ץ כומורייא

² *Publications*, V, 112 sqq.

EINE JÜDISCHE LEGENDE VON DER AUFFINDUNG DES KREUZES.

DAS Christenthum besitzt über die Auffindung des Kreuzes zwei Legenden. Die eine, minder wichtige und durchaus unglaubliche, jeden historischen Hintergrundes entbehrende, knüpft sich an die berühmte *Abgar-Sage*, deren Heimat Edessa ist, und welche nebst vielen Wunderthaten auch die Sage enthält, dass das ächte Kreuz Christi durch *Protonike* noch im apostolischen Zeitalter aufgefunden wurde. Viel verbreiteter und von der Kirche als authentisch anerkannt ist diejenige Kreuzauffindungslegende, welche sich an die historischen Personen des Kaisers *Constantin* des Grossen und seiner Mutter *Helena* knüpft. Der Inhalt dieser Legende ist in Kürze folgender :

Helena, die Mutter des Kaisers Constantin, wird durch Vertiefung in den religiösen Schriften dazu gedrängt, das Kreuz Christi zu suchen. Sie geht mit militärischem Gefolge nach Jerusalem, wo sie aber selbst den Golgotha-Hügel oder den Calvarienberg nicht finden kann. Um ans Ziel zu gelangen, versammelt sie die Juden Jerusalems und der Umgebung, die in ihrer Angst einen gewissen *Juda* als denjenigen bezeichnen, der am gelehrtesten ist und am besten Auskunft ertheilen kann. *Juda* sträubt sich anfangs den Wunsch der Kaiserin-Mutter zu erfüllen ; nachdem er aber auf deren Befehl in eine tiefe Grube geworfen wird, bittet er um seine Befreiung und schwört, dass er nur die Wahrheit sagen werde. Er verrichtet nun ein hebräisches Gebet, und siehe, oh Wunder ! die Erde bewegt sich und von ihrem Schosse steigt aromatischer Duft empor. Von der mächtigen Erscheinung ergriffen, bekehrt sich *Juda* sofort zu Christus und mit einem Grabscheit in der Hand gräbt er drei Kreuze auf. Ausser dem Kreuze Christi waren nämlich auch die zwei Kreuze der mit ihm zusammen gekreuzigten Räuber daselbst vergraben gewesen. Es galt nun unter den dreien das ächte Kreuz Christi herauszufinden. Eben damals brachte man einen Todten vorbei—nach einer Fassung war es ein wirklicher Todter, nach der anderen ein Scheintodter, und zwar nach Einigen ein Jüngling, nach Anderen eine Frau—und das Mirakel war sofort geschehen ; durch Berührung war der Todte durch eines der Kreuze dem Leben zurückgegeben und man erkannte daran das ächte Kreuz

Christi. Juda taufte sich, erhält den Namen *Cyriacus* und wird Bischof von Jerusalem. Es ruht nun auf ihm der heilige Geist und er vermag nun der Kaiserin auch die Nägel, mit welchen Jesus an's Kreuz gefesselt wurde, aus der Erde hervorzuholen. Die Nägel schickt Helena nach Constantinopel, das Holz des Kreuzes jedoch lässt sie in einem goldenen Kasten in einer Kirche, die sie zu diesem Zwecke erbaut, in Jerusalem aufbewahren. Zum Schlusse veranstaltet sie, wie doch natürlich, eine blutige Judenverfolgung und kehrt dann in ihre Heimat zurück.

Die auf diese Legende bezüglichen Texte und Schriften sind in neuerer Zeit von A. Holder gesammelt und herausgegeben worden, unter dem Titel: *Inventio sanctae crucis*, Lipsiae, 1889. Diese Sammlung enthält die sogenannten *Acta Cyriaci*, lateinisch und griechisch, ferner einen alten lateinischen Hymnus auf die Auffindung des Kreuzes, zuletzt mehr als 30 *Testimonia* über denselben Gegenstand aus griechischen und lateinischen Kirchenvätern und aus den alten palästinischen Reiseberichten. Die Legende ist auf Grund von Manuscripten des British Museum auch in syrischer Sprache herausgegeben worden von E. Nestle, *Syrische Grammatik*, lateinische und deutsche Ausgabe. — Seit der Sammlung Holders ist für die Kreuzauffindungslegende ein neuer griechischer Text erschlossen worden, der von K. Wotke herausgegeben wurde (*Die griechische Vorlage der lateinischen Kreuzauffindungslegende*, in Wiener Studien, Zeitschr. für class. Philologie, xiii, 1891, 300–311). Wotke meint, dass die Legende in Rom verfasst worden sei, eine Vermuthung, auf die wir weiter unten zurückkehren werden¹.

Den Niederschlag dieser weit verbreiteten christlichen Legende habe ich nun auch in der jüdischen Literatur gefunden. Es ist dies eine wahre Entdeckung, denn meines Wissens war das Vorhandensein dieser Legende in der jüdischen Literatur bis jetzt nicht bekannt. Mit der Geschichte Jesu musste sich in seiner Weise auch das Judenthum befassen und das berühmte *Toldot Jeschu* ist sowohl in christlichen als in jüdischen Kreisen seit Jahrhunderten wohlbekannt. Dieses jüdische "Leben Jesu" bricht in den gedruckten Ausgaben und in Handschriften zumeist mit der Erzählung der Kreuzigung Christi ab. In einigen Recensionen wird jedoch, wie im Neuen Testament, auch eine Art Apostelgeschichte gegeben, worin, freilich in sehr entstellter Weise, die Apostel *Petrus* und *Paulus* auftreten. Darüber hinaus geht keine der mir bekannten Recensionen, trotzdem ich ausser den gedruckten Recensionen noch mehr als zehn Hand-

¹ J. Rendel Harris in Cambridge brachte jedoch vom Sinai einen viel älteren griechischen Text, der jetzt von Nestle in *Oxy. Zeitschrift*, IV, 1895, 319–345 veröffentlicht und behandelt ist. Dasselbe findet sich auch eine ziemlich vollständige Literatur-Angabe.

schriften verglichen habe. Nur eine einzige Handschrift, Cod. 54 der isr. theol. Lehranstalt in Wien, führt das Leben Jesu noch weiter, bis es im letzten Capital (es trägt die Nummer 22) zur Erzählung der Kreuzauffindung kommt. Ausser dieser Sonderheit hat das Wiener *Toldot Jeschu* keine Eigenthümlichkeit, wodurch es sich von den anderen Recensionen unterscheiden würde, es ist sogar mit dem *Toldot Jeschu*, welches mir von Dr. Gaster in London freundlichst zur Benützung überlassen wurde, aufs engste verwandt; umsomehr verdient dieses einzigartige uns erhaltene Literaturerzeugniss eingehend behandelt zu werden.

Wir geben zuerst den Text, dann die Uebersetzung.

פרק כ"ב

אחר הרבה דברים בזמן קוסטנטין קיסר ואשתו אילינה זה הקיסר היה מצורע חצי גופו ולא היה שום רופא שהיה יכול לרפאותו אשר היה ברומא אז ראו הנכרים ואמרו המלכה אילינה אם תרצה שיתרפא בעליך תגזור אל היהודים שימצאו לך העץ אשר צלבו בו יש"ו ונעשה שיתרפא המלך בו תכף שלחה המלכה ליהודים אשר היו ברומא ובמקומות אחרים ואמר להם הביאו לי העץ אשר תלו בו יש"ו אשר בא לצווי אביו שבשמים ואתם הרגתם לו ובעוונותיכם נחרב בית המקדש שלכם והיה כשמעם היהודים דברים האלה עצבו ונתיעצו ואמרו למלכה אנו אין אנו יודעים כלום מזה כי זה לא עבר בארצינו שאל ליהודים היושבים בירושלים כי הם יאמרו אנה העץ תכף שלח[ה] המלכה לשאול ליהודים מירושלים ואמר[ה] לה[ם] תנו לי העץ כי צלבתם בו יש"ו ואם לא תמצאוהו אחרונ אתכם ענו לה היהודים ואמרו לה אלי (!) המאה זקנים והתחילו לצערם והם לקחו בעיצה ביניהם ובחרו ז' זקנים והתחילו לצערם והם בחרו א' שיותר זקן וחכם מהם ואמרו לה יאמר לך האמת ולקח[ת]ו המלכה לו לבדו ואמר[ה] לו אמור לי האמת ואם לא אני אמית [אותך] ולכל בני עמך ואם תאמר לי האמת ותראני העץ אתן לך עשר גדול או ענה בהשכל ואמר לה כן אעשה כאשר דברת מה עשה הזקן קרא לזקנים ואמר להם בסתר ובסוד קחו ג' עצים זקנים הרבה מאד ותקברוהו במקום פלוגי ותכסום באופן שלא יכירו שהיה דבר עשוי מחדש וכן עשו והמלכה צוה לצער יהודה הנזכר הזקן ביסורים גדולים ור' יהודה שאל זמן ג' ימים להתענות ולהתפלל לה' שיגלה לו הסוד ואם מהשמים יגלו לי אני אגלה אותך (!) ואקוה אל ה' כי אם אתה היא המלכה אשר אמרו לי אבותי ידע תדע כי בגלילי[ם] [ך] יתגלה סוד זה אבל איני יודע אם את היא או אחרת ואמרה המלכה

לך ועשה הישר בעיניך והוא היה יודע סוד שם המפורש וביום ה' בא לפניה ואמר לה באי עימי כי נגלה המקום איה העצים וקמה המלכה ונעדרתיה ושרותיה ויועציה והלכו אחרי ר' יהודה הזקן ובאו למקום שהיו קבורים העצים ואמר להם ר' יהודה האמת הוא כי אתה(ה) המלכה כי על ידך היה עתיד להגלות סוד זה ואמר[ה] כן הוא האמת אמר לה באי עימי והוא היה סובב ומלחש בשפתיו וכלם הולכים אחריו ועמד במקום א' ויאמר הפרו כאן ויחפרו שם וימצאו ג' עצים אז נבהלה המלכה וכל השרים ואמרו במה נרע מה[א] העץ מהג' שצלבנו בו יש'ז התחיל ללחש והיה נראה שהיה עושה תפלה והאריך כל כך עד שהבינו ושמעו שאיש אחד (ש)מת ובני בנו היו בוכים עליו אמר להם הביאוהו לפני ותביאוהו לפניו ונגע בא' העצים והתחיל להתנענע בכח שם המפורש אשר זכר עליו התחיל לנגע אליו בעץ השני והתנענע ג'כ ועשה כן בעץ ה' וקם המת חי על רגליו בכח שם המפורש שזכר עליו ויתמחו כל העצים חכפ אמר זה העץ אשר צלבו בו יש'ז ומהעת ההיא שמו למטהג להניח שתי וערב על המתים חכפ האמינה המלכה והשרות כלם שהיה העץ שצלבנו בו יש'ז ויסיפו עוד לחטוא הרבה ויקומו כולם וישתחוו לפני ר' יהודה הזקן (כי המת קם בכח שם המפורש) אז אמרו הפריצים שהיה ראוי להרוג כל היהודים והיה עת צרה גדולה לישראל בראות כן ר' יהודה הזקן כי המת קם בכח שם המפורש אמר ליהודים לא תיראו אמסור נפשי עליכם ונעשה את עצמנו שלוחי יש'ז ונתקן להם שלא יגעו בכם ולא יעשה בכם שום רע ושם המת שהחיה היה נקרא אי'לי'קו'מ'ס' וכאשר היה יש'ז חי ותמשוהו תפשו ג'כ איליקוסם וגם רבו יוחנן מה עשה ר' יהודה הזקן וזה שהחיה התחילו לדבר עם הפריצים ועשו להם כמו שעשו ס' פאולו וס' פייטרו ואלו הם מה שקוראים הנים אפוסטלו(ס)ים].

“CAP. XXII.

“ Nach langer Zeit [geschah es], zur Zeit des Kaisers Constantin und seiner Frau Helena. Dieser Kaiser war am halben Körper aussätzig. und kein Arzt, der zu Rom war, konnte ihn heilen. Als das die Heiden sahen, sprachen sie zur Königin Helena: Wenn es dir lieb ist, dass dein Mann geheilt werde, muusst du über die Juden verhängen, dass sie für dich das Holz auffinden, auf welchem man Jesum kreuzigte; dann wird es geschehen, dass der König dadurch geheilt wird. Sofort sandte die Königin an die Juden, die in Rom und in anderen Orten waren, und sagte ihnen: Schaffet mir herbei das Holz, auf welches man Jesum hängte, der doch auf Befehl seines himmlischen Vaters

gekommen war, ihr aber habt ihn erschlagen, und in euren Sünden ist euer heiliger Tempel zerstört worden.—Als nun die Juden diese Worte hörten, ängstigten sie sich und beriethen sich miteinander und sprachen zur Königin: Wir wissen nichts davon, denn dieses hat sich nicht in unserem Lande zugetragen; frage vielmehr die Juden, die in Jerusalem wohnen, denn die werden sagen können, wo das Holz sei. Sofort sandte die Königin, um die Juden zu Jerusalem zu befragen, und sprach zu ihnen: Gebet mir her das Holz, auf welchem ihr Jesum gekreuzigt habt! Wo ihr aber dasselbe nicht findet, werde ich euch umbringen lassen. Da antworteten ihr die Juden und sprachen zu ihr¹. . . mir die hundert Aeltesten! Man fing an, dieselben zu quälen. Sie aber fassten unter sich einen Rath und wählten sieben Aelteste aus. Auch die fing man an zu quälen. Da wählten diese einen aus, der mehr als sie alt und weise war, und sprachen zu ihr: [Dieser] wird dir die Wahrheit sagen. Die Königin nahm ihn ganz abgesondert und sagte zu ihm: Sage mir die Wahrheit! Wo aber nicht, werde ich tödten dich und alle Kinder deines Volkes. Wirst du mir aber die Wahrheit sagen und mir das Holz zeigen, werde ich dir grossen Reichthum geben.—Jener antwortete hierauf verständnissvoll und sprach zu ihr: Ich will thun, wie du gesprochen. Was that jener Alte? Er rief die Alten und sagte ihnen im Verborgenen und Geheimen: Nehmet drei sehr alte Stücke Holz, grabet sie ein an einem bestimmten Ort und decket sie zu, damit man nicht erkenne, dass da etwas Neues gemacht wurde². Das thaten sie auch.—Die Königin aber liess den erwähnten alten Juda mit grossen Qualen quälen, da erbat sich R. Juda drei Tage Zeit, damit er fasten und zu Gott beten könne, dass er ihm das Geheimniss offenbare—wird mir's der Himmel offenbaren, werde ich's auch dir offenbaren, und ich hoffe zu Gott, wenn du die Königin bist, von der mir meine Väter sprachen, wirst du erfahren, dass dir zuliebe dieses Geheimniss offenbart wird; ich weiss aber nicht, ob du es bist oder eine andere.—Da sprach die Königin: Geh' und thue, wie es recht ist in deinen Augen.—Er aber kannte das Geheimniss des vollen Gottesnamens. Am dritten Tage kam er zu ihr und sagte zu ihr: Komme mit mir, denn der Ort, wo die Hölzer sind, ist mir offenbart worden.—Die Königin machte sich auf mit ihren Mägden, ihren Fürstinnen und Räthen, und sie alle

¹ Hier scheint etwas ausgefallen zu sein, etwa: Es sind da hundert Aeltesten, die werden es dir sagen. Da sprach die Königin: Bringet . . .

² Ich bemerke schon hier, dass von einer Eingrabung des Kreuzes nur in der syrischen Recension die Rede ist, und zwar so, dass das Kreuz nach dem erstmaligen Auffinden von den Juden aus Bosheit vergraben wurde, bis es durch Helena wieder zum Vorschein kam.

gingen und folgten dem R. Juda dem Alten und kamen an den Ort, wo die Hölzer vergraben waren. Da sprach R. Juda: Es ist wahr, dass du die Königin bist, durch welche dieses Geheimniss sollte offenbart werden? Sie aber sagte: Ja, so ist es. Er sprach zu ihr: Komm mit mir! Er aber drehte sich im Kreise, indem er fortwährend Zauberworte an den Lippen hatte, alle anderen aber folgten ihm nach, bis er an einem Orte stehen blieb und sprach: Grabet da! Sie gruben dort und fanden drei Hölzer. Da erschrak die Königin und alle Fürstinnen und sprachen: Wie sollen wir wissen, welches das Holz ist unter den dreien, worauf man Jesum kreuzigte? Da zauberte [Juda abermals] und es schien, als betete er, womit er die Zeit soweit auszog, bis sie erfuhren und hörten, dass ein Mann verstorben sei und seine Enkel ihn beweinen. Er sprach zu ihnen: Bringt ihn mir her! Man brachte ihn hin, und als er eines der Hölzer anrührte, fing er an, sich zu bewegen durch die Kraft des vollen Gottesnamens, den er [Juda] über ihm ausgesprochen hatte. Als er anfang, das zweite Holz zu bewegen, bewegte er [der Todte] sich wieder, und so war es auch beim dritten Holz, so dass der Todte als Lebender aufstand auf seinen Füßen durch die Kraft des vollen Gottesnamens, den er über ihm ausgesprochen hatte. Da wunderte sich alles Volk. Er aber sprach alsbald: Das ist das Holz, auf welchem Jesus gekreuzigt wurde!—Von der Zeit an ward es Brauch, auf die Todten das Zeichen des Kreuzes zu legen.—Die Königin glaubte es alsbald und auch die Fürstinnen alle, dass es das Holz sei, auf welchem Jesus gekreuzigt wurde. Da fuhren sie fort zu sündigen sehr viel, standen alle auf und fielen vor R. Juda dem Alten nieder. Da sprachen die Muthwilligen [die Christen], dass es gut wäre alle Juden umzubringen, und es war die Zeit einer grossen Drangsal für Israel.—Als R. Juda sah, dass der Todte durch die Kraft des vollen Gottesnamens auferstanden war, sprach er zu den Juden: Fürchtet euch nicht! Ich will mich für euch opfern und wir werden es so veranstalten mit ihnen, dass sie euch nicht anrühren und euch kein Leides thun.—Der Todte aber, den er lebendig gemacht hatte, wurde *Alkimos* (?) genannt, und als Jesus noch lebte und man ihn ergriff, ergriff man auch den Alkimos und auch dessen Lehrer *Jochanan*. Was thaten nun R. Juda und der, den er lebendig machte? Sie fingen an mit den Muthwilligen [den Christen] zu reden und machten es mit ihnen so, wie es *Sanct-Paulus* und *Sanct-Petrus* machten, und das sind diejenigen, welche von den Völkern *Apostel* genannt werden."

Bevor wir die Vergleichung der jüdischen Legende mit der Fassung der christlichen unternehmen, müssen wir zum Verständniss unseres hebräischen Textes einige sprachliche Bemerkungen vorausschicken.

Die Christen werden פריצים, "Muthwillige, Gewaltthätige," genannt, ein Ausdruck, der sich fast in allen Recensionen des *Toldoth Jeschu* findet und der wahrscheinlich das Gegengewicht halten soll zu dem in den Evangelien und bei den Christen beliebten Ausdruck פרושים, "Pharisäer," unter dem man alle Juden, besonders aber die Kreuziger Jesu verstand. Vgl. auch Dan. xi. 14. — שתי וערב, eigentlich "kreuz und quer" (Lev. xiii. 48), als Bezeichnung des Kreuzes, ist bei jüdischen Schriftstellern allgemein verbreitet; Zunz, *Synog. Poesie*, p. 452, führt den Ausdruck aus Serachja Zeebi (זאבי) an, doch müsste das Alter des Ausdruckes noch auf dem Wege der Specialuntersuchung erst festgestellt werden. — Ebendasselbst verzeichnet Zunz auch die Ausdrücke צלב, צלוב, נצלב, womit die Todesart Jesu bezeichnet wird, und die auch in unserem Texte, wie schon früher in den vorangehenden Theilen des *Toldoth Jeschu*, verwendet werden. Der Ausdruck wird übrigens im Talmud und Midrasch auch ohne Bezug auf Jesum sehr häufig gebraucht. — Auch der prägnante Ausdruck עץ für "Kreuz" wird von Zunz, *loc. cit.*, mit mehreren Beispielen belegt; es kommt vor עץ בול, ferner עץ סוחרים und לכול עץ, und mehrere andere Ausdrücke. Uebrigens kommt auch im Griechischen ξύλον und im Lateinischen *lignum* häufig in diesem prägnanten Sinne vor. — Für "Nichtjuden" kommen in unserem Stücke die Wörter נכרים, עמים und גוים vor.

In der jüdischen Fassung ist es zunächst ein Punkt, der von sämtlichen christlichen Recensionen abweicht; es ist dies die Angabe, dass Kaiser Constantin am halben Körper mit Aussatz behaftet gewesen wäre, und kein Arzt in Rom habe ihn davon heilen können. Diese Angabe ist umso befremdlicher, als im Verlaufe der Erzählung darauf kein fernerer Bezug genommen wird. Die christlichen Texte haben diesen Zug nicht. Nun merkt aber Holder S. 16 an, dass Cod. B statt des römischen Bischofs *Eusebius* den Bischof *Silvester* nenne (314–335), von dem es in Lib. pontific. p. 75 Duchesne heisst, dass er den Kaiser Constantin getauft habe und dass dieser durch eben diese Taufe von dem Aussatze geheilt worden sei (*quem curavit Dominus per baptismum a lepra*). Merkwürdigerweise findet sich ein ähnlicher Zug in einer bulgarischen Legende¹. Nach dieser Legende soll Kaiser Constantin ein Reissen in den Gliedern gehabt haben, weshalb

¹ Strauss, A., *Bolgár néphit* (aus dem Ungarischen auch deutsch: *Bulgarischer Volksglaube*), Budapest, 1897, S. 100. — Den Aussatz Constantine erwähnen auch die *Acta Silvestri*; er soll eine Strafe gewesen sein für die Hinrichtung der Kaiserin Fausta und des Prinzen Festus; S. Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*, Kiel, 1869, S. 260. S. auch die Chronik נסח von David Gans zum Jahre 314.

ihm die jüdischen Rabbinen gerathen hätten, er möchte christliche Kinder morden lassen, um in deren Blute baden zu können¹. Gott vereitelte jedoch den Plan. Die Kaiserin—die Legende nennt sie *Irene*—sieht einen Traum, wonach sie das Kreuz Christi aufgraben müsse; das Wasser, womit es abgewaschen würde, soll die Heilung bewirken. Das geschieht auch. Es ist also angezeigt, die jüdische Legende so zu ergänzen, dass die Heilung des Kaisers durch das Abspülwasser erfolgt, umsomehr, als die Heilung durch Abspülwasser ein stehender Zug dieser Legenden ist; so ist z. B. in dem *Evangelium Infantiae Arabicum* (bei Thilo, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti) die Heilung durch das Wasser, in welchem das Kind Jesu gebadet wurde oder welches sonst für Jesum verwendet wurde, ein häufig wiederkehrender Zug. Die Analogie der bulgarischen Legende beweist aber jedenfalls soviel, dass die jüdische Erzählung von der Krankheit des Kaisers kein jüdisches Phantasiestück sei, dass vielmehr unsere jüdische Legende ganz nach christlichem Muster aufgebaut ist. Auch insofern bildet die bulgarische Legende ein Analogon zur jüdischen Fassung, als sie das Kreuz nicht durch die Mutter, sondern durch die Gemahlin des Kaisers auffinden lässt.

Beachtung verdient ferner auch der Umstand, dass nach der jüdischen Fassung die Handlung nicht in Jerusalem, sondern in Rom sich zuträgt. Die Kaiserin lässt die in Rom befindlichen Juden vor sich citiren und verlangt von ihnen das Kreuz Jesu. Ist dies auch ein unmögliches Verlangen, so können wir darum die jüdische Fassung nicht eben für widersinnig erklären, da solche unmögliche Forderungen an die Juden sehr oft gestellt wurden. Die römischen Juden können natürlich nicht anders antworten, als dass ihnen der Ort, wo das Kreuz zu finden, unbekannt sei, "denn das trug sich nicht in unserem Lande zu"²; sie möchte sich an die Juden zu Jerusalem wenden, die würden Bescheid wissen. Auch jetzt heisst es nur in der Legende, dass die Kaiserin nach Jerusalem sandte, nicht dass sie dahin ging; doch wird im Verlaufe der Erzählung ihre Anwesenheit in Jerusalem vorausgesetzt, da die Antworten der Juden direct an sie gerichtet zu sein scheinen. Rom als Schauplatz der Handlung führt uns auf den Gedanken, dass der ganzen Erzählung irgend eine *Disputation* zu Grunde liege, die sich in Rom thatsächlich zugetragen. Mit dieser Annahme wird für das ganze *Toldoth Jeschu* ein besseres Verständniss erschlossen: in Rom disputirte man über die Kreuzigung Jesu und da

¹ Vgl. Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube*, 4. Aufl., S. 21 (5.-7. Aufl., S. 37). Nach Cedrenus gaben jüdische Aerzte den Rath.

² In *לֹא עָרַב בְּאֶרֶץ*, "das passirte nicht in unserem Lande," sehe ich einen Germanismus, so dass der Abschreiber, wenn nicht schon der Verfasser, der jüdischen Legende ein Deutscher gewesen sein müsste.

fühlte sich ein Jude bewogen, das Leben Jesu in dem Genre des *Toldoth* zu componiren, was dann schriftlich verarbeitet wurde und nun als *Toldoth Jeschu* vorliegt. Dass Rom in der Fassung der jüdischen Legende eine hervorragende Rolle spielt, ist auch daraus ersichtlich, dass in dem תולדות ישוע הנצרי, welches von J. J. Huldreich herausgegeben wurde (Lugd. Bat., 1705), die Partei des Jesus mit אנשי עיר bezeichnet wird, worin ich auf Grund einer Handschrift in meinem Besitze, in welcher עיר das Abbreviationszeichen hat, אנשי עיר erblicke, in welcher Bezeichnung unter "Leute der Stadt" die Römer gemeint sind, indem עיר *ker* 'εξοχη gleich *αστυ* = *urbs* die Stadt Rom bedeutet¹. Diese Erklärung ist ebenso einfach, wie die von Huldreich (p. 44), wonach an die Stadt Αι (Jos. vii. 8) angespielt ist, erzwungen und unverständlich ist². Unter Silvester soll im Jahre 315 gegen die Juden die erste römische Synode abgehalten worden sein (Mansi, ii. 351 ff., Lipsius a. a. O., S. 259); wenn wir nun annehmen, dass irgend eine mündliche oder schriftliche Fassung der Kreuzauffindungslegende die Kreuzauffindung mit dieser angeblichen Disputation in Zusammenhang brachte, in ähnlicher Weise, wie sie in dem ersten von Holder veröffentlichten Texte mit dem Kriege an der Donau in Zusammenhang gebracht wird, so ergibt sich nicht nur für die jüdische Kreuzauffindungslegende, sondern für die Beurtheilung des ganzen *Toldoth Jeschu* der richtige Gesichtspunkt. Selbst in dem kleinen Stücke über die Kreuzauffindung hört man einen Disput heraus: die Kaiserin sagt von Jesu, er sei auf Befehl seines himmlischen Vaters gekommen, "ihr aber (die Juden) habt ihn umgebracht, und durch eure Sünden ist euer Heiligthum zerstört worden"; unsomewhat ist es leicht zu erkennen, dass die eigentliche im *Toldoth J.* gegebene Geschichte Jesu nichts anderes als einen Disput darstellt. Es handelt sich eigentlich um die Bekehrung der Helena; nach der jüdischen Erzählung wurde sie von der Nichtigkeit der Gottheit Jesu durch die Juden überführt und blieb infolge dessen ungläubig; nach den Acten des Silvester jedoch endigte die Disputation mit der völligen Niederlage der Juden, die nicht umhin konnten, dem Silvester, ihrem Besieger, beschämt zu Füßen zu fallen und sich zu bekehren. Es ist daher eine richtige Bemerkung Güdemanns³, wenn er meint, dass

¹ עיר für Rom siehe auch in meinem Wörterbuche: Gr. u. lat. Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch u. Targum, II. Teil, s. v. רומי. In der Wagenseil'schen Recension fehlt dieser Zug.

² S. auch Rösch, Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1873, S. 104 ff., der auf die typische Aehnlichkeit des Schicksals der Könige von Αι mit dem Tode Jesu nach der jüdischen Sage hinweist.

³ Gesch. des Erziehungswesens u. der Cultur der Juden in Italien (Wien, 1884), S. 298.—Güdemann hat es übrigens nicht bemerkt dass

die beiden Machwerke, die jüdische Geschichte Jesu und die Silvester'sche Disputation, ihre polemischen Spitzen gegeneinander kehren. Die beiden Machwerke sind auch durch einander ganz würdige Anachronismen gekennzeichnet; die Acten des Silvester sprechen—unter Kaiser Constantin—von einem Hohepriester Isachar, das *Toldoth J.* spricht—zur Zeit Jesu—von der Kaiserin Helena.

In den behandelten literarischen Erscheinungen scheint demnach folgender Pragmatismus obzuwalten: Es ging eine Sage von einer Disputation der Christen mit den Juden unter Kaiser Constantin. Vom 6. Jahrhundert an wurde die Sage schriftlich fixirt und wahrscheinlich mit der Kreuzauffindung verbunden. Wir haben ja bereits gesehen, dass auch der Bischof der Kreuzauffindung nicht Eusebius, sondern Silvester ist, so dass die Disputation mit der Kreuzauffindung durch die Person des Silvester auch schon in der christlichen Legende verbunden ist. Nun waren aber die Juden auch nicht faul, sie verfassten ihrerseits als Antidoton der Disputation das "Leben Jesu" und verbanden es mit der Kreuzauffindung. Ich nehme also für die jüdische Kreuzauffindungslegende nicht nur eine sachliche, sondern auch eine literarische Abhängigkeit von der christlichen Legende an; d. h. die jüdische Legende konnte erst entstehen, als die christliche Legende bereits schriftlich vorlag. Dieses Abhängigkeitsverhältniss wird besonders durch einen Passus unseres Textes nothwendig gemacht. Juda fragt die Kaiserin¹, ob sie es sei, welche dazu bestimmt ist, dass ihr das Mysterium offenbart werde? Sie antwortete: Ja, so ist es! Diese Worte hätten keinen Sinn, wenn wir aus der christlichen Fassung der Legende nicht wüssten, dass Juda seinen Stammesgenossen weitläufig erzählt, er wisse es, dass man einst das Kreuz suchen würde (*Οἶδα ἐγώ, ὅτι ζήτησιν μέλλει ποιῆσαι τοῦ ξύλου*, p. 32, Holder). Jener Passus des jüdischen Textes nimmt unverkennbar Bezug auf den christlichen Text und erscheint als eine Kürzung desselben; wäre die christliche Legende dem jüdischen Autor nur vom Hörensagen bekannt, so hätte eine solche Reminiscenz eines vereinzelt Zuges, der zum Pragmatismus des Ganzen nicht gehört, in seiner Bearbeitung keinen Platz gefunden. Und jetzt können wir abermals die Verbindung mit der Silvestersage verwerthen, denn nach dieser verstanden die disputirenden Juden

derselbe Gedanke schon von *Le Moine* ausgesprochen wurde; s. Basnage, *L'Histoire des Juifs*, Rotterdam, 1707, III, 426. Nach der syr. Recension befiehlt Protonike (Patronike), dass die Juden Rom verlassen müssen (hebr. umschrieben: *וְיֵצְאוּ מִן הָרֶמֶס*).

¹ Etwas weiter oben: Ob du die Königin bist, von der mir meine Väter sprachen? Diese Anspielung ist ohne den christlichen Text gar nicht verständlich.

griechisch und lateinisch. Dass dies hingegen nur in Rom, nicht in Jerusalem, der Fall sein konnte, liegt auf der Hand, und wie nun die Silvesterlegende ausdrücklich in Rom handelt, wie auch Wotke, wie bereits bemerkt, die Kreuzauffindungslegende in Rom verfasst sein lässt, ebenso sachgemäss und indicirt ist es auch, wenn unser jüdischer Text die Suche nach dem Kreuz in Rom geschehen lässt. Hieher, beziehungsweise nach Italien, weisen auch die in unserem Texte vorkommenden Wortformen *S. Paolo* und *S. Pietro*¹, italienische Formen, wie sie auch sonst in dem eigentlichen *Toldoth Jeschu* die Regel sind.

Schon daraus folgt mit Nothwendigkeit, dass das *Toldoth Jeschu*, als literarisches Erzeugniss, dem Mittelalter angehören müsse, wo es italienische Wortformen gab; keineswegs kann ich aber RESCH beistimmen, der das vielbesprochene *Toldoth J.* bereits von Celsus gekannt und benützt sein lässt². Diese Frage, die ich in meinem demnächst erscheinenden Werke über das *Toldoth Jeschu* in grösserem Zusammenhange erörtern werde, will ich hier nur nebenbei berührt haben; hier handelt es sich um die Erklärung des Textes der jüdischen Kreuzauffindungslegende.

Die jüdische Legende ist in allen wesentlichen Stücken der christlichen Legende nachgebildet. In der griechischen Fassung (bei Holder, p. 31) zieht sich die Gesamtgemeinde von Jerusalem zurück und lässt mit der Kaiserin die 500 Gelehrtesten verhandeln; diese wiederum entsenden den Juda aus ihrer Mitte. In dem Sinaitischen Texte (*Byz. Zeitschr.*, IV, 325) erscheinen vor der Kaiserin erst 3000, dann 1000, dann 500, zuletzt Juda allein. Ebenso im jüdischen Texte: die Gesamtjüdenschaft designirt 100 Aelteste, diese wählen aus ihrer Mitte 7 Aelteste, bis auch diese die heikle Aufgabe einem Einzelnen, dem Juda, anheimstellen. Wie in der christlichen Legende, erleidet Juda auch nach der jüdischen Legende harte Qualen, dort wird er in eine Grube geworfen³, hier befiehlt die Königin den Juda zu quälen. Nebenbei bemerkt, hat diese Massregel nach der christlichen Fassung keinen rechten Sinn, denn nach dieser ist ja Juda schon früher ein halber Christ, da er über Jesu Göttlichkeit eine Familientradition zu haben vorgibt; auch auf die Frage der Kaiserin, ob er sich das Leben oder den Tod wähle (cf. Deut. xxx. 15), antwortet er ganz vernünftig: Wer, in der Wüste lebend, würde Steine essen,

¹ Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz: "Apiphior, nom hébreu du Pape," in *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXIV, 230.

² *Das Kindheitsevangelium*, Leipzig, 1897, S. 399.

³ Die Worte: "worin kein Wasser war," sind Genesis xxxvii. 24 nachgeahmt. In der syrischen Recension bei Nestle, *Porta lingu. oriental. pars V* (Syr.), p. 74 (Syrisch), kommen diese Worte nicht vor.

wenn er Brot hat? Nach der jüdischen Fassung geht aber Juda auf Trug und Blendwerk aus, und das auch nur, als er von der Kaiserin am Leben bedroht wird. Dass Juda vor der Auffindung des Kreuzes nach beiden Fassungen gewissermassen einen Hocus-Pocus treibt, ist eine überaus merkwürdige Uebereinstimmung; nach dem jüdischen Texte dreht er sich im Kreise und "zaubert" mit den Lippen, nach dem christlichen Texte ist es ein langes *Abracadabra*¹, womit er vor der versammelten Menge an die Procedur geht. Nach der christlichen Fassung wünscht die Kaiserin auch noch die Nägel des Kreuzes zu finden, und wiederum ist es ein Gebet², mit welchem Juda, nunmehr schon Bischof Cyriacus, an die Arbeit geht. Die jüdische Fassung nimmt von diesem zweiten Acte keine Notiz; vielleicht liegt ihr ein Bericht zu Grunde, worin von den Nägeln nicht gesprochen wurde, wie es ja viele griechische und lateinische Kirchenschriftsteller vermeiden, von den Nägeln zu sprechen. Ueberhaupt ist die Nägelauffindung als Nachtrag verdächtig; man brauchte eine Bestätigung für Zachar. xiv. 20, und es ist nicht unerhört, dass ganze Geschichten erst im Hinblick auf solche Schriftstellen entstehen. Vgl. die bei Holder, p. 28, aus Ambrosius de obitu Theodosii or. c. 40 angeführte Stelle: *Cujus temporibus completum est illud propheticum, &c.* Merkwürdigerweise berichtet Hieronymus zu Zachar. xiv. 20, dass auch sein Hebräer das Wort כַּלְלוֹת für *phaleras equorum et ornatum bellicum* erklärte³, was mit dem *frenum* und σαλιβάριον der Kreuzauffindungslegende ziemlich gut übereinstimmt. Alle sonstigen Abweichungen der jüdischen von der christlichen Legende erklären sich durch die Verschiedenheit des Standpunktes; den Christen ist Juda ein gläubiger Christ und sogar ein Heiliger, den Juden ist er ein jüdischer Märtyrer, der sich für das Wohl seiner Glaubensgenossen aufopfert. Dass Juda mit dem heiligen Gottesnamen, dem *Schem ha-méphorasch*, operirt, wie es nach dem *Toldoth Jeschu* auch Jesus thut, ist nur

¹ Dass das im lat. und gr. Texte dem Juda in den Mund gelegte hebräische Gebet sinnloses Zeug ist, hat Paul de Lagarde richtig erkannt; Wotke jedoch theilt a. a. O. von Dr. Jaffé eine Umschreibung des hebräischen Gebetes mit, welche, abgesehen von der Frage, ob sie sich mit dem gegebenen Texte deckt, schon darum unglücklich ist, weil sie sich mit der darauf folgenden lat. beziehungsweise gr. Gebetsform nicht vereinigen lässt und mit derselben nicht identisch sein kann, weil sie bedeutend kürzer ist; auch müsste wenigstens das eine Wort *Cherubim* (כְּרֻבִים) auch im hebräischen Gebete erkennbar sein. Auch Nestle verzichtet auf die Deutung dieser Wörter.

² Auch dieses ἑβραϊκὴ καλίστη, p. 38, Holder.

³ S. meinen Aufsatz: "The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers," in *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, vol. VI, p. 252.

in Dankbarkeit als solcher Männer, die dem Judenthum wohl wollten. Diese auffallende Erscheinung erklärt sich nur, wenn wir in unserem Texte den Wiederhall einer in Rom stattgehabten Disputation wahrnehmen; der ihnen drohenden Verfolgung suchten die römischen Juden dadurch zu entgehen, dass sie behaupteten, die zwei ersten Bischöfe von Rom, Petrus und Paulus¹, seien eigentlich Juden und als solche ihren Stammgenossen gut gesinnt gewesen. Als zu Rom residirend wurde auch Juda als Jude in Anspruch genommen, weil doch die Handlung, wie wir gesehen haben, sich eigentlich in Rom zugetragen hat. Wir ersehen daraus, wie ein einziger richtiger Blick uns zum Verständniss des ganzen Gegenstandes verhilft.

SAMUEL KRAUSS.

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¹ Wenigstens insofern, als sie beide in Rom lebten, wenn auch nicht als Bischöfe. Der *Liber pontificalis* von Mommsen (Berlin, 1898) schafft hierüber noch immer keine Gewissheit.

NOTE ON לֹלֵא, Ps. xiv. 13, &c.

THE Rev. I. Harris cited in this REVIEW, vol. I, p. 240, note 1, two or three instances of words in which the usual punctuation represents two variant readings. A similar explanation had suggested itself to me, before I had read that article, of the peculiar dots above and beneath לֹלֵא, Ps. xiv. 13. The fact that this is the only instance of dots beneath letters, coupled with the Massoretic note that the ל must have a dot beneath, but not at the top, leads to the assumption that the word represents two variants, viz. לו, which is neither easier nor more difficult to interpret than the whole word as it is before us, and לֹלֵא, which gives obviously an excellent and readily intelligible sense. Possibly then, the first half of the word was originally dotted beneath only, and the latter half only from above, so as to indicate the elimination of either the one half or the other. (It would probably be going too far to assume that the astounding punctuation וְחִלָּקְסָם or וְחִלָּקְסָם, 1 Chron. xxiii. 6, xxiv. 3, indicates a variant of וְחִלָּקְסָם which read in xxiii. 6 וְחִלָּקְסָם לְמַחֲלָקוֹת, and in xxiv. 3 וְחִלָּקְסָם עַל יְדֵי צִדּוֹק.)

Another instance of a variant reading between לֹלֵא and לו may be in Job xli. 4. Dillmann observes that לֹלֵא is too prosaic, and that the reading לו rendered "should I be silent of him?" is no improvement. But is not the reading לו possible, if perhaps not an improvement, if rendered "O that I could be silent of, or contemplate in mute astonishment" (cp. Gen. xxiv. 21)? Baer, in his critical edition of Job, prints in the marginal Massorah לו קרי; but it is a question whether he had any authority for so pointing the word, and if he had any MS. so pointed, the authority of that authority is open to criticism.

For variants of לֹלֵא and לו see Massorah magna to Lev. xi. 21; also Norzi in *Minchath Shay* on Ps. c. 3.

M. BERLIN.

. NOTE ON JOSIPPON.

BOOK I, chap. i. בני נומר הם פרנקוס should no doubt read, in accordance with what precedes: בני נומר אשכנזי הם פרנקוס. It is interesting to find that even in the modern historical mind and life of the world the connexion between the Franks of old and France, as denoting the nations that live on the upper Rhine, is still alive enough to render the designation of France as אשכנזי intelligible, since it evidently includes here Germany. The words פרנצא על נהר are probably only a dittograph of נהר על נהר.

ריפת הם בריטונים, &c., means of course, the Bretons on the Loire. It is out of question that the Laira is here referred to (spelt Lāry in old documents) as the mouth of the Plym (Plymouth) is called. In chap. iii (edition Amsterdam, 12mo, p. 14a, lines 5 and 9) the expression occurs בעיני בעירי, the exact equivalent of 'I have *witnessed* with my eyes.' Does that allow or imply the inference that the translator into Hebrew was an Englishman?

M. BERLIN.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU DEN PROVERBIEN.

In meiner Arbeit *Proverbia-Studien* zu . . . c. x-xxii. 16 (Berlin, Schwetschke u. Sohn, 1899) habe ich den Nachweis zu führen versucht, dass die genannten Kapitel ursprünglich aus Spruchreihen, die nach den Buchstaben des Alphabets geordnet waren, bestanden haben. Obgleich der grösste Teil der deutschen Kritik meiner Hypothese wenig günstig gesinnt ist, bin ich verstockt genug, noch immer an der Richtigkeit meiner Idee festzuhalten. Ich will wiederholt betonen, dass aus dem gegenwärtigen Chaos die primäre Gruppierung *als Ganzes* nicht wiederherzustellen ist, doch glaube ich deutliche Spuren in der genannten Sammlung nachgewiesen zu haben.

Es sei mir erlaubt, gegenwärtig auf einige Punkte der Sammlung, c. xxv-xxx, die Aufmerksamkeit der Fachmänner zu lenken. Auch hier sind in der letzten Redaction durch *Zusätze* und Durcheinanderschütteln die ursprünglichen Gruppen aufgelöst worden—aber auch hier sind Anzeichen vorhanden, dass früher eine strengere Ordnung in diesem Stücke geherrscht hat.

Ich verweise zunächst auf folgende Verse:—

A. (c. xxix. 2) ² רבות צדיקים ישמח¹ העם—ובמשל רשע יאנה עם²

(c. xxix. 16) ³ רבות רשעים ירבה פשע—צדיקים במפלתם יראו⁴

Dem Sinne nach wäre damit zu verbinden:—

(c. xxviii. 12) ⁵ בעלץ⁶ צדיקים רבה תפארת—ובקום רשעים יחפש אדם⁷

(c. xxviii. 28) ⁸ בקום רשעים יסתר אדם—ובאבדם ירבו צדיקים

Ich erinnere schliesslich noch an:—

(c. xi. 11) ⁹ בברכת ישירים תרום קרת—ובפי רשעים תהרם

¹ P hat כמא עמא, also ירבה, was in unserer Zusammenstellung leicht zu erklären ist (v. 16 a).

² LXX στένωσιν δυνεες — vielleicht אדם, aus xxxviii. 12 leicht zu ergänzen.

³ Vielleicht ירבו צדיקים, wie xxviii. 28 ובאבדם ירבו צדיקים.

⁴ LXX διὰ βοήθειαν, P בעזרת, also בש — vielleicht übrigens נשץ, vgl. P, c. xi. v. 9, 10.

⁵ LXX ἀλλοκοτταί; αἴψα; vgl. Ez. xvii. 20 u. 2.

⁶ LXX δίκαιοι; אדם vielleicht aus v. 12; auch στένωσιν vielleicht aus xxix. 2.

⁷ Vgl. noch xi. 10 zur Sache: רמה—ובאבדם רשעים רמה.

wo vielleicht ברבֿת (f. בברכֿת) und ובפרוֹת (f. ובפֿי) zu lesen ist (vgl. meine *Proverbia-Studien*, S. 7, Anm. d).

B. (c. xxv. 4) ¹ הַנּוֹת מִיָּנִים מִכֶּסֶף—וַיֵּצֵא לְצַרְף כְּלִי

(c. xxv. 5) הַנּוֹת רֶשַׁע לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ—וַיִּכֶן בְּצֹדֶק כֶּסֶף

C. (c. xxvi. 1) כֶּשֶׁלֶן בָּקִיץ וּכְמֹתֵר בְּקֶצֶר—כֵּן לֹא נֹאחַ לְכַסִּיל כְּבוֹד

(c. xxvi. 8) כְּצֹרֹר אֲבָן בְּמִרְמָה—כֵּן נוֹתֵן לְכַסִּיל כְּבוֹד

Der Form nach wäre damit zu verbinden:—

(c. x. 26) כַּחֲמֶץ לְשָׁנִים וּכְעֶשֶׂן לְעֵינַיִם—כֵּן הַכֶּסֶל לְשִׁלְחֵי

Zum Schlusse noch folgende Bemerkung: An einigen Stellen in *Prov.* durchbrechen Sätze mit אֲל den Zusammenhang und bezeugen deutlich ihre Einwanderung von auswärts. Sie werden wohl einer fortlaufenden Spruchreihe אֲל entnommen sein. Ich verweise hierbei auf c. iii. 27–32; der v. 25—der sich correct einfügt—hat wohl den Anschluss der Sätze mit אֲל herbeigeführt. Ebenso vgl. c. xxiv, wo sich v. 27 genau dem v. 30 anschliesst; die mit אֲל beginnenden Sätze (28, 29) sind Fremdkörper. Ihr Eindringen erscheint begreiflich, da im vorhergehenden Stücke periodenweise אֲל Verse vorkommen (vgl. c. xxii. 22; xxiii. 4, 6, 10, 13, 20, 31; xxiv. 1, 15, 19).

Endlich seien noch die mit gleichem Anfangsbuchstaben beginnenden Verse der Sammlung 25–30 zusammengestellt: c. xxv. 25, 26 כ (übrigens auch dem Sinne und der Form nach verwandt); c. xxvi. 1, 2 כ; ibid. 18, 19 כ; xxvii. 6, 7 כ; xxviii. 8, 9, 10 כ; ibid. 14, 15 א; xxix. 8, 9, 10 א (אִשׁ—אִשׁ); ibid. 18, 19 כ; ibid. 24, 25 ח.

H. P. CHAJES.

¹ LXX καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργύρου. נִצְרָף לִי. S. auch P: כֶּסֶף.

² Zu dieser Form der Sprüche—in dem einen Satze das Bild, im zweiten die Erklärung—vgl. z. B. meine *Proverbia-Studien*, S. 7, v. 2, 3, und Anm. b.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

PROF. DALMAN ON CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM.

Christenthum und Judenthum, von Dr. GUSTAF DALMAN. 1898.

I FEEL very guilty that this most remarkable pamphlet should not have been noticed in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW at an earlier date. To say the truth, although Dr. Dalman's essay has been in my possession for more than a year, I did not read it till a few days ago. Having read it, I felt it my duty to give an account of it in these columns.

To call the pamphlet *remarkable* is smaller praise than it deserves. Dr. Dalman seems to be a rare exception among the Protestant theologians of Germany. To begin with, he is a first-class authority in Rabbinic. His scientific work has already been quoted with respect by Dr. Schechter as standing quite outside and above the ordinary productions of Christian scholars. He himself is perfectly alive to the faults and inadequacies of the much quoted Weber—the one universal authority among Protestant divines for all matters of Rabbinic theology. In the first part of his important book, *Die Worte Jesu*, he shows his mastery of the Talmudic material. He is far from repeating or believing in the ordinary platitudes about the burdensome law, the horrors of *Nomismus* and the miseries of the Rabbinic religion, so often assumed and dilated on by one self-complacent theologian after another. The unanswered castigation so justly inflicted by Mr. I. Abrahams upon the otherwise monumental work of Schürer would not in the least apply to him. He is an opponent with whom our best and wisest champions might be delighted to cross swords.

Moreover, Dr. Dalman is not merely acquainted with Talmud and Midrash, but he is also familiar with modern Jewish literature. He knows the feelings and opinions of modern Jews, both of the orthodox and reform divisions. And yet this enlightened, unprejudiced, and well-informed man is an earnest evangelical Christian, convinced of the superiority and truth of his own creed, and while quite fair to the other side, an uncompromising exponent of what he believes to be its weakness and deficiencies. A truly remarkable combination.

Dr. Dalman's short pamphlet of twenty-nine pages contains so much that is fair and true (whether absolutely or relatively) that I hope he will give some attention to the few corrections which I shall have to make. Let me now introduce the reader to the contents of his striking *brochure*.

The pamphlet was originally a lecture delivered in Berlin before a Lutheran society. It was intended as a contribution to apologetics. Dr. Dalman says, in words which deserve careful consideration:—

Apologien verdienen nicht den schlechten Ruf, in welchem sie heutzutage bei vielen stehen. Eine Religion, die damit zufrieden ist, dass sie existiert, und keine Thätigkeit nach aussen hin entfaltet—abwehrend, angreifend, erobernd—wäre wert, vom Schauplatz abzutreten.

In his opening paragraphs the author laments the wonderful ignorance of Judaism which Christians display. The religion which is nearest to Christianity is of all religions the most ignored and despised. It seems to be thought more worth while to study the fetid faith of the Bantus than the faith of the Jews.

Dabei ist die Litteratur der jüdischen Religion in ihrem ganzen Umfang Christen ebenso zugänglich wie Juden. Keine der nichtchristlichen Religionen ist leichter zu studieren. Wer nur eben wissen wollte, was gegenwärtig die Religion der deutschen Juden aller Richtungen ist, könnte sogar aus deutschgeschriebenen Büchern sich hinreichend zuverlässig unterrichten.

Dr. Dalman then proceeds to make some valuable and penetrating remarks on Zionism (whose measure he has pretty accurately taken), and on anti-Semitism. The Jews will clearly remain in Western Europe: they will neither all go to Palestine, nor be driven out by force from their homes, as the more violent anti-Semites would desire. Hence Dr. Dalman thinks that there ought to be a better mutual understanding between Christian and Jew. On his side he desires to show what are the specific differences between the two religions and what are the specific treasures of his own faith. For the Jewish reader the occasion and object of Dr. Dalman's essay are of no particular moment. Its value lies in what he happens to say. But it is interesting to note that Dr. Dalman asks from the Jews the same candid and open pronouncements which he demands from his own side.

Das offene und unverhüllte Auftreten, welches vom Christenthum zu fordern ist, wünschen wir aber auch vom Judenthum. Auf dem Grund gegenseitiger Achtung mit Vermeidung der Hereinziehung alles persönlich Verletzenden muss die Auseinandersetzung erfolgen.

Of course Dr. Dalman as a keen Evangelical who holds that "no other Church possesses fragments of truth which are wanting to his own" believes in proselytizing. But it must be honourably conducted.

Die bürgerliche Gleichberechtigung beider Parteien erscheint mir als unentbehrliche Voraussetzung für einen ehrenhaften Kampf. Der Kampf der russischen Kirche gegen das Judentum mit der Unterstützung einer knechtenden Gesetzgebung, ihre Judenmission unter Polizeibedeckung, ist in Wirklichkeit eine schmachvolle Niederlage für das Christentum.

Our author deploras the fact that the Jews have produced so little literature in which Christians can find profit and enlightenment. He alludes to the enormous work on the Old Testament which has been accomplished by Christian scholars during the last sixty or seventy years. This work has shown (according to our author it has been its *Aufgabe* or purpose) that the history of the Old Testament "culminates" in Christ. The Jews, he says, have produced nothing of importance or value on this subject.

Man sollte doch auf wissenschaftlichem Wege den Beweis führen, dass Christus das Ende des Gesetzes *nicht* ist. Wir würden aus solchen Arbeiten ohne Zweifel fruchtbare Belehrung schöpfen und nützliche Anregung gewinnen, Wahrheit und Wesen der göttlichen Offenbarung noch klarer zu erkennen und gegen Zweifel sicher zu stellen. Von der im Traditionsglauben befangenen jüdischen Orthodoxie ist vielleicht hier wenig Erspriessliches zu erwarten. Aber die jüdische Reform sollte durch derartige Arbeit mehr als bisher erweisen, dass sie nicht nur aufzulösen und niederzureissen vermag, sondern auch zu sammeln und zu bauen.

Here, Dr. Dalman is unintentionally a little unfair. First of all, his contention that the modern Jews have produced nothing of importance upon the Old Testament is far too sweeping. Geiger's *Ursprung und Uebersetzungen*, Kalisch's great Commentary on the Pentateuch, and the works of Graetz, Castelli, Maybaum, and others, prove incontestably the exaggeration of Dr. Dalman's statement. Its measure of truth I admit and deplore. Yet when our author goes on to mix up with it a complaint that the Jews have furnished no scientific proof that "Christ is *not* the end of the Law," he seems to me to confound together two totally different things. It was not the business of Kalisch's Commentary on the Pentateuch to show that Christ was not the end of the Law, any more than it was Dillmann's business in *his* commentary to show that he was. The matter lies outside scientific exegesis, and I must deny that it has been or is the "*Aufgabe*" of Old Testament science to show that the history of the Old Testament does (or does not) "culminate in Christ" (*in Christum mündet*).

On the other hand, a good scientific presentation of modern Judaism is, I admit, a desideratum. Its mere negative defence is less interesting, and requires constant revision. For in the sense in which to orthodox Christian theologians of a hundred years ago Christ was

the "end" of the Law, he is no longer the "end" to theologians of the modern schools. In fact the kind of "end" which he is supposed to have been has frequently shifted; in what precise sense Dr. Dalman supposes that he was the end, I am not wholly sure.

It is at the close of p. 14 that Dr. Dalman proceeds to put the question on which the rest of his pamphlet depends. "What are the points of value which we Christians possess in our religion beyond the Jews, the defence of which is therefore our duty?"

Was sind die Güter, welche wir Christen in unserer Religion vor den Juden voraus haben, deren Verteidigung somit uns obliegt?

It is in reply to this question that our author proceeds to clear away a number of "erroneous conceptions" as to the relation of Judaism and Christianity to one another. To begin with he discusses the frequent view that Jewish orthodoxy represents "faith," Jewish reform "unbelief," and that therefore Christianity is nearer to the former than to the latter.

Dr. Dalman's remarks on this show fairness, knowledge, and a very surprising degree of accuracy.

(1) Die jüdische Reform ist keine Reformation in unserem Sinne, aber ein an sich durchaus achtungswerter Versuch, dem Judentum durch Befreiung desselben aus seiner geestlichen und formalistischen Schale eine Gestalt zu geben, welche sich mit unserer von Wirkungen des Christentums durchzogenen Kulturwelt verträgt.

(a) Orthodoxie und Reform sind, wenn auch in verschiedener Richtung, von dem, was uns als ächter Glaube gilt, gleich weit entfernt. Sie nehmen deshalb zum Christentum, soweit sie es kennen—was oft sehr wenig der Fall ist—im Wesentlichen dieselbe Stellung ein. Die Achtungsprädikate, welche das reformerische Judentum im Einklang mit manchen Namenchristen der Person Jesu gelegentlich zuerteilt, verhüllen den wirklichen Thatbestand nur dem Unkundigen.

These quotations are full of insight. Not less interesting are the remarks in which it is shown that Christianity and Judaism cannot be differentiated as New Testament and Old Testament respectively. Dr. Dalman holds that in neither of its two main forms is Judaism the religion of the Old Testament.

Die Orthodoxie basiert auf der talmudischen Tradition der nachchristlichen Zeit und ist deshalb in vieler Beziehung jüngerer Ursprungs als das Christentum. Die Reform ist oder will sein die fortgeschrittenste Gestalt der jüdischen Religion; sie sieht in der mittelalterlichen Religionsphilosophie, weiterhin im Talmudismus frühere Phasen der Entwicklungsgeschichte dieser Religion, deren Ende sie ist. Wie die Orthodoxie das Alte Testament nach der rabbinischen Tradition beurteilt, so macht die Reform im Grunde ihr eigenes jüdisch-religiöses Denken zum Masse des Alten Testaments. Somit steht im Christentum das Neue Testament für

die Juden nicht dem Alten, wohl aber der talmudischen Tradition und dem modern-jüdischen Denken gegenüber.

All this is perfectly accurate. My only doubt is as to the sense of the word "*Ende*" at the close of the second sentence. Jewish reform does not look upon itself as the absolute and final form of Judaism and of religion. That is one of the fundamental reasons why we object to the claims of orthodox Christianity. There is and there can be no such thing as finality in religion. An absolute religion is a human impossibility. Perhaps I may just incidentally add here that the real reason why Jews will never become Christians (except a few here and there) is connected with this very matter. From the old orthodox point of view the argument has broken down altogether. Every modern commentary admits that the Jews were perfectly right in maintaining that the stock passages in Genesis, in Isaiah, in the Psalms, do *not* refer to Christ. Every modern commentary admits that when the Law speaks of "eternal" statutes, it means what it says. If, on the other hand, the Old Testament is looked at from the modern point of view, the case for orthodox Christianity is far worse. The Jew will not abandon the accuracy and the miracles of the Old Testament, and yet accept the miracles and the accuracy of the New. He may become a Unitarian; he will never become a Lutheran, an Anglican, a Roman Catholic, or any other of the many opposing exponents of orthodox Christianity. But this is a digression, and has nothing to do with the value and excellence of Dr. Dalman's work.

Just as the mere contrast of Old Testament and New Testament is misleading, so is it also inaccurate to describe Christianity as the religion of the other world, Judaism as the religion of this world. Dr. Dalman points out that by the time of Jesus the doctrine of the Resurrection had become a recognized dogma of official Judaism, which it has ever since remained, though it is now being largely supplanted by the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul. Our author, however, is not quite so accurate as usual when he says:—

Doch geht daneben her eine unverkennbare diesseitige Tendenz der religiösen Anschauung. Die Sabbathsfeier der Orthodoxie hat zu einem wesentlichen Teile ihres Inhalts irdischen Genuss. Die Feier von Neujahr und Versöhnungstag, nach der Idee, welche das altgläubige Judenthum damit verbindet, stärkt die Todesfurcht, statt sie zu mildern oder aufzuheben. Aus Besorgnis in asketische Tendenzen zu geraten, vermag auch die Reform oft nicht, dem Jenseits die Betonung zu geben, welche nach seiner eigenen Theorie ihm zukäme.

Here the criticism on the observance of the Sabbath rests on a natural misapprehension. If Dr. Dalman will take the trouble to

read Dr. Schechter's articles scattered through this REVIEW, he will become better informed. The Jewish conception of the Sabbath is particularly difficult for an outsider fully to understand. The remark as to the effect of the New Year and the Day of Atonement is a great surprise to me. It is certainly the very first time I ever heard of such a thing, and I cannot but doubt the accuracy of the statement. Any member of the faith which has sent such thousands of Jews to death should recognize that Judaism, whatever errors it may contain, does at least produce among its votaries a readiness for martyrdom and for death. But our author's sly hit at *Reform* teaching is exceedingly ingenious and acute, and deserves to be most seriously taken to heart by those whom it may concern.

Equally inaccurate, says our author, is the differentiation of Christianity and Judaism as the religion of Love and the religion of Hate. Dr. Dalman's statements on this point, his clear, sharp criticism of the Talmudic position, his frank avowal of the great advance in universalism made by modern Judaism, are all completely accurate.

In unserem Jahrhundert hat wenigstens unser westeuropäisches Judentum unter dem Eindrücke der humanen Zeitströmung—und zwar in allen seinen Parteien—den Grundsatz der allgemeinen Menschenliebe ebenso nach innen wie nach aussen proklamiert. Das ist als ein bedeutender Fortschritt anzuerkennen. In diesem allgemeinen Prinzip stimmen Judentum und Christentum jetzt in der That überein.

On the other hand, there is an important difference observable between Judaism and Christianity in their attitude towards the outcast and the sinner. To a considerable extent Dr. Dalman is right. I fear that he has not done me the honour to read any words of mine, but if he had, he would have found that two years before his lecture was published I had anticipated him on this very point. As a German, Dr. Dalman would rub his eyes in incredulous amazement at a Jew being made honorary president of a Protestant Theological Society; yet this was the position which in the year 1895 I was appointed to fill in regard to the *Theological Society of the University of Glasgow*. We do these things in Britain. In my Presidential Address I ventured to ask which characteristics or qualities of the Higher Theism of to-day were specifically due to Judaism, and which to Christianity. I there said:—

The yearning pity for the sinner and the outcast, the humility of the true saviour of souls, who, while never ceasing to accentuate the horror of sin, bridges over and even annuls the moral chasm between the basest criminal and himself, have been delightful characteristics of both the two great branches of Christianity in their highest and purest forms¹.

¹ J. Q. R., vol. VIII (January, 1896), p. 225.

Here, then, I agree with Dr. Dalman that we have to learn from Jesus. But the lesson can be learnt without believing that Jesus was God, or that his body rose out of the tomb in which it had been buried. Moreover, and here Dr. Dalman has really something new to hear—the lesson is being learnt. Dr. Dalman says—

Dem Judentum fehlt es nicht an Wohlthätigkeit, auch über den Kreis der Volksgenossen hinaus. Es hat aber nichts, was den christlichen Veranstaltungen zur Rettung der Verlorenen, was unserer inneren und äusseren Mission entspräche, und es kann derartiges nicht haben, weil es an Liebe fehlt.

Whether it squares with our author's theories or not, this sentence is already inaccurate. The necessity has arisen for these institutions, and with the necessity the institutions are being founded. For instance, in England we have a society which is very well known to, and works in harmony with, Christian societies of a similar kind. In England, at any rate, this co-operation in humanitarian work seems perfectly natural and obvious. But the workers at this society, who, with their Christian brothers and sisters, attempt to rescue the fallen and to save those who may be tottering on the brink, are, and intend to remain, Jews. It is Judaism, teaching them the love of God and of man, which prompts them to deeds of pity and of love, and no other religious force whatever. And so with similar efforts which are, I believe, being made in other lands. Judaism is quite able to absorb the teaching of Jesus on this matter without believing, any more than he himself believed, in his co-substantiality and co-eternity with the divine Father. It has, alas, become necessary to absorb it, and fair critics like Dr. Dalman, who remind us of remediable defects, are of great value in stimulating us onwards. It is quite true that there was a touch of asperity in Talmudic Judaism, a lack of sympathy and of love for the fallen and the outcast. Our own workers in England have heard it often said: "We Jewish girls have less chance of retrieving ourselves after one false step, because many Jewish parents are so harsh and unforgiving." This must be changed. It must again and again be impressed upon the community that such parents are far more guilty in the eyes of man and of God than their unfortunate daughters. The sinner, too often more sinned against than sinning, must be sharply distinguished from her sin. For her sin there must be hate; for her a conquering and redeeming love.

Our author next proceeds to discuss the current descriptions of Judaism and of Christianity as the religion of *works* and the religion of *faith*. He is quite well acquainted with the vulgar Jewish conception of Christianity as a religion the essence of which consists in

a number of irrational dogmas, such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Justification by Faith. He well points out that the *true* evangelical faith can no more remain without works than it is possible for a child, who with his whole heart clings and yearns to his father, not to show to that father a loyal and active obedience. But when Dr. Dalman says that this evangelical faith is wanting to the Jews, it is really only a question of words. The Jewish faith in and love of God are just as vital and just as productive of pure life and holy deeds as the Christian faith in Christ and his Father.

Dr. Dalman would seem to imply that the Jewish attitude towards sin is rather superficial. He describes it thus: "The Jew knows of divine forbearance towards human weakness, and he hopes for God's forgiveness of his sins. He holds that God, who created man as a sensuous being [i.e. liable to sin], must obviously (*selbstverständlich*) be indulgent and ready to forgive." *C'est son métier*, as Heine said. I am not sure that Dr. Dalman has not quite correctly expressed the prevailing Jewish attitude. And it seems to me quite as consonant with the divine perfection as the cumbrous theory of divine forgiveness invented by orthodox Christianity. Neither of us can ever know the ways of God, though haply after death we may learn whether the Jewish theory or Dr. Dalman's is less remote from reality.

But it is curious that our usually so accurate and well-informed author should fall into the blunder of saying that the Jew hopes to be "saved" by his own reason and power.

Die Juden haben von der Güte der menschlichen Natur eine, wie sie glauben, berechnigte vorteilhaftere Meinung und sind überzeugt, dass der Mensch sich selbst zu helfen vermöge. Aus eigener Vernunft und Kraft wollen sie selig werden.

If this were true, where would be the necessity for God's forgiveness and indulgence? Nor is this all. The Jew believes in God's gracious help on earth. "Create in us a new heart, O Lord." "Lead us not into the power of sin." "Subdue our inclination that it may submit itself unto thee." "O put it into our hearts to fulfil in love all the words of thy law." Are these the prayers of men who hold that by their own power and reason they can be "saved"?

This question of sin leads Dr. Dalman to his final assertion that the true difference between Jews and Christians is that the latter believe in the Son of God, who died for the sins of man, while the former do not. Nothing can be fairer than this. Equally accurate is our author's incidental remark that to say that the Jews believe in a future Messiah, whereas the Christians believe that he has already come, obscures an essential feature. For not only do many Jews no longer believe in a future Messiah at all, but the Messianic age has

always been more important to Judaism than the Messiah's person and individuality. "The personal Messiah is no necessary element of the Jewish religion.

Dr. Dalman makes the very odd statement that the Jews are not really able to do without a mediator after all. "For all Jews," he says, "Moses is a unique (*einzigartiger*) mediator between God and his people." I cannot understand this at all. It is utterly strange to me. Would it be so incomprehensible and so novel if there were any truth in it? I can assure Dr. Dalman that Moses is in no sense whatever the mediator between God and the Jew. What Jew when he prays to his "Father in heaven" ever thinks of Moses? Why *should* he think of Moses? Moses can neither help nor hinder the communion of man with God. I feel confident that this is not only my belief, but the belief of every Jew.

Finally, in a few candid and moderate words, Dr. Dalman discusses the value of Jewish *Unitarianism*. Here I will not follow him, as the subject is beyond the limits of a review. But I must protest against the following:—

Dem Einzig-Einen des Judentums kann man wohl mit scheuer Ehrfurcht und mit Hingebung *dienen*. Aber ein Verhältniss zu ihm wie das des Kindes zum Vater ist schwer denkbar.

Well, this is just one of those assertions that can neither be proved or disproved—*on paper*. Those who best know Jewish life, literature, and history, will best realize its inaccuracy. Christian Unitarians as well as Jews will agree with me that one need not believe in the Incarnation or the Trinity in order to love God, in order to feel towards him the relation of child to father. These "not easily conceivable" statements are very dangerous. It is "not easily conceivable" that any religion which taught eternal punishment could also have taught the love of God, and yet we know that the two doctrines, apparently so inconsistent, have often gone hand in hand. Let Dr. Dalman then not suppose that because we do not conceive of God as he does, that therefore we do not love "our Father who is in Heaven."

Dr. Dalman says that the argument has been used: "The God to whom man draws nigh without a mediator is surely the nearer," and he rebuts this argument by an appeal to facts. Among Christians, he says, those are not the most religious who place Christ's position lowest. And so in Judaism. Jewish religious literature, Jewish sermons, Jewish worship, give him the impression of coldness, emptiness, desolation. That confirms his opinion: the nearer to Christ, the nearer to God. Against a subjective impression of this kind there is nothing to be said. But can the outsider accurately gauge

the religious feelings of others? Moreover, to make religious warmth (whether apparent or even real) a test of religious truth seems to me a very dangerous argument. A decorous congregation at a church might show less "warmth" than a Salvation Army Corps. But does that prove that the doctrine of the Salvation Army is truer? Though I sit still and silent in synagogue, I am not prepared to say that I have less religious warmth than a worshipper at an old-fashioned *Cheder*. Or if he has more "warmth," I perhaps have more "truth." If some travellers are to be believed, the most "religious" people are neither Christians nor Jews. By "religious" they mean religious to the eye and ear. But this again is not a necessarily correct test of religious truth. Even if Christianity with its human God did produce greater religious warmth than Judaism in the best sense of the word, that is no convincing proof of its greater truth. Jewish monotheism *may* conceivably need a greater religious capacity for all its height and depth to be realized. Even if (which I must deny) it could be proved that the average man is more likely to feel God near *with* the belief in the Incarnation than without it, I cannot see that this would be any rigid proof of the Incarnation's truth. God brings men and women to him in divers ways and fashions; he makes use of half lights and illusions and errors. Surely we must all admit that, each for our own ends and from a different basis. But to pursue this line of thought, fascinating though it be, would take too long and lead too far.

Meanwhile, a Jewish reviewer cannot be too grateful for Dr. Dalman's essay. He cannot rate too highly his fairmindedness, impartiality, and friendly feeling. I wish he would come to England, and we would show him practically how Jews and Christians respect each other, and how they work together in common service for humanity and for God.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

M. D. CONWAY'S "SOLOMON."

Solomon and Solomonian Literature. By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY.
(Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.)

"LIKE to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices" might have been adopted by Dr. Conway as a motto, describing the method pursued in his book. As he careers gaily from one book of the Old Testament to another, or to Gospels and Epistles, or to Zoroaster and the Zend-Avesta, or to India, and Vishnu, and

Agni, and Indra, the critic who attempts to keep pace with him is likely to feel somewhat exhausted. It may be said, however, at once that the book is not destitute of what is fresh, stimulating, and suggestive. Dr. Conway shows abundant facility in detecting resemblances and analogies; but, in order to genuine discovery, the more tedious task of sifting and proving is indispensable. This task he is too much inclined to disregard.

Our author tells us that he aims at tracing two streams of evolution, one issuing from the wisdom-books, the other from the law-books, "traceable in their collisions, their periods of parallelism, and their convergence,—where, however, their respective inspirations continue distinguishable, like the waters of the Missouri and Mississippi after they flow between the same banks." The first-mentioned stream he regards as Solomonic; the latter he calls Jahvist, but the distinction between the one and the other is made not unfrequently in a somewhat arbitrary manner.

We are told that "the external and historical data are insufficient to prove certainly that an individual Solomon ever existed." "The name Solomon seems to be allegorical." The name given to him by the prophet was Jedidiah ("beloved of Jah"). Dr. Conway finds a parallel to the famous judgment of Solomon in an Oriental tale concerning a damsel of exceptional wisdom and virtue. On two women laying claim to the motherhood of a child, the damsel directed that they should try which was the stronger, each taking hold of one of the boy's hands. When the child through pain should begin to cry, the true mother, full of compassion, would let go, while the false claimant would maintain her hold. The false claimant was the wife, the true, the concubine, of a certain householder, on whose death "possession of the house had to follow motherhood of the child." But if the child had died, the wife would become possessor of the house. Here Dr. Conway finds a motive, a link missing in the Biblical narrative. How, after the householder's death, the concubine was to prove that she was really the mother of the child she had given up in its infancy, he does not inform us, though he thinks she would have a reason for her conduct which the true mother in the Biblical narrative has not. He tells us that there appear "some reasons for believing the Oriental tale to be the earlier." On the next page the "some reasons" have expanded, and we read, "Here, then, we find in ancient Indian literature a tale which may be *fairly regarded as the origin* of the 'Judgment of Solomon.'" But it is right to say that before making this statement he refers also to a variant story in which Buddha himself appears as judge.

In Dr. Conway's opinion there is no evidence that the God of Israel

was known either as Jah or Jahveh in Solomon's time. As to how the name came into use or whence it was derived he offers no suggestion. He alludes to the names of the apes and peacocks of 1 Kings x. 22 as proving the possibility of the importation of Oriental tales from India; and this intercourse with the East is certainly of no small consequence. He makes repeated reference to the Queen of Sheba, regarding her as a "Queen of the Seven," forgetting the slight philological difficulty presented by the difference between *Y* and *N*. This is in the chapter on "The Book of Proverbs," where also we are strangely told that "Nishma," that is נִשְׁמָה, occurs only in Prov. xx. 27 and Job xxvi. 4. Here, also, there are a number of quotations designed to show parallels or discrepancies between alleged Solomonic and Jahvist elements. A single example must suffice. Dr. Conway gives as the translation of Prov. xxvii. 21 :—

"The fining pot for silver and the furnace for gold,
And a man is *proved* by that which he praiseth."

He italicizes the word "*proved*," and compares xvii. 3 :—

"The fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold,
But Jahveh trieth hearts."

Here, he says, "the Jahvist has made a slip by which his hand is confessed." There is reason to fear that it is rather of Dr. Conway himself that this may be said. The Hebrew has no word for the emphatic "*proved*." What is the true sense of the somewhat obscure verse, Prov. xxvii. 21, it is not necessary now to inquire.

With regard to a view of "the Song of Songs" now attracting a good deal of attention, Dr. Conway observes :—

"The theory that the book is a collection of bridal songs, and that the mention of Solomon is due to an Eastern custom of designating the bridegroom and bride as Solomon and Queen Shulamith, during their honeymoon, does not seem consistent with the fact that in several allusions to Solomon his royal state is slighted, whereas only compliments would be paid to a bridegroom."

The book is looked upon by our author as consisting of several songs of different degrees of antiquity, giving collectively "the impression of a romance conveyed in idylls, each presenting a picturesque situation, or a scene, the general theme and *motif* being that of the great Solomonic Psalm," that is, the forty-fifth.

The treatment of Ecclesiastes is scanty and inadequate. This is remarkable in a work dedicated, as is that before us, to the Omar Khayyam Club. It was the late Dean Plumptre who, at considerable

length, traced a parallelism between Ecclesiastes and the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, whom he designated "a Persian Koheleth of the twelfth century."

With regard to the riddle of the name Koheleth, or Qoheleth, as some writers give it, Dr. Conway says, Renan "has shown conclusively, as I think, that the signature on this book, QHLT, is a mere letter-play on the word 'Solomon.'" Now what does Renan say on the page of his *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* to which reference is made? "קֹהֵלֶת est certainement un équivalent de שְׁלֹמֹה = Salomo par un jeu analogue à l'athbasch ou l'albam. On n'en a pas encore trouvé le secret." Yet this is what Dr. Conway regards as conclusive proof. Our author kicks at the very comprehensive dictum, "All is vanity." This is an addition of the "Jahvist." There are some things which Koheleth "finds not vanity—youth, and wedded love, and work that is congenial." Such a statement as this needs no refutation. But as to "congenial work," it would almost seem that Dr. Conway has not read the second chapter of the book.

Of Ecclesiasticus we learn for the first time that "it is the book of reconciliation between Solomonism and Jahvism,—or, as we should now say, between philosophy and theology." It "is the antidote to Ecclesiastes." What is said on the "Wisdom of Solomon" appears more suitable and pertinent; but it would take too long to attempt a full discussion. The chapters on "The Epistle to the Hebrews as a Sequel to 'Wisdom,'" on "Solomon Melchizedek," and what follows it might be scarcely desirable to discuss, even if space permitted.

There are some incidental notices which are not without interest; as of the "Banquet" which, at South Place Chapel, was substituted for the Eucharist, and which, it seems, was attended by Leigh Hunt, Mill, Thomas Campbell, Jerrold, and some distinguished ladies. In the chapter on "Ecclesiastes" there is an account of a conversation between Tennyson and Maurice, taken from an American magazine. "Speaking of Ecclesiastes, Tennyson said it was the one book the admission of which into the canon he could not understand; it was so utterly pessimistic—of the earth, earthy." Maurice fired up, "Yes, if you leave out the last two verses." "So long as you look only down upon earth all is 'vanity of vanities.' But if you look up there is a God, the judge of good and evil. Tennyson said he would think over the matter from that point of view." Tennyson, we are told, moreover, "was curiously unconscious of his own pessimism." He is reported to have "said to Tyndall that if he knew there was no future life he would regard the creator of human beings as a demon, and shake his fist in his eternal face." Supposing this to be true, it tends to show, if evidence were needed, that distinguished

poets can say very foolish things. Corroborative testimony, to some extent, is furnished by *In Memoriam*, CXX, where, after expressing the opinion, "I think we are not wholly brain," the poet in the next stanza proceeds :—

"Not only cunning casts in clay :
Let Science prove we are, and then
What matters Science unto men,
At least to me? I would not stay."

The last words evidently express a conditional purpose to commit suicide. And suicide, from one point of view, would be regarded, no doubt, as shaking one's fist in the face of the Eternal.

But, with respect to the genuineness of the closing verses of *Ecclesiastes*, Maurice was undoubtedly right. It has been justly said that, without these verses, the book must be regarded as aimless.

THOMAS TYLER.

STREANE'S "ECCLESIASTES."

Ecclesiastes ; or the Preacher. Explained by ANNESLEY W. STREANE,
D.D. (Methuen & Co.)

THIS commentary forms part of a series entitled "The Churchman's Bible," and designed, it would appear, to include eventually the whole of the Biblical books. The General Preface informs us that, "while taking into account the latest results of critical research," it "is intended to be of service to the general reader in the practical and devotional study of Holy Scripture." The design thus set forth we need not discuss, nor is it necessary to express an opinion as to whether additional commentaries conducted in accordance therewith are really wanted. This is a matter for the authors, the general editor, and the publishers. We are here concerned with Dr. Streane's Commentary on *Ecclesiastes* as giving "results of critical research." In answer to the question which is likely to be first suggested, What opinion does he express with regard to the date of *Ecclesiastes*? the following quotations may be made :—

"The tone of the book and the character of its teaching not only suggest the period when the Persian Empire had been overthrown, and Alexander the Great's successors had established Greek culture throughout the civilized world, but also bear distinct traces of Stoic and Epicurean philosophy, . . . in particular, of Epicurean philosophy,

and thus they tend to determine a date not earlier than the Greek period aforesaid.

"It is difficult to go further than this with any certainty. It would seem probable, however, that the writer of the apocryphal book *Ecclesiasticus*, the composition of which may be placed with confidence *circa* 180 B.C., was acquainted with the book *Koheleth*. Various parallelisms between the two have been noted, and it appears from internal evidence that the borrowing was on the part of *Ecclesiasticus*, rather than the converse."

It is not unlikely that the reader is acquainted with the argument employed for the first time by the writer of this notice to determine approximately the date of *Ecclesiastes*, in a pamphlet entitled *Some New Evidence as to the Date of Ecclesiastes* (1872), and subsequently in the Introduction to his Commentary on *Ecclesiastes* (of which a new edition has lately appeared). The argument was derived, on the one hand, from the indications of Stoic and Epicurean philosophy in the book, and, on the other, from the apparent use of *Ecclesiastes* by the author of *Ecclesiasticus*. Dr. Streane, I find, makes no acknowledgment of his indebtedness to what I had written, though there is evidence which could be adduced, if it were worth while, sufficient to show that his knowledge was obtained directly and not at second hand. He makes, indeed, not infrequent reference to other writers, when, in some cases, there would seem to be little, if any, necessity for such reference. The translation of *Ecclesiastes* which is given is that of the Authorized Version, with foot-notes containing "such corrections as are deemed necessary to bring out the sense." A few verses may be given, incorporating the "corrections":—

"[There is]¹ no man that hath power over the wind to retain the wind; neither is there a ruler in the day of death: and [there is] no discharge in [that] war; neither shall wickedness deliver its masters" (viii. 8).

"And so I have seen the wicked buried, and they went their way, and men have departed from the holy place, and they were forgotten in the city where they had lived righteously" (viii. 10)².

¹ To avoid misunderstanding square brackets are used instead of the italics of A. V.

² It is, however, fair to Dr. Streane to give an explanation which he adds: "Both honour and oblivion have been misplaced. Evil men have received a stately burial, and been gathered to their fathers with all due observances. On the contrary, men who had lived virtuously have been dishonoured, expelled from the Temple and the Holy City, and dismissed from the minds even of those among whom their good deeds have been

"Death-carrying flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour : heavier than wisdom [and] honour is a little folly" (x. 1).

"Surely the serpent will bite without enchantment; and there is no profit in a master of tongue" (x. 11).

The absurdities in the verses thus translated need not be specially pointed out. No doubt many absurdities have been previously perpetrated in connexion with Ecclesiastes; but it is easy to believe that these "corrections," as well as some others, are in general really and truly Dr. Streane's own, *certa domini signata figura*.

THOMAS TYLER.

DE PAVLY'S "BABYLONIAN TALMUD."

Le Talmud de Babylone, texte complet conforme à la première édition de Daniel Bomberg (Venise 1520) . . . accompagné des principaux commentaires et synthétiquement traduit par JEAN DE PAVLY, Docteur-ès-lettres, Ancien Professeur à l'école du Sacré-Cœur de Lyon.

THIS is one of the books against which it seems to be one's duty to protest. On examining it for the Bodleian Library I was struck by the evident disagreement between its contents and the promise apparently held out by the title, if words mean anything. What is meant by "*synthetically translated*?" The editor says in his preface: "Quant à la traduction française dont je fais accompagner la présente édition, sans aspirer au titre de parfaite, elle peut, sans conteste, revendiquer celui de première et de complète." After this one is more than mildly surprised to find what is the actual state of the case. There is, as a matter of fact, no translation, as people ordinarily understand the term, but a more or less thorough *analysis* in French prefixed to *some* of the tractates. This is fairly full for Berakhoth and Shabbath, less so for Erubhin, Pesahim, and Sheqalim, while the "translations" of Babha Qama and B. Bathra occupy less than two pages each, that of 'Abhodah Zarah less than a page, and there is none at all for Zebbahim, Menaḥoth, Ḥullin, Bekhoroth, 'Arakhin, Temurah, Kerithoth, Me'ilah, Tamid, nor for the smaller tractates. Moreover, the text is not "complete," for the Mishna tractates which have no Gemara are altogether omitted. The

done." Whether this explanation suffices to remove absurdity from the translation the reader can decide for himself.

"principal commentaries" are practically represented by Rashi. I was also puzzled by finding on the first page of Shabbath a printer's mark "Szabas," which clearly indicated a Slavonic press. Yet the work was published at Orléans, there was nothing to show that it was not printed there, and the title would seem to announce an independent reprint of the Bomberg text. I had already written a note on the subject, when I received the new part of Goldschmidt's *Talmud Babli* (Calvary & Co.), with a note by Dr. H. Bloch exposing the strange production. The text is that of Scheftel (Berdyczew, 1895), which does not profess to be more than it is—an ordinary cheap reprint with the censure. It seems that a number of copies on superior paper were imported into France, and the introductions, titles, &c., ingeniously printed to match. The whole "Machwerk" is then issued with an attractive title-page as a new edition, though the editor has done nothing for the text—beyond importing it. Dr. Bloch also suggests that even the analyses were made from Goldschmidt's translation, as far as it had appeared, which would account for their gradual diminution after the first few tractates.

De Pavly is also publishing a translation of the *Shulhan 'Arukh*, which I have not yet had time to examine.

A. COWLEY.

EURINGER'S "ABYSSINIAN CANTICLES."

Die Auffassung des Hoheliedes bei den Abessiniern, ein historisch-exegetischer Versuch von Dr. Phil. SEB. EURINGER (Leipzig, 1900).

IN preparing a critical edition of the Ethiopic version of the Song of Songs, Dr. Euringer was struck by some interesting readings, the source of which he at first intended to trace in an appendix to his edition. As, however, the material increased, he decided to publish it separately in the form of the present essay. His aim is primarily to show the view held by the Abyssinian Church as to the interpretation of the Song. Bruce states that the reading of it was allowed only to the elder priests, and that it was explained literally as referring to the marriage of King Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter, not in any allegorical sense. Dr. Euringer contests these two points, but his essay is mainly devoted to proving from the version itself that the allegorical interpretation is that recognized by the Abyssinian Church. His grounds are chiefly (1) certain readings peculiar to the version; (2) MS. glosses and headings; (3) the verses appended to

each section in some MSS. To establish his thesis he is naturally led to a careful examination of the Ethiopic text, and a comparison of its readings with those of other versions. The method followed is similar to that of Dr. Herkenne's work on the old Latin version of Ecclesiasticus, noticed in the *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* for last October. The Greek reading, according to Swete, is first given, then the Ethiopic (E) according to two MSS. (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) at Berlin, with the variants of MSS. of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then the readings of the other versions derived from the Greek (Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, Syro-hexapla, Old Latin), and finally an endeavour is made to trace in patristic exegesis the source of the view presented by E. The final result seems fully established, and it is a pleasure to read work so carefully and methodically done. Any one who knows Dr. Euringer's *Masorah-text des Kohleth* will look forward with interest to his promised edition of the Ethiopic version of the Song.

A. COWLEY.

BUBER'S "YALQUT MACHIRI TO PSALMS."

Yalcut Machiri . . . zu den 150 Psalmen, von R. Machir ben Abba Mari, zum ersten Male nach einer Handschrift herausgegeben . . . von SALOMON BUBER. (Berdyzew, 1899.)

I AM glad to call attention to the appearance of this important work by that energetic patron of Midrash literature, Salomon Buber. There are few scholars who both can and will undertake so heavy a task as editing some 650 pages of closely-printed Hebrew, and Buber has earned our gratitude by doing so over and over again. It will be remembered that Makhir's *Yalqut on Isaiah* was published in 1894 by Mr. Spira (Berlin), from the only MS. (Scal. 7) at Leyden. The present work is much more extensive. The editor discusses in his introduction matters bearing on the author and the nature of his work, after which follows a list of authorities quoted in the *Yalqut*, and the text with critical notes and references. As to Makhir's date we have no definite evidence; but as the Leyden MS. was sold in 1415 he cannot have lived later than the fourteenth century. He is also stated to have written before the persecutions of 1492. Buber does not attempt to be more precise than this. If, however, this work served as a pattern to the *Yalqut Shim'oni*, the author probably lived not later than 1200. It is generally agreed that he belonged to

Provence. It is evident that at that date he had access to works which we no longer possess, and to better authorities for those which are still extant. Hence the importance of the collection for a critical study of Midrash texts. In glancing through the list prefixed to this edition we find a new passage from Bereshith Rabba (on Ps. ii, § 25), and two passages quoted (on Psa. li, § 10, and cxlvi, § 5) simply as מדרש, apparently from a lost Midrash on Job, which is also quoted by Makhir on Isaiah lxi. 11. The MS. used has long been known to exist. It is mentioned by Benjacob as belonging to R. Joseph of Viasen (near Wilna), and is identical with that noted by Wolf as being then at Amsterdam. There is another MS. in the Bodleian library, written in 1528, which was not collated for this edition.

A. COWLEY.

END OF VOL. XII.

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